





















# The Asiatic Annual Register

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# HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

FOR 1809.

## CHAPTER I.

Prefatory observations—general predilection for military achievements over civil arrangements and details—brief comparison of the present, with antecedent enterprises, leading to the establishment of the British influence in India—the recent expeditions from Bengal and Bombay do not partake of the feature of regular war—from the first presidency a large military force is sent against Lutchmun Dowah, the chief of Adjyghur, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Martindell, who attacks and carries the fortified hill of Regowley—Ajedeo Purshaud among the number of the enemy's killed, with twenty inferior Sirdars—Three of the gates of Adjyghur laid in ruins—Lutchmun Dowah professes a readiness to capitulate on terms, which are granted—description and history of the fort of Adjyghur—Tragical event, which occurred a short time subsequent to the surrender of the Fort—Lutchmun Dowah withdraws himself privately from the fort—all the women and children of his family put to death, under an erroneous impression, by a relation of that chief—Expedition fitted out against Runjeet Singh, under the command of general St. Leger—peace concluded with that chieftain without any act of hostility—Keire and Fride Kott, surrendered—free passage for merchandize and other advantages, granted to the East India company—an unfortunate dispute arises between the escort of the British negotiator, Mr. Metcalfe, and the Seiks, and occasions the loss of several lives—but does not affect the amicable arrangement just concluded—a rebel force dislodged from the fortress of Bhownagie—apprehensions entertained of the movements of Dowlut Rao Scindea—intelligence received in Calcutta of a revolt in the Madras army—notification of the governor-general of his intention to proceed to that presidency—return of the expedition from Madras to Calcutta—Embassy sent to Cabul—its progress—and favourable reception by the king at Peshawar—Received and entertained on its return to the company's provinces by Runjeet Singh—address of lord Minto, on the examination of the students at the college of Fort William—introduction of vaccination among the Seiks—the arrival and presentation of Airocke, prince of New Zealand, to the governor-general at Calcutta—Expedition from Bombay against the pirates in the Persian gulf, under lieutenant-colonel Walker—barbarity of those marauders to the crew of the *Minerva*—assault of the town of Mallia—carried after three quarters of an hour's resistance—guns brought forward to attack the fortress in the morning—the enemy evacuate the place during the night—second expedition into the gulf, commanded by colonel Smith, of the army, and captain Wainwright of the navy—impediments encountered on the voyage—arrive at length at Ras ul Kimor—destroy the town, arsenal of stores, and the shipping of the pirates—proceed and accomplish the destruction of all the minor piratical settlements on the shores of the gulf—expedition sails from Bombay to the isle of Rodriguez—establishes itself there, and afterwards, aided by two of his majesty's ships, makes a successful descent on the isle of Bourbon—seizes the batteries,



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and defences, with an enemy's frigate, the *Caroline*, and ultimately retakes two Indiamen, with a part of their valuable cargoes—troops afterwards re-embarked, but relanded on a demonstration of an attack by a new body of the enemy—the public works destroyed, and stores quietly removed under a capitulation to that effect—expedition returns to Rodriguez—capture of the Indiamen *Stratham*, *Europe*, *Charlton*, and *United Kingdom*—Asia founders in the *Kooghley*—loss of the *Aydaseer* by fire—numerous captures by the pirates and by the enemy in the Persian gulf—some particulars attending the capture of the Indiamen—conclusion of the detail of occurrences in Bengal and Bombay.

In the year, now coming under review, the public were taught, by official pronouncements and prognostications, in every possible form, to anticipate a period of profound peace; while they, more immediately interested in the welfare of British India, had reason to expect some remission of expence, and a seasonable recruit of the exhausted finances of an almost inexhaustible dominion. But there is a feverish condition of things, not absolutely partaking of the character of war, that may involve and waste the resources of a state as effectually as that determined and positive evil, and without any of those brilliant events, that reconcile it to individual ambition or national pride. Such may not improperly be considered that state, in which our eastern possessions recently stood.

In selecting the events worthy of historical notice, which have occurred during the period comprised in this volume, the attention is first attracted by military transactions. The work of destruction has, by a strange perverseness, so long occupied the first place in human estimation, that precedence is granted to it as a matter almost of course. But how different the military transactions of the present times, when compared with the wars of former, but not distant periods, in which we contended at once for empire and for existence.

The enterprizes and actions of the present time appear much of the same description as those of the early times of our Indian achievements, but far different in their circumstances and magnitude. In those times, with forces few in number, but generally comprizing the whole or the greater part of our military power, we fought in stations not distant from the coast, with a valor unparalleled in its charac-

ter and in its consequences, for the maintenance of the precarious footing from which the present vast territory, population, revenue, and trade, have been ultimately attained. Now we fight far in the interior, at stations to which the founders of our original settlement never thought of penetrating, even in commercial expeditions, to repress the insurrection of subjugated Chieftains, or repel the incursions of predatory borderers upon the frontiers of the vast peninsula, the whole of which recognizes but away, either in direct sovereignty, or under the qualified form of protecting alliance.

Thus the importance, perhaps, of the military operations which are about to be related, should not be estimated by the numerical amount of the forces engaged, nor by the extent of territory actually acquired: but by the dangers which would have resulted to the British dominions in India if these last struggles of indigenous hostility had not been successfully resisted.

Such are the reflections that most promptly present themselves on such comparison of the early stages and progress of British power in India, with the more recent periods where we had to contend with and for all the strength and resources of the vast territory we now possess under the guidance of a Hastings, a Cornwallis, and a Wellesley, against those formidable potentates Hyder Ali, Tippoo Saib, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and Dowlut Rao Scindia.

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to make use of the slight and scanty materials which the local publications furnish for the current history of an empire, now as important to Britain as the oldest and nearest of her colonies.



Of the expeditions fitted out from the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, those from the first and the last do not appear to possess the extent and importance attached to regular war, though they gave rise to many particular exploits worthy of record. The expeditions from Bengal were, in the first place, directed against the chieftain of Adjyghur Lutchmun Dowah, in the province of Bundelcund; under the command of lieutenant-colonel Martindell. The object of this enterprize was, (for what provocation is not explained, but for what object and intent is sufficiently obvious) to expel the chief from his dominions. With a view to this end, the operations of colonel Martindell commenced against the fortified hill of Regowley. This post, forming a most important defence of the fortress of Adjyghur, was most gallantly attacked, and carried by assault on the 22d January.

The force with which the enemy occupied the hill, consisted of 500 chosen men, under the command of Sirdar Sing, Kass Kullam, and Ajadon Purshaud, a near relative to Lutchmun Dowah, regarded as the bravest and most attached of his adherents. The British camp was about two miles from the hill which lay a little to the right of the way from the camp to Adjyghur. Colonel Martindell, and Major Grant, took the command of the troops destined for the enterprize, and proceeded to the attack a little after noon. The enemy, sheltered behind rocks and breastworks, ad led to the strength of their position a resistance dictated by despair. But the persevering valour of our troops prevailed, and the enemy were driven from the post with the loss of 60 killed, and about 160 wounded. Three British officers only were wounded, 28 rank and file killed, and 126 wounded. The assailing force consisted of the 18th regt. 4th light infantry batt. 2d batt. 1st Native infantry, and 3d regiment Native cavalry. The Native troops and officers distinguished themselves so as to merit the marked approbation of the command-

ing officer; and the promptitude with which the whole of the troops proceeded to the attack, the persevering toil with which they encountered all obstacles, the intrepidity with which they ascended the hill under a most galling fire, and the steady courage they displayed in the assault of a position so strong, and so obstinately defended, were all distinctly noticed in general orders, issued by the commander, as circumstances calling for "the most unqualified admiration and praise."

From the nature of the ground, the cavalry could not take any part in the action; but it did considerable service by covering the assailing force. Among the killed was the chief Sirdar Adjuden Purshaud, and twenty other sirdars of inferior note.

The hill of Behontah, which commands the fortress of Adjyghur, was, with a like vigorous effort, afterwards carried by storm. The capture of this post enabled Colonel Martindell to form the siege of the fortress without interruption. Accordingly, having on the 9th of February offered terms which were rejected, he caused batteries to be formed on the summit, and in different places on the sides of the hill, whither the guns were dragged with great labour, but with such zeal and dispatch, that the whole were ready to open on the 11th, and so well directed a fire was kept up, that on the 13th three of the gates, with their defences, were laid in ruins, and there was a probability that the upper gate, against which the fire was then principally directed, would soon be in the same situation. Lutchmun now signified his readiness to accept the terms rejected on the 9th,—a capitulation was entered into, according to which the fortress was surrendered, and ceded to the company in consideration of a jagheer, or indemnity, as it is called in European diplomacy, to be assigned to him in some other quarter. Lutchmun and his garrison withdrew.

The judgment and military skill of Colonel Martindell in effecting this service, as well as the courage and



exertions of the detachment he commanded, deserved, and obtained the highest testimony of approbation from the governor-general in council.

When the British first entered the fort, they were particularly struck with the objects that presented themselves. Here were seen three large reservoirs, of very fine fresh water, cut with wonderful labour out of a solid rock: there the ruins of three most magnificent Hindoo temples, built of stones, laid without cement, but most nicely fitted to each other, and adorned within and without with sculpture of chaste design, and the most exquisite workmanship.

The era of the erection of these venerable buildings is lost in antiquity—but they are evidently much older than the fortress, which was built by an ancient rajah, called Ajjgopaul, and after him called Adjyghur; the latter adjunct signifying a fortress.

Ajjgopaul himself lived beyond the reach of any known record. The temples have two large tables with inscriptions; but the language and characters are unknown. The letters are in relief, the stone being cut away from them according to the frequent custom of antiquity.

At a remote period Adjyghur was reduced, after a siege of ten months, by ~~force~~, the only means by which it could be taken before artillery was introduced. Ahe Behauder who took it, in conjunction with Himmat Behauder, defeated the Bundelabs close to the town, and slew their chief, Lui Arjun Sing, a famous warrior, who is the theme of many national songs.

In our own times, Shumshir Behauder confined in this fort his cousin, Guanee Behauder, who, after the British forces defeated Shumshir at Rospah, on the 12th of October, 1803, was poisoned by the Mahratta kiledar, in consequence of an order from Shumshir.

This kiledar subsequently sold the fort to Lutchmun Dowah for 15000 rupees; but from some valuable jewels, and particularly a diamond ecklace, formerly the property of Guanee Behauder, seen in the pos-

session of Lutchmun, it is probable, that he more than repaid himself the expense of his purchase by plundering the Mahrattas when they marched out.

A spring, situated on the north side of the Bihontah hill, and within the defences of the lowest of the gates of Adjyghur, of which there are five, produces a fine stream of water, and is asserted, by the Biraggies, to be the source of the Jumna and the Ganges; but the Biraggies of a neighbouring hill of stupendous height, called Dio Gong, dispute that honour for a spring in their region.

Adjyghur is about five miles distant from the foot of the Paunah Ghauts, and fourteen from Callingu. The country altogether is the strongest in the world—every hill is a fortress, and all, from their great height and steepness, extremely difficult of access. From this description it may be inferred of how much importance it was to dispossess a bold chieftain of a fortress of such strength, and in a country so difficult.

A horrid transaction which took place at Adjyghur, a few months subsequent to its surrender, serves strongly to mark the extraordinary character of the native people, and to evince the firmness of their invincible prejudices.

About the commencement of the month of June, 1809, Lutchmun Dowah suddenly disappeared from the place of his residence near that fortress; and no traces of him being found for several days after, apprehensions were entertained that he had gone off in pursuance of some hostile design. As a security against any enterprise of this kind, the representative of the government in the province of Bundelcund, sent instructions to major Cuppage, commanding in Adjyghur, to place in safe custody Lutchmun's family, left behind in the village of Tirawaney, just under the fort. A party was accordingly sent to the house for this purpose, and a few males were removed to the fort. An old man, the father-in-law of Lutchmun, was the only male left behind, and he was directed to prepare the women and children for their remo-



val. Having entered the apartment of the women, in conformity with the instruction, the door was closed on him; and after he had remained a considerable time within, those in waiting proposed to open it and quicken his proceedings; but the door was found firmly fastened, and though repeated calls were made, no answer was given, no sound was heard. Upon this attempts were made to force open the door, but without success. It was then thought right to uncover a part of the roof, and a man was let down through the aperture, who opened the door. Upon the entrance of the party, a most tragical sight presented itself. The entire family, including the women, children, and the old man himself, were found weltering in their blood! It appeared that the old man had first cut the throats of the women and children, and afterwards his own; and from the perfect quiet and silence with which the slaughter was executed, it could not otherwise have been done than with the consent of all. The women themselves must have supplied the instrument of death, (the *salwar*) for the old man was perfectly unprovided with any when he entered. From these circumstances it was at first conjectured that Lutchmun, previous to his departure on his presumed enterprize, had given instructions to put these unfortunate persons to death, in order to save them from the pollution which, according to the Hindoo doctrine, is necessarily consequent upon their falling into the power of an European enemy. It was inferred also that the women, from a principle of pride and faith, which imposed the sacrifice upon them as a duty, had submitted to the order, according to their custom in such cases, with promptitude and cheerfulness.

A nephew of Lutchmun, who was brought into the fort, also attempted suicide; but the accomplishment of his object was prevented, though not till he had given himself a severe wound. The most lamentable part of this shocking relation still remains to be told; all these tragic deeds, and the calculations and reasonings, thus connected with

them, were soon proved to have their foundation in error.—For Lutchmun Dowah, far from absconding for any hostile purpose, had merely repaired in private to Calcutta, with the intention of complaining to the supreme government of some harsh treatment, which he conceived that he had suffered; and there is every reason to think, that he was entirely ignorant of the dreadful stroke, till it was communicated to him, on his arrival at the seat of government! The only measure of reparation, in the sad consequences of his disappearance, which it was in the power of the government to make, was the immediate liberation of that part of his family which was still kept in custody. Lutchmun himself, after the surrender of Adjyghur, had taken up his residence at Bandah, under the protection of the British government, receiving a liberal maintenance, till a convenient jahghire could be allotted to him, conformably to the terms agreed upon, in lieu of the possessions ceded to the company by the previous capitulation. His departure from Bandah without any notice or explanation, and the measure of common precaution adopted in consequence, involved him in calamities as lamentable as unforeseen.

From the private interest excited by this sad catastrophe, the mind is glad to relieve itself by the contemplation of a public and more general scene. The next and important expedition in Bengal had the district of Sirhind, inhabited by the Seiks, for the theatre of operations, situated between the provinces of Delhi and Lahor, and separated from Cashmire by the mountains.

There was not in this case, any more than in the preceding, a formal declaration of war,—nor any very observable cause of hostility; though it would appear from the terms and quality of the peace, which succeeded, that it had been undertaken at the request of some neighbouring Chieftains, under the protection of the British government. But definitive treaties, and more especially in India, though they afford very satisfactory evidence of the ultimate state of things, are not always the



purest sources to which we may look for genuine information of the causes that led to it. But from the force that was employed, as well as from the regular treaty with which the history of the expedition closes, there is reason to infer that Runjeit was a prince of high and established authority, as well as of great power.

The forces employed on this expedition were commanded by general St. Leger, and under him by colonel Ochterlony. The troops acted in two separate bodies. The first and principal body, under general St. Leger, consisted of his majesty's 24th regiment of light dragoons, the 17th regiment of foot, the 6th and 8th regiments of Native cavalry, the second and third light infantry battalions; and a strong detachment both of heavy and light artillery. The division under colonel Ochterlony, consisted of the 4th regiment of Native cavalry, 1st battalion of the 10th, 1st battalion of the 23d, and 1st battalion of the 27th Native infantry. Colonel Ochterlony's division took post on the 11th February, at Loodehaunah; and general St. Leger's corps was stationed about eighteen miles eastward of that place. Whether the magnitude of the force employed against him terrified Runjeit into concession, or that he yielded under imprudent reflection, or from the influence of an event, about to be described, is difficult to be decided. But, whatever may have been his motive, he agreed, without conflict, to the terms proposed to him, and relinquished his claims to the chiefs who had solicited the company's protection. At the time when the proposal was made for the adjustment of differences, the forces on both sides remained quiet in face of each other, when the news of the defeat of Junot (duke of Abrantes) at Vimeira, by the British army, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, was received in the camps of general St. Leger and colonel Ochterlony, and as usual celebrated by royal salutes. The cause of this firing being made known to Runjeit Sing, the salute was, by his special command, repeated from all the artillery in his camp; a circumstance which, whe-

ther it be attributed to politeness towards the British commanders, with whom he was in treaty; or to a general condemnation of the system of Buonaparte, was felt equally agreeable. As a preliminary step to the proposed pacific arrangement, the forts of Keiro and Feride Koti, on the left bank of the Sutledge, were demanded of Runjeit Sing, and were immediately given up and taken into possession by British troops about the middle of March. On our side preparations were made for withdrawing the army, with the exception of a corps of eight thousand men, which was to remain in Ludehauna under colonel Ochterlony.

Mr. Metcalfe, the British negotiator, met Runjeit at Lukatsir, and the ceremonious exchange of visits having been immediately made, the treaty was expedited with equal promptitude. The provinces subject to the chiefs of Suhrund and Malwa were by this treaty ceded to the English company by Runjeit; and, by a subsequent article, these chiefs were restored to the exercise of their former independent authority, exempted from tribute, and all other vexatious impositions. The advantages stipulated for the company, were a free passage for British merchants and their goods, the liberty of purchasing stores for the use of the army, and certain facilities in procuring forage and provisions in the event of the protecting forces being called again into this country.

By the 4th of April, the stipulations agreed upon were completed, with the formal delivery of such other forts and grounds, as were required of Runjeit Sing, in addition to the two forts already mentioned. These forts and territories, it was at first supposed, would be permanently garrisoned by British troops, under cover of some of those pretexts in the invention of which ambition is so fertile, but with a moderation, and a sense of justice of which it is to be lamented there are so few examples, it was declared, that the intention of holding them had never been entertained, that they had been forcibly seized by Runjeit Sing, and that the object of dispossessing that



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chief was to restore them to the rightful owners which object was immediately carried into effect.

The terms agreed upon with Runjeit Sing, being thus executed without loss of time or effusion of blood, Colonel St. Leger broke up with the army from Loodahaunah and the troops were distributed into different cantonments.

In the course of these transactions an incident took place, not unworthy of notice, though somewhat out of place, as illustrative of the superstition which forms so striking a part of the character of the Hindoos. Shortly after Mr. Melcalfe, the British negotiator, met Runjeit Sing at Imrutsir, for the purpose of concluding the treaty. Mr. Melcalfe's guards, consisting of two companies of Sepoys, under captain Popham, being Mussulmans, were engaged, according to annual custom, in celebrating the Mahommedan festival Moharrum, (or New-year's day) which fell in the first week of March. The Seiks are extremely bigoted, generally detesting all other sects, but above all the Mahommedans. They therefore, would, under any circumstances, have been shocked and enraged at the celebration of the rites of Islamism on their soil, and in their presence; but Imrutsir being rendered a place of peculiar sanctity in their estimation, because the remains of their prophet Nanock Shah, are buried there, Mahommedan ceremony was considered nothing short of profanation and sacrilege; the fury of the Seiks broke through all restraint. They sallied from the town to the number of four or five hundred, in battle array, and advancing towards the guard, then on parade, they took post behind an adjoining hill, whence they commenced an irregular fire. Captain Popham knew not how to interpret this proceeding, and could scarcely believe it seriously hostile till lieutenant Ferguson and one of his men were wounded: he then ordered his men to advance, and, when they had come sufficiently near to the fanatics, to fire a volley and charge. This order was instantly carried into execution, and the Seiks were immediately dispersed and driven into the

ditch of the town. Runjeit Sing, who knew nothing of the transaction, ran to the spot as soon as the alarm reached him, and made every effort to restrain the Seiks, and to send away the Sepoys in security under the escort of a strong force. They had, however, sufficiently shewn their ability to defend themselves; for they had killed five of the Seiks, and wounded twenty-five, whereas their own casualties did not exceed seventeen wounded.

The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged in the stipulated time, Runjeit again paid a complimentary visit to Mr. Melcalfe; an interchange of presents took place, and every appearance of friendship was manifested. Mr. Melcalfe soon after took his leave, and returned to Calcutta.

In the month of August preparations were set on foot at Rewaree for the march of a very considerable detachment of the army against a fortified town, (Bhowanue) in the Hurrianah country. This town is situated on a long tract of dependent country, lying between the Jumna and the Sutledge. The inhabitants of this strong post had for some time past laid the travellers through the district under daily contributions; and had the audacity, in a very recent instance, to plunder the baggage of a British detachment, on their march in that direction. A proper representation of the depredation was made to the chief of the place, which was followed by a peremptory denial of reparation in terms of insolence and hostility. To revenge the insult, and to prevent future aggression of a similar nature, the armament at Rewaree was ordered, and promptly and expeditiously executed. The command of it was given to colonel Bell, who marched on the 20th of that month, and arrived before Bhowannie, and summoned it on the 27th. The besieged garrison had 24 hours to consider of the terms proposed—which were absolutely rejected. Colonel Bell immediately consulted means for the reduction of the place, and on the 28th the whole British detachment was drawn out in front of Bhowannie, consisting of four battalions of Native infantry.



try, one regiment of cavalry, 600 irregular horse, and a powerful train of artillery. The enemy's force was estimated at 4500 men. Batteries were so quickly erected by the British troops, that they were ready to pour their fire into the town by six o'clock on the following morning. By noon on the same day a practicable breach was made in the walls, and an immediate assault was ordered.

The storming party moved down in two columns, one advancing from the right, and the other from the left of the camp, the first commanded by lieutenant-colonel Mc Grath, and the second by major Smith. Before these parties could reach the ramparts, the enemy had the confidence to sally out and attack the column under lieutenant-colonel Mc Grath; sword in hand, but was repulsed with great slaughter, by the coolness and intrepidity of the British grenadiers. The Sepoys followed the fugitives closely into the town, clambering over the breach and scaling the walls in every quarter, and, after a severe contest, completely succeeded in driving out the enemy. So many as escaped the bayonet within the walls, were cut down by the cavalry, surrounding the town, so that scarcely one escaped. The troops had been twelve hours under arms before the garrison was fully in their possession, and the defence is said to have been as brave andolute, as any in the recollection of the oldest soldier present, continuing, without interruption, for three hours and an half.

About this time, or a little subsequently, some apprehensions were raised by the adherents of the Maharajah, Runjeit Lund Sing, a Seik Chieftain, on the banks of the Jamna; and by Dowlut Rao Scindia, who had begun to levy contributions on the Rajahpoot country. But these were put to rest on the one side by the prompt measures of colonel Ochterlory, who had been stationed at Loodehnaah, on the return of general St. Leger into the company's provinces: and on the other, by the Mahratta Chieftain having confined his predatory attempts and demonstrations to the Rajah of Jey-

pore. The determination of these affairs so speedily and so fortunately, allowed time to the governor-general to attend to some domestic events, which threatened more than any of the circumstances already noticed, to disturb the tranquillity and safety of the country. These originated in the insubordination of the greater part of the company's troops, serving under the presidency of Fort St. George. To such a height had it arrived in the month of July, that the governor-general had thought it prudent to issue a proclamation declaratory of his intention to proceed to fort St. George for the purpose of interposing the supreme authority to repress the spirit of revolt.

As it will be necessary, in a separate place, to speak of the cause and progress of the military discontent at that presidency, and the measures taken by the supreme, and the local, government, for the suppression of it; it does not seem requisite to advert more particularly to it here, where the detail is principally confined to an enumeration of the military transactions in Bengal. Of these nothing remains to be noticed, but the return of an expedition, fitted out in the year preceding, for the occupation of the Portuguese settlement of Macao, in consequence of the events which had occurred in Europe, through the design and attempts of the emperor of France, to make himself master of Spain and Portugal. This expedition, comprehending a body of troops under the command of major Weguelin, embarked, as will be recollected, on board admiral Drury's squadron, and proceeded to Macao, with the intention of occupying that place, to prevent its being possessed by the French, in virtue of their presumed conquest of Portugal. But this stroke of precautionary policy, however consistent with the recently recognized system of Europe, was not at all understood by the Chinese, who conceived themselves principal parties in regulating the occupancy of the settlement, and possessed of a right to determine whom they would admit to hold it instead of being bound to



accept any substitute for the former possessors, according to the lottery of a war carried on in Europe. The consequence was, that, although the troops landed, and took possession without difficulty, all communication was broken off by the Chinese. A stop was altogether put to trade, and it was thought a happy conclusion of the affair, to re-establish the former intercourse on the condition of withdrawing the troops. The expedition, of course, returned to Bengal, reinforced, in the month of February. The commander, and the officers and men composing the expedition, received the thanks of the government for their conduct.

Lord Minto was not prevented by these warlike occupations from directing his attention to arrangements of equal importance, though of a peaceful and political nature. The principal object of this description, to which the governor-general directed his attention, was an embassy to the king of Cabul. This embassy, at the head of which the honourable Mr. Elphinstone was placed, had, for its particular object, to counteract the intrigues of the French embassy, then at the court of Persia.

The kingdom of Cabul, inhabited by the Afghans, is situated, upon the Attock and Indus, to the north of Lahore, bordering upon Persia, of which it was originally a province, till conquered by the Moghuls. It was subsequently re-united to Persia by Nadir Shah,\* but is now independent, and of considerable importance to the attack, or defence, of the British territories in India. Cabul, intersected with chains of lofty mountains, and large rivers, forms a sort of barrier, which, if gained by the invaders, facilitates their irruption, if held by or for the defenders, baffles attack. The progress of the embassy, as detailed in its journals, and in the accounts, successively given, in the appropriate part of this volume, is interesting, from the variety of non-descript countries

through which it passed; from the difficulties of travel it frequently encountered; and the adventures it sometimes met. During its stay at Bikaner, and in the passage of the desert, an interval of about five weeks altogether, at the close of 1808, the health of the escort suffered extremely; but was entirely re-established soon after it entered the cultivated country on the other side, in the beginning of the new year. The appearance of a band of Europeans in a country, where, except, perhaps, in a few instances of single individuals, that people had never been seen, excited great surprise and curiosity, and attracted, in some places, such multitudes of gazing Afghans, that the members of the embassy found it difficult to pass from tent to tent, in the stations where they halted; and, although no rudeness was offered to them, it was found convenient to prevent the repetition of such intrusion, by surrounding the camp, at the time of halting, with a sort of screen called *Kanauts*. The chiefs every where manifested the greatest civility; but some of them entertained suspicions, which induced them to take the precaution of strengthening their garrisons, and shutting their towns; this, however, was done without any departure from a personal demeanour, which was always marked by politeness.

On entering the territory of Cabul, the embassy received information that the king, Sonjah-ul-Mulk, was not at his capital, but had made a progress southward to Peshour. This journey was generally, and, as it afterwards appeared, justly attributed to an intended expedition against Cashmere, though it was considered by some of the embassy, that the most natural, as well as the most simple, motive, was the desire of passing the winter in a milder climate, rather than in the midst of the mountains of Candahar, which were then covered with snow.

While the embassy waited an invi-

\* See Compendium of the Modern Persian History, in the preceding volume, pages 12. 16. 20. 37.



tation to proceed to the king's presence, information was received, that the Persian monarch had sent two of his brothers to Cabul, to endeavour to negotiate a peace. This intelligence, of course, gave additional importance to the mission, and quickened their zeal and activity. But as it was uncertain what route they should take; some reports representing the king as still proceeding on his route to Peshour, while others stated that he was on his return to Candahar, it was thought best to await more accurate information in Moultan, which the gentlemen of the embassy described, in the month of January, as a climate, at that season, most delightful. They made use of this interval to cross several considerable rivers, and among them the Indus, which might have retarded their progress, if the passage had been deferred. During this halt, an English deserter, of the name of John Pen-  
 ley, came into the camp, and conversed with the embassy. He related, that himself, and two others, had entered the service of the Native chiefs, by whom they were well treated; but it appears they were well watched also. One of his comrades was in confinement, for what cause is not stated. This man wore the Mahomedan dress, and appeared, in every respect, like a Native. He and his comrades were married men, and conformed in every thing to the customs of the country. The embassy did not, it appears, derive any very useful information from this gentleman, except an injunction to cultivate the growth of their mustachoes, which he represented as essential to their being treated with respect.

At length the expected permission arrived, and the embassy pursued its march to Peshour, where it arrived on the 25th of February. The country through which it passed is described as beautiful, watered by the Indus, which is said to be about 300 yards in breadth, running, in a deep clear stream, between two ridges of rocks. The termination of their long and painful journey was heard with  
 by the members of the

embassy; and arrangements were made for the ceremonial of the audience which was expected to take place in a few days.

It appeared, by the succeeding accounts, that the result of the audience was most favourable; the embassy continued to enjoy the greatest hospitality and kindness: Mr. Elphinstone was to have a private audience of the king; and the embassy was to accompany his majesty, in his return northward to Cabul, which was expected speedily to take place. These favourable appearances were, however, soon troubled, although but for a time, by one of those extraordinary vicissitudes, from which the history of Europe, in our own times, have shewn, that no sovereigns are exempt; but which are more frequent in the less settled kingdoms of the East. Mahmood Shah, half brother to the king, and a pretender to the *musnud*, made his appearance, in Candahar, at the head of a powerful force, with which he soon made himself master of the whole province; and when the intelligence was dispatched to the king, he was on full march for the capital. This Mahmood had, about seven years before, seized, and dethroned Zemaun Shah, the king then reigning. Soojah-ul-Mulk, the younger brother of Zemaun, escaped to the mountains, and lived among the Khybours, (a sort of predatory tribe) till he contrived to collect a force among them sufficient to assert his claim. With this force he encountered, and defeated, Mahmood, taking possession of the throne. With a clemency very unusual, in such cases, among Asiatics, besides saving Zemaun Shah, he granted a pardon to Mahmood, gave him his liberty, and a pension. But Mahmood ungratefully made use of this indulgence to levy an army, and once more to invade Cabul, and dispute the throne with his preserver and benefactor.

The rapid progress of Mahmood's arms was, at this time, particularly alarming, as the greater part of the king's army, amounting to 12,000 men, was absent with the vizier, on the expedition in Cashmere.



Intelligence was immediately dispatched to press the vizier to conclude the settlement of that province, and to return to Peshour, in order that the king might march with the army to meet Mahmood in Candahar. As the vizier had defeated Mohanmed Khan, and possessed himself of the fortress of Buramoollah, between the army of that rebellious chief and the capital, within three days march of which the army of Cabul had advanced, it was expected that these objects might be speedily effected. The return of the vizier, however, did not keep pace with the urgency of the occasion; and many inferior chiefs, and persons in trust, consulting their advantage, appeared disposed to join the party that seemed likely, under existing circumstances, to prevail.

The mutual pretensions of the contending chiefs, Mahmood and Soojah-ul-Mulk, will be better understood by the following statement:—

Timour Shah, the father of both, died after a reign of nineteen years, leaving nineteen sons. To the eldest, Humaioon, he gave the sovereignty of Herat, and Candahar; to Zemaun Shah, his favourite, who was by a different mother, he gave Cabul, and the rest of his Afghan possessions, as well as Cashmire and Moultan. Zemaun Shah, being of a warlike disposition, attacked Humaioon, whom he despoiled of his succession, and deprived of sight for security. Zemaun was a prince of great power, and was, for some time, formidable even to the British empire, in so much that recourse was had both to Petersburg and to Constantinople for influencing Persia to create a diversion against him.

An army under Sir James Craig, was sent against him, about nine years before the date of the embassy, and endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to bring him to a battle. Mahmood, the full brother of Humaioon, claimed, at this juncture, the succession to his throne and having secured it by arms, attacked Zemaun Shah, whom he dethroned and blinded in his turn. Soojah-ul-Mulk, the brother of Zemaun Shah, on the first usurpation

the Shah's dominions, was obliged to consult his safety in flight, yet soon afterwards he appeared in arms at the head of a formidable force, defeated Mahmood, and placed himself on the Musnud, which he held undisputed, till Mahmood, seizing the opportunity, when he was entangled in the war of Cashmire, again invaded Candahar. The invader had opened a communication with the rebellious chief of Cashmire, to whom he promised the sovereignty of that province, and both acted in concert. The chief of Cashmire was soon defeated in several actions, and his followers dispersed and driven out of the province. The army of Cabul having pursued these fugitives within four miles of Mozufferabad, a city on the road to Attock, midway between Cashmire and the Indus, there discontinued the pursuit, and began its march back to the frontier of Cabul. But Mahmood had very different success from his rebellious coadjutor. He advanced to the city of Cabul, where he obtained possession of the Balahissor, a castle of some strength, where the younger princes of the royal blood are generally sequestered for the security of the reigning prince.

Goolistan Khan, the representative of Soojah-ul-Mulk, fled to the mountains on Mahmood's approach: other accounts, however, allege, that he took the more generous resolution of throwing himself into the principal fort, within which the royal palace stands, defending it to the last extremity.

In this situation, with reduced forces and an exhausted treasury, deserted by most of those who could give him effectual support, and unable to derive any efficient aid from those who remained faithful, Soojah-ul-Mulk had only the lamentable alternative of abandoning his kingdom without a contest, or contending with a force on his side so disproportionate that success must be hopeless. He chose, however, to try the fortune of arms, and having been defeated in every instance he was under the necessity of once more seeking his personal safety in concealment.



His family fled towards the Punjab; and advices were soon received that Zemaun Shah, with the Haram, was at Nawel Hindie, under the protection of a seik chieftain.

Soojah-ul-Mulk ventured again into Candahar in the hope of awakening an interest in his favour; nor was the hope disappointed; for whether it was that the spirit and firmness he displayed in defence of his rights revived a corresponding spirit in his subjects, and confirmed their attachment, or that those who took part with Mahmood, with the fickleness, for which Asiatics are remarkable, became tired of their leader and after balancing a little, from considerations of interest, reverted to their allegiance, Mahmood was soon after successively deserted by his principal adherents, and left at last without any train deserving of apprehension.

These events were so singular, and although but collateral to the object of the embassy, had for a considerable time such an influence on those objects, that the reader cannot but feel them worthy of being recounted. The situation of the embassy during the vicissitudes of the contest for the sovereignty must have been extremely painful. The sovereign to whom the mission was addressed, and at whose court it had been so favourably and so hospitably received, could not consistently with honour be abandoned in his difficulties and distresses; and yet it did not appear wise or necessary to make the company's government a party in a competition in which, whatever rival should be successful, it would be equally essential that he should be friendly to the British interests. In this uncertainty it seemed the most prudent plan that the embassy should return, deferring the ulterior objects of its mission to a more favourable opportunity. Arrangements were accordingly made for their return through the country of the Seiks, where every preparation was made under the influence and direction of Runjeit Sing, to entertain and assist them in their passage. Runjeit himself resolved to meet them at Imrutsir, having previously dispatched a vakeil to compli-

ment them and to acquaint them with his intentions. The embassy set out at the commencement of the month of August. It was not, till some time after, that the favourable change already noticed, which re-established Soojah-ul-Mulk on his throne, took place.

The examination of the progress made in the study of the native languages in the college of Fort William established for that purpose, is another of the peaceful objects of Lord Minto's attention in the early part of this year. The familiar acquisition of those languages, although in future, and perhaps not very distant times, it may become less remarkable, is yet, in the infancy of the establishment, matter of much interest; for it is only by protecting and cherishing the first steps, that the grand strides of future times can be drawn forth. The care bestowed by Lord Minto on this object, is peculiarly pleasing, nor less so is his eloquence, in describing the attainments of the several students, entitled to the notice of the visitatorial chair. His lordship subsequently adverts to the printing of several of the most important native works, by which European publicity will be given to the hitherto hidden, or at least partially known, treasures of oriental wisdom. There is the greater pleasure on this part of his lordship's administration, as we shall have soon to follow him, reluctantly, into that maze of dissension, wherein he afterwards involved himself at Madras.

Before closing the separate history of Bengal for this year, it may not be amiss to mention two events which were omitted in their proper places. One was the introduction of vaccination into the Seik countries, by means of the expedition against Runjeit Sing, and the opportunities subsequently afforded by pacific arrangements with that chieftain. The other was the appearance of Aetocke, Princess of New Zealand, at Calcutta, and her presentation to the governor-general by commodore Hayes; on which occasion the Princess shewed much intelligence, and indeed ----



degree of dignity, as well as considerable progress in the acquisition of the English language. From such minute beginnings, frequently the most important consequences have been found to arise.

The reader will now direct his attention to Bombay, passing over, for the present, the transactions of the intermediate presidency of Madras, which, from their importance and interest, demand, and will receive, a separate consideration.

The pirates, in the Persian Gulph, had for some time attracted the attention of the government on that side of India, by their molestation and obstruction of the country trade; and their numbers and boldness, had increased of late to such a degree, that it became necessary to fit out a force, to pursue them into their haunts, and to disable them from further mischief. The enterprise was in a manner forced upon the local government by the particular outrage practised on the crew of a British ship, the *Minerva*, captain Hopwood, recently captured. The male prisoners, with a barbarity rarely equalled, were all compelled to embrace the Mahomedan faith, and were obliged to submit themselves to the most minute initiatory ceremonies, attendant on the induction of members within the pale of the Mahomedan church. Three ladies were treated with a brutality that cannot be described with decency or temper.

The expedition, destined to the Gulph was not long employed in inflicting due chastisement upon the authors of these outrages. The first place visited by the expedition was the fort of Mallia, in the province of Kuttywar, situated in the dependencies of the Guicowar, a prince in alliance with the British government, but unable to retain in order or subjection these desperate marauders, who had, for a long series of years, defended themselves in this haunt against the utmost efforts of the native power. The expedition, commanded by lieut.-col. Walker, arrived in front of the place in the first week in August, and immediately prepared to take it by storm. The storm-

ing party consisted of about six hundred men, taken from different regiments, followed by the remainder as a reserve, the whole led by a forlorn hope, consisting of twenty-five Europeans, under captain John McKenzie, of the Bombay European regiment, and lieutenant Newman of H. M. 50th regt. who gallantly volunteered their services.

On the morning of the 7th of August this force arrived, after a long and fatiguing march, in front of the fort, which was immediately summoned to surrender; but the garrison, relying on the strength of the place, rejected the summons in terms of vaunting defiance. The fortifications were, indeed, very strong, and the enemy, encouraged by former successes, and desperately bent on the most determined resistance, had secured the wall against the expected attack of the British troops by a strong embankment of earth and brushwood. All expectation of obtaining peaceable possession being precluded, the guns opened their fire on the place in the morning of the 8th, at day light, and by three o'clock the same day the breach was reported practicable. A little before four the storming party advanced to the assault, and rushed into the breach, which captain McKenzie was the first to enter. They were gallantly seconded, and in less than three quarters of an hour after mounting the breach the whole of the town was in their possession. The most difficult part of the enterprize, however, remained to be still effected, for the enemy had retired into the inner fort, which was inaccessible to assault, and there they appeared determined to defend themselves to the last extremity. The guns were brought up, and the fire again opened; but the evening being too far advanced to make any impression, the troops contented themselves with keeping possession of the works of the town during the night, and holding themselves in readiness to renew their bold enterprizes on the return of day. It was then, however, found that the enemy had retired by a sally port,



under cover of the darkness, leaving a few men in the fort to keep up an occasional fire so as to prevent a premature discovery of the evacuation. On the morning of the 9th, at an early hour, the British troops marched in, and took possession of the place. This achievement, accomplished by the first impression of British bravery in the attack of the town, was justly regarded as of beneficial importance, not only in the dislodgment of the banditti, and the occupation of their land, but by the terror of the invincible prowess of the British arms, which the fugitives would spread far and wide amidst the yet violent and untamed tribes of Guzerat. The loss sustained by the captors was numerically small; but it is painful to include in it captain M'Kenzie, the brave leader of the storming party, and captain Wilkinson, who, having passed unhurt through all the dangers of the assault, dropped down overpowered by exertion and fatigue under the oppression of a sultry day.

In order to pursue these depredators into their most remote fortresses, and to destroy their fleet and stores, another expedition was dispatched at a later period of the year into the Gulph. The naval force employed on this occasion was commanded by captain Wainwright of the *Chiffoné* frigate, and consisted of that ship, and the *Caroline*, captain Gordon, *Vestal*, and *Strombolo* bomb, with some cruisers and transports. The land forces under lieutenant-colonel Smith, were his majesty's 65th regiment, and a detachment of the 84th attached to it, and a party of the company's artillery. A battalion of marines was added on the landing. On the 15th September the *Strombolo* foundered, and two officers and fourteen men unfortunately went down in her. The *Caroline*, which had been dispatched to collect the boats that were to be furnished by the Imaun of Maskat, as well as other means of assistance, not having returned at the expected time to the appointed rendezvous, off the Bombareck rock, it became necessary for the *Caroline* to proceed with the whole

of the expedition to Maskat where the *Caroline* and transports anchored on the 23d of October, and were joined by the cruisers which had been sent off to complete their water at convenient stations. The *Caroline* joined two days after. But the *Vestal* had been sent to the Euphrates to give convoy to some valuable vessels thence to Maskat. This was a serious diminution of the strength of the expedition, inasmuch as the *Vestal* had on board her twenty-two artillery men, being the whole, with the exception of eight of the remaining force of that description, attached to the expedition.

On a conference with the Imaun of Maskat, he declined giving any assistance but boats and pilots, under an impression that the force sent on the expedition was inadequate to the object, and particularly to the landing for the destruction of the piratical navy, which could not, in his opinion, be effected by less than 10,000 men; the Bedouin Arabs, to the number of 20,000, being at hand to assist the pirates.

Neither this representation, nor the caution of the Imaun in withholding active aid, could alter the determination of the commanders to proceed to the execution of the objects given in charge to them. On the 11th November, the expedition arrived without any accident off Rus-ul-Kima, the port and arsenal of the pirates. The British ship *Minerva*, mentioned as having been taken by the pirates, was at an anchor in the harbour, manned and armed, to take an active part in the defence of the place. When the expedition had come to anchor, the *Minerva* was run on the beach, where she was converted into a fixed battery, flanked by a nine-pounder, and supported by the people from the town, armed with matchlocks. After receiving two or three broadsides, however, the unfortunate vessel was deserted by the Arabs, and set on fire before the boats sent to take possession of her got near. She was completely burnt in a few hours. Some little loss was sustained during this service, by the vessel employed to go in and fire on the Mi-



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nerve (the Prince of Wales.) The next day, the 12th, was employed in making preparations for the landing. On the 13th, at day-break the attack was commenced, by the marine battalion, at one end of the town, to attract the fire of the enemy; while colonel Smith, with the Europeans, landed at the other end. The troops effected their landing under a smart fire from the trenches along the shore; but as soon as they got footing, the pirates retired into the town, and took their stations in concealed places, and on the tops of houses, whence they kept up a galling fire, but without doing much execution. The assault was, however, conducted with such vigour, that by noon the enemy were driven quite out of the town, and the union flag flying over it. All their guns were spiked, their magazines blown up, and their flotilla, consisting of about seventy vessels, large and small, on fire. The place contained considerable stores of coffee and dates: but the object of the expedition being accomplished in the destruction of the fleet, fortifications, guns, and ammunition, colonel Smith considered it a duty to disregard all matters of prize and emolument, and to re-embark the men before night, so as to secure them from any accident that might arise from straggling in search of plunder, amidst an enraged population, and along a shore covered with burning ships. The re-embarkation was effected without loss, and the only casualty sustained in the whole service was the single death of captain Dance, of the 65th regiment. The enemy had from 150 to 200 killed, in the occupation of burying whom they were seen the next morning, with every sign of distraction and desolation, amidst the burning vessels, and the annihilation of all their means of further plunder. Notwithstanding the haste of the re-embarkation, and the precautions against straggling used by colonel Smith, several soldiers contrived to pick up some valuables; and one private of the 65th regiment was said to have found 1400 gold mohurs. Several charts, guns, and small arms were found, having in them the name of the unfortunate

captain Hopwood of the Minerva.

Mrs. Taylor, one of the ladies taken in that ship, had sailed for Boshire the day before the expedition appeared in sight.

After this signal success the expedition proceeded to extirpate the pirates from their minor settlements, and with such success that they have not since been able to renew their depredations. Their chief very narrowly escaped from Run-ul-Khima by flying on horseback when the place was first possessed.

The other expedition, which comes under the Bombay head of this register, was directed against a more respectable enemy, and was designed partly to capture some of the enemys ships, and destroy his naval stores and arsenals, and partly as an experiment, with a view to ascertain the practicability, and facilitate the objects of landing a sufficient force at a future period on the Isles of France and Bourbon, so as to reduce those settlements under the British government, as has since been happily effected. The town batteries, forts, and shipping, of St. Paul's, in the Isle of Bourbon, were the immediate objects of the attack. For this purpose the troops, consisting of 368 officers and men, were embarked on the 16th September, from Fort Duncan, in the little island of Rodriguez, some time previously occupied, on board his majesty's ships Nereide and Otter, and company's cruizer Wasp. This force formed a junction on the 18th, off Port Louis, in the Isle of France, with his majesty's ships the Reasonable, commodore Rowley, and Sirius, captain Pym. On the morning of the 19th, the troops, with the seamen destined for the attack, amounting to 604, were sent on board the Nereide, and towards the evening the squadron stood for the Isle of Bourbon. On the morning of the 20th, the squadron being off the east-end of that island, the plan of attack, with accompanying instructions, was communicated to the officers entrusted with the charge of the expedition, by the commander of the forces. At five o'clock, A. M. a little to the



southward, of Point Galois, seven miles from St. Paul's, by a rapid march : a causeway that crosses the lake between the point and the town, and affords the best means of defence, was seized before the approach or landing was discovered. Having gained the strongest defence the assailants made themselves easy masters of the first and second batteries, Lamboucheu and La Centier, which were in our possession by seven o'clock. Captain Wilmoughby, of the royal navy, who took possession of them with a detachment of about 100 seamen, employed to aid the troops on shore, immediately turned the guns upon the enemy's shipping, from which the troops had been much annoyed in their advance, by a well-directed fire, principally of grape-shot. A third battery, called La-Neuf, was next to be attacked, and this service was undertaken by the second column under captain Imlack, consisting of 142 men of the second battalion, 2d regiment of Bombay Native infantry, and twelve Europeans. In his march from La Centier to this attack, captain Imlack fell in with the whole of the enemy's force, strongly posted behind stone walls, with eight six pounders upon their flanks. Captain Imlack did not hesitate a moment to charge the enemy in this strong position ; the charge was executed in the most gallant manner, but still the enemy maintained their position. Captain Hanna, of the 56th regiment, was ordered with the third column to support captain Imlack. Captain Hanna again charged the enemy and took two of his guns. The action, however, became warm and general, but the event was never doubtful. The enemy, however, drew all the aid they could from their other posts and from their ships, withdrawing above 100 troops of the line from La Caroline. It was now judged proper to spike the guns of the two first batteries, Lamboucheu and La Centier, and to cause the third, La Neuf, to be occupied by the seamen. By this measure a considerable additional force was rendered disposable in action ; and, on its being brought up, the enemy after

a gallant resistance, were compelled to give way, leaving the rest of their guns in possession of captain Forbes and the reserve. The fourth and fifth batteries, La Pierre and La Caerre, were then carried and their fire turned on the enemy's shipping. By half-past eight o'clock, the town, with all the batteries, magazines, eight brass field pieces, one hundred and seventeen men, and heavy iron guns of different calibres, and all the public stores, were in our possession. As soon as the ships of the squadron observed that the firing had ceased, and that the British forces were triumphant, they stood in, led by the Sirius, captain Pym, and opened their fire upon the enemy's ships, which they could not venture to attack before, lest their shot should annoy the British troops who were within range. The vigour of their attack now soon overpowered resistance, and the enemy's frigate La Caroline struck. The company's ships Europa and Streatham, previously captured by the enemy, were also taken on this occasion. The defences being destroyed, and the town being completely commanded by the ships, it was judged right to re-embark the troops, which was accordingly carried into execution by eight o'clock in the evening. But on the following day, the enemy having appeared in force upon the hills, while a heavy column was observed advancing from St. Denys, under the command of Des Bruly, the governor, it was thought right immediately to land a sufficient force to destroy all public property. The marines and some seamen were accordingly sent on shore, and performed this service without delay. The next morning the troops were again put into the boats to land, and receive the enemy's attack, but it was found that they had retired in the night. Mr. St. Michel, the commander of the place, entered into an arrangement to deliver up all remaining public property, which was quietly embarked on board the Streatham and Europa, which ships were replaced under their former commanders, till then kept prisoners in the island. The interval from the 25th to the 28th



September, was employed in shipping these stores, and completing the work of military destruction.

The convention agreed upon for the purpose was strictly observed by Mr. St. Michel, with whom the business entirely rested, in consequence of the death of his superior, General Dea Brulys, by a pistol-shot from his own hand. The reason assigned for this rash act was an unwillingness to be responsible for measures which he was not allowed to direct, and which he could not controul. He recommended his wife and children to the humanity of his survivors.

The expedition having thus ably and successfully accomplished its objects, the squadron returned with the forces, and the captured and recaptured ships, to Rodriguez. The governor of Bombay in council paid a just tribute of public thanks to the conduct and gallantry of the commander, and of the subordinate officers, troops, and seamen employed.

These military achievements have been, in every instance, successful; and, as already observed, bear every characteristic of skill in the commanders, and valour in the men. Still they are minute and detached; and do not present an object that can be associated with our general ideas of the dignity of war. They seem but affairs of posts and of police, while the expense attending them was equal, if not superior, to that of a general campaign. These minor objects, however, were necessary for the purposes of security and tranquillity, to obviate the necessity of exertions on a greater scale in some cases, and to prepare the way for them in others, as in the case of the Isle of Bourbon.

During the periods occupied by the events which we have narrated, the company's immediate trade suffered most materially by the loss of several ships. The Streatham, Europe, Charlton, and United Kingdom, were captured by the enemy's cruisers. The Asia struck on a bank in the Hoogly, and foundered. The Ardaseer, one of the largest ships built at Bombay, was burnt in that harbour, and several smaller

vessels were lost in tempests, or taken by the pirates of the Persian Gulph and of Mallia.

Without entering into the details of these losses, which will be found in their proper places in the catalogue of occurrences, it may be proper to notice summarily the most striking particulars.

The Europe and Streatham were returning to England with the Monarch, Earl Spencer, and Lord Keith, when, on the 25th of May, they parted company with their convoy, his Majesty's ship Victor, captain Stopford. Soon after, captain Hawes, of the Monarch, made the signal that his ship had a leak, which was found so dangerous, that, on a consultation of all the captains, he was ordered to bear away for Prince of Wales's island, and, as it was judged unsafe to allow him to proceed alone, the Earl Spencer was thereupon ordered to accompany the Monarch, and thus there remained only the Europe, Streatham, and Lord Keith in company on the 31st May, when they fell in with the French frigate La Caroline, commanded by Monsieur Ferretier, lieutenant de Vaisseau, in Latitude  $9. 15. N$  Longitude  $90. 30. E$ . The company's ships, though their crews were made up chiefly of foreign Europeans and lascars, defended themselves with great gallantry, till they were so much cut in their rigging, that the frigate was enabled to pour in her fire on them in such positions as she thought proper, when the Chinese and foreign Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, could no longer be kept to the guns, by any exertion of the officers. Two of the ships were in consequence compelled to strike, but they were in so shattered a condition, that the frigate was under the necessity of staying by them, and thus the Lord Keith was furnished with an opportunity of making an effort to escape, of which she availed herself, and got clear off — The Venus however went in chase of her. The passengers and crews of the Charlton and United Kingdom were put on board a cartel and ordered to make for Perang—but being unable to



make that port, she directed her course to Vizagapatam.

The Asia, captain Tremenhere, was lost abreast of Mud Point, in Diamond harbour, on the 1st of June, by striking on a shifting sand. Every exertion was made to get her off, but to no purpose, and on the 2d, at half past two, A. M. when it was found that the ship was full and going to pieces, the people were taken out, and she was left to her fate. Very little of the cargo was saved. No blame attached to the captain or crew, who were immediately appointed to a company's frigate, built at Penang.

The Charlton and United Kingdom were taken on the 18th November, in latitude 5 N. longitude, 92 E. proceeding to Bengal, by the French frigates, La Venus, captain Hameln, of 46 guns and 380 men, and La Manche, captain Donaldeguy, of the same force, and a corvette of 16

guns. The action was begun at 10, A. M. by one of the frigates, which sheered off in consequence of the warm reception she met. The Windham bore the brunt of this business, but when the action was renewed, she kept aloof, in a manner that is pointedly animadverted upon by the commanders of the captured ships. The same frigate renewed the action with the Charlton and United Kingdom, but was again beaten off. At night, both frigates attacked the Charlton and United Kingdom again, (the Windham making off under a press of sail,) when those two ships, being totally disabled, were compelled to surrender.

These successive events are all that were proposed to be noticed in the present chapter, so that we are at liberty to pursue the separate transactions of another portion of the British possessions, which would seem to require a peculiar and distinct attention.



## CHAPTER II.

Account of the progress of Sir G. H. Barlow in the East India company's service—appointed chief secretary to the supreme government—nominated by the marquis of Wellesley a member of council—created a baronet—succeeds, on the death of the marquis Cornwallis, as governor-general of India—struggle of the court of directors, with the administration of Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, to retain him in that office—he nomination of lord Lauderdale opposed—and lord Munro ultimately appointed, on a compromise on behalf of Sir G. H. Barlow, who is named to the government of Fort St. George—receives the order of knighthood of the Bath—proceeds to Madras, and supersedes Mr. Petrie—Sir G. H. Barlow proposes the abolition of the tent contract—short account of that contract—colonel Capper, the adjutant-general, ordered to notify the abolition to the army—his representation thereon—hesitation of the governor to carry it into effect—colonel Capper suggests a meliorated plan, which is not received—contract ordered to be abolished—supposed mismanagement in the grain department detected—Mr. Sherson, the gentleman in charge, suspended from his office without any previous inquiry—the accounts of the grain department afterwards submitted to the civil auditor, who reports in favour of Mr. Sherson—the report of the auditor sent back for revision—returned to the government unaltered—regarded as a species of contumacy—Mr. C. Smith, the auditor, removed in consequence from his office, and appointed a judge in one of the northern provinces—resigns the office, and proceeds to England—Mr. Sherson suspended the service—Sir G. H. Barlow becomes generally unpopular—right of suspension incidentally affirmed—Governor interferes in criminal prosecutions growing out of the inquiry into the nabob of Arcot's debts—information preferred against Reddy Row to Mr. Maitland, justice of the peace, for forgery—he is in consequence apprehended—bill of indictment found by the grand jury—he is tried and convicted—Barley, a witness on the behalf of Reddy Row, tried and convicted of perjury—a subsequent bill found against both parties for conspiracy, on which they are also found guilty—the defendants supported in both criminal proceedings, on the application of the commissioners for investigating the nabob's debts, by the company's advocate-general and solicitor—Mr. Roebuck, one of the prosecutors on these trials, removed from his office of mint-master and pay-master-general—Mr. Maitland's name struck out from the list of justices—Messrs. Grant and Strachey, of the grand jury, and Messrs. Oliver and Keene, of the petty jury, with Mr. Wood, summarily removed from their offices—Mr. Justice Sullivan's opinion on these proceedings—he quarter-master-general's report, in respect to the abolition of the tent contract, discovered and viewed in an adverse light by commanding officers of corps—charges preferred against the framers of it—the quarter-master-general is placed under arrest by general M'Dowall—released by the government—arguments referable to the charge—the commander-in-chief's protest against the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro—publishes a farewell address to the army—also a reprimand on the quarter-master-general—the commander-in-chief and major Boles



the deputy adjutant-gen. suspended in consequence of such order—general M'Dowall's departure from Madras—adjutant-general also suspended for the like cause—brief examination of Sir G. H. Barlow's general policy—hostilities threatened from Travancore.

THE affairs of the presidency of Fort St. George, during the interval embraced by the preceding chapter, were more interesting and more critical than the concerns of the sister presidencies. As these cannot be considered without the recurrence, almost in every page, of the name of Sir George Barlow, a prominent and busy actor, it may not be unseasonable to take a short view of the circumstances, conducive to and attendant on his appointment to the government of Madras.

This gentleman, like all the civil servants of the company, proceeded to Calcutta at a very early age; and having diligently discharged the minor offices of the service, was nominated, in due course, to the important charge of the chief secretariship of the supreme government, in which he appears to have acquitted himself most satisfactorily, during the long and important administration of the marquis Wellesley. He was afterwards taken by this nobleman, without personal suit or application, from the secretary's desk, and placed on the same seat with himself at the council table. This unsought preferment seems of itself to infer some eminent qualities in the object of it. The local knowledge of Sir George Barlow, or, more properly speaking, his intimate acquaintance with the peculiar interests of the East India company, within the province of his original destination, has never been denied, and in the application of his peculiar information to the cares of his new office, the views of his noble patron appear to have been fully and substantially answered. Sir George Barlow, as an official member of the supreme government, was the active, steady, and uniform supporter of the general policy, which it would be foreign from the present purpose to treat, of the governor-general of India.

Through the further exertions of the favour of the marquis Wellesley,

the new member of council was afterwards distinguished by a more permanent badge of honour, than is in the power of the East India company to bestow—the hereditary title of baronet.

On the reappointment of the marquis Cornwallis to the supreme government, Sir George Barlow felt himself as much disposed to adopt the distinct policy of that prudent and venerable statesman, as of his more ardent and speculative predecessor, and had the rare and almost singular good fortune of uniting, with the favour of the government abroad, the protection of the constituted authorities at home; so that on the death of the marquis Cornwallis, an event ever to be regretted, Sir George Barlow was placed in an easy and expected transition, by the effect of a special commission, in the chair of the supreme presidency. But he was soon removed, by the fickleness of fortune, or the policy of party, from his enviable seat. He possessed it, however, long enough for the declaration of a system of economy and reform, on which he proposed, or professed a disposition, to regulate the general concerns of the company; a declaration which he knew, from experience, would find favour, as it had uniformly done, with the executive body in England. Either from this early promise of the government of Sir George Barlow, or from the value of his precedent services, he acquired such a reputation in Leadenhall-street, as to raise an influence in his behalf, counteractive for awhile, of the fresh and full power of a new ministry, whom it must have been the interest of the court of directors to conciliate on their accession to the government of the country.

The office of governor-general of India has always been considered as one of the most lucrative offices holden by a British subject, and it has of late been generally granted, if not of right, at



least in courtesy or common policy, at the nomination of the ministers of the crown.

On the demise of Mr. Pitt, and the dispersion of the constituent members of his administration, the persons who succeeded, and who had been excluded for a long season from power, were not unmindful of the advantage and influence to be derived from the appointment. In the arrangement of places, among many claimants, the office of governor-general, though it was not formally vacant, was regarded as an available means of reward for one of their most strenuous and indefatigable supporters. Indeed, from the very nature of the office, and its relation to our general foreign policy, it may reasonably be viewed as inseparable from the common concern and guardianship of the national administration; and hence, the possession of it has commonly fluctuated with the men who are destined to conduct the public affairs.

The Earl of Lauderdale was recommended by Mr. Fox and lord Grenville to succeed to the chair at Calcutta; but the court of directors could not be prevailed upon, after a vigorous and protracted negotiation, to acquiesce in the nomination, nor were they ultimately inclined to accept a second nominee, but on mixed stipulations, protective of the rights of the party in actual possession of the government. It was at length adjusted that lord Minto should proceed to India with the title of governor-general, and that Sir George Barlow should be sent to the subordinate government of Madras; and in order to render the retrograde step less ungrateful to the feelings of the temporary governor-general, he received the additional dignity of the knighthood of the Bath, from the hands of his successor in office.

The separate policy of parties might have been promoted, but it may be doubted whether the interests of the company were advanced, by the issue of this negotiation.

The attention and talents of Sir G. Barlow, had hitherto been directed to local objects, from which they were now to be diverted to a strange sphere,

and new pursuits, and these to be cultivated, through the instrumentality of men to whom he was an utter stranger; of whose habits he could have no information; of whose characters and pretensions, he could have no personal knowledge, and whose official rules and customs he had yet to learn. A single and distinct employment, early embraced and invariably pursued, cut off from society at large, and the knowledge of external manners, however it may qualify the officer for the discharge of a particular duty, almost necessarily contracts his views, and renders him as unfitted for general business, in the degree that it recommends him in his peculiar avocation. Confined to the boundaries of Bengal, their proper sphere, the talents of Sir G. Barlow might have been useful to himself, and profitable to his employers; but is there no hazard if transplanted from their natural soil, that they may droop in a foreign land? At all events, the company's executive were determined on this experiment, and it remains to be shown from the test of experience, whether it has been successful or otherwise. The trial itself could not be made, without first clearing the ground which was already occupied, and at the peril of displaying product of long and mature growth.

On the recal of lord William Bentinck from Fort St. George, Mr. Petrie, the first member of the council, succeeded, by a similar precautionary appointment, with that possessed by Sir G. Barlow, to the temporary charge of the Madras government. This gentleman had served the East India company for nearly forty years, and having toiled through all the gradations of the service, had arrived at last, if not at the head, at the second office in the government. Nay, he had more than once been selected as the provisional governor of a settlement, in which he had spent almost a life; and in the customs and interests of which he must consequently be presumed to have had a most thorough and complete information. This gentleman, of so much experience, so acknowledged, and so distinguished, is to be displaced,



to make room for the display of more conspicuous talent, drawn from a remote quarter, and applied in an unattractive sphere. Mr Petrie is removed, and Sir G. Barlow is inducted, with the apparent ease of routine succession, into his vacant seat.

It would be impossible to fancy circumstances more striking and more impressive of the extraordinary sense entertained of a public officer, than the circumstances attendant on the appointment of Sir G. Barlow to the government of Madras. But in the proportion that they excite an interest, they awaken a lively curiosity to the acts of the individual, to observe whether they are worthy of the reputation attached to him, or justify, by their character, the unusual patronage exerted on his behalf.

Placed in this commanding point of view, with anticipations so raised as to the events of his administration, and with an unavoidable, if not a natural jealousy of his proceedings, the new governor, so watched and so contemplated, must be expected to step with caution and circumspection. A liberal mind must wish well to his arduous undertaking, and that he may sustain his established fame; while the candid observer will view with leniency any errors, into which he may casually fall, if the tenor of his conduct be straight and pure.

Sir G. Barlow arrived at Madras about December, 1807, or early in 1808, and was scarcely introduced into office, before he was called upon to give efficacy to a measure of reform in the military system, which had been planned by the late commander-in-chief of the coast army, and adopted by his immediate predecessors, Lord William Bentinck and Mr Petrie. To the merits, as well of the plan itself, as to the necessity of the introduction of it, the supreme government it seems had given their concurrent testimony and sanction. Still, however, a certain nicety was demanded in the manner of carrying the proposed reform into execution, from superior measures, that had been adopted and effected, of the same ten-

dency; which had scarcely left untouched any one source of advantage that the army had been accustomed to enjoy. Within a very short distance from the date now alluded to, the Bazar allowances had been abolished; and the commands, before exclusively exercised by the company's military servants, had been indiscriminately thrown open, and, if report may be credited, more than equally shared, by the officers of a separate service. On the reforms themselves, it is not necessary to express an opinion; but as they deprived an extensive community of their known and admitted emoluments, they might be supposed, as the event shewed, to have engendered some acerbity of feeling, which had not time to subside, ere another more general and more wide regulation was proposed, which seemed to infringe on the only remaining object of profit, left to the company's officers; and it was required of Sir G. Barlow, in the very opening of his government, to execute the obnoxious and unpopular act of abolishing the tent contract. As this was not effected without much apparent emotion throughout the company's army, and, as it is said to have had some influence on other events that will be separately considered hereafter, it may neither be superfluous, nor out of place, to take a hasty view of the contract itself, and the immediate consequences attendant on its abolition.

During several wars with the Native powers of India, and more especially during the last campaign of the marquis Cornwallis with Tippoo Sultan, the company had suffered a very considerable loss, by the frequent occurrence of the capture of public cattle and camp equipage. The amount on the whole was so large, as to make a strong impression on the mind of Lord Cornwallis at the time, and afterwards on general Stuart, the commander-in-chief of the Madras army, an old and experienced soldier in Indian warfare. On considering the nature and extent of the injury, and in reflecting on a possible or practicable remedy, the gallant general conceived that he had



described a mode of furnishing and conveying the necessary field equipment, at less expense, and less risk to the public service, than the course then in use. The general supposed, that if he could give certain individuals a particular interest in the equipage, and the cattle necessary to convey it, such circumstance would operate more powerfully than the influence of mere duty, to the preservation of those objects. This supposition, confirmed by further reflection and inquiry, eventually led to the formation of the tent contract, by which the government exonerated themselves of the charge of

providing and carrying the tents of the Madras army, in war as well as peace, and imposed that burthen on the commanding officers of corps, allowing them a stipulated consideration for the particular service. The advantage suggested in this novel regulation, was the saving of a certain expense, the security of a ready supply of tents and cattle, for all emergencies, and a more easy and safe conveyance of the articles of equipment for the field; a circumstance of great importance in the ordinary operations of an army.\*

By making the interests of individuals subservient to their respective

\* The tent-contract, as has been shewn, was planned and carried into effect by general Stuart some time, it is believed, about the year 1802; on a conviction of the superiority of the plan, to which it gave effect, over the pre-existing course of provision and conveyance of the tents and public stores. The errors of the former system had been experienced in the wars carried on under the command of the marquis Cornwallis and general Harris; and, indeed, of every other preceding commander-in-chief. The two generals had an opportunity of witnessing, not only the inefficiency of the old system, but the advantage to be derived from the operative principle of the new; though they were not fortunate enough to carry that principle into general use. General Stuart afterwards improved on the measure of his predecessors, and rendered their partial suggestion a general and permanent improvement.

In the first war against Tippoo Sultaun, in 1790, when the tents were provided, and conveyed, with the stores and equipments, at the public expense of the company, the marquis Cornwallis experienced such great distress, by the loss of cattle, by capture, and otherwise, that he would have been utterly unable to prosecute his march to Seringapatam; unless he had been assisted by the means of individuals. In this conjuncture, his lordship called not only on the commanding officers of corps, but on the general body of the Native officers, and even on the private sepoys, to aid him in the carriage of the public stores and ammunition, at their own incumbrance and expense, with which call they readily and cheerfully complied; or the evils of war would have been protracted for another campaign, and the war might possibly have terminated less gloriously than it did.

In the second war with Seringapatam, in 1799, general Harris, then commander-in-chief, had to encounter the like difficulties, (and before he had marched 150 miles,) that had been experienced by his noble predecessor; and took the same means of relieving himself from them.

These had again and again been felt, in countless instances, by general Stuart, who at length perceiving the beneficial operation of the principle of exciting a zeal and interest in individuals in the conveyance of public appointments and stores, suggested the plan of the tent contract, which stimulated the exertions of all the commanding officers of Native corps, not only to expedite, but to watch over the security of the cattle and stores, by giving them a direct advantage in the preservation of them. To that end he contracted with the commanding officers of corps, for providing tents, and cattle for the carriage of them, and the public stores, for the use of their respective battalions; and with other officers of the same corps, for the provision and carriage of their own tents; at a fixed monthly sum; whether it should be war or peace. The monthly sum, the consideration given to commanding officers and others, on bearing the burthen in question, was calculated on the principle of saving in time of peace, which would be sufficient, it was supposed, to indemnify them for the losses incident to war.

The advantage of the tent contract was proved by the test of a severe experiment in the long and desultory warfare of Sir Arthur Wellesley (now lord Wellington) in the Mahratta campaigns from April, 1802, to 1804. In a letter from Jafferabad, in the latter year, speaking of the loss of individuals in camp equipage and field equipments, from the rapidity and continuity of his operations, and of their zeal on all occasions in forwarding the public service, he recommends that six months batta should be given to them, over and above the contract; so that it was plain, that the general did not conceive the terms of the contract to exceed the expenses incident to it.



duties, in forwarding with safety these articles of necessity, it was rationally expected that the service would be expedited, or, if retarded, that it would be immediately discovered to what particular persons the delay was imputable, so that censure, or punishment, might be properly applied to the prevention of any future obstruction or loss. The principle of the compact, as it regarded the commandants of corps, was to induce a constant interest to the objects embraced by the agreement, and a consequent anxiety for the preservation of them. To this end a competent monthly sum was allotted to the commanding officer of every corps, sufficient to enable him to keep up, at all seasons, a full establishment for the conveyance of the tent and stores of his battalion for field service; calculated not on the peculiar risks and exigencies of war or peace, but on an estimate applicable to both contingencies. The advantage, of course, to individuals, was considered as derivable from the time of peace, when the deterioration of the articles of equipments would be less, and the accidents connected with the use of them few. This may be taken as a fair description of the contract, which Sir G. Barlow was called upon to annul: and which, from the time of its introduction to the moment here spoken of, had been found to answer every expectation of the framers of it, according to the testimony of the most approved generals.

The season chosen for putting a period to the contract, is also worthy of some remark. It was a time of profound peace, not likely to be interrupted by any serious warfare. It might be contemplated as a period of rest, after a continued and uninterrupted struggle, with nearly every neighbouring state, capable of hostility or resistance to the British power; in which the superiority of its strength had been so manifested, as to depress the hope, and deaden the effort, of future opposition. The successes attendant on the struggle, had enlarged the territorial possessions of the East India company to such an extent, as

to leave nothing to be coveted beyond its circle. Neither the thirst of conquest on the one side, nor a spirit of aggression on the other, threatened to disturb the prevailing tranquillity. But this halcyon season had not been produced without proportionate evils, which were, in despite of many splendid and solid advantages, so severely and grievously felt at this crisis, in the company's finances, that it had become absolutely necessary to devise immediate measures of reform and economy in the different departments of the government. In this originated the meditated abolition of the tent contract.

Though the necessity of economy had been ever so urgent, yet the introduction of it, without discrimination, in every branch of the service, could neither be requisite nor defensible. Justice and expediency were to be consulted here, as in all other arrangements of civil polity. Inasmuch, as respected the tent contract, it was to be considered that it was an equitable engagement, not of one but of two parties, looking to the period of peace as well as war: that the burthen of the contract had been already experienced, during the continuance of the latter season; in which extraordinary accident and expense had been incurred by individuals, which would otherwise have fallen on the coffers of the state; that not a year had passed of the existing term of the contract, but that a large proportion of the Madras army had been employed in the field: and that now, when it might be expected that the relations of peace would be maintained with all the surrounding powers, for many succeeding years, a prospect opened itself to the other party to the contract, the commanding officers of corps, for reimbursing themselves from the forerunning charges, peculiar to the state of hostility. Under these circumstances, justice would seem to say, that they who had borne the loss connected with the compact, should now reap the benefits which it originally stipulated; that these, at any rate, should not be taken away without explanation or compro-



promise; nor, perhaps, without the absolute consent of both contracting parties. Now it was proposed to annul this engagement without any communion with the officers commanding corps.

Expediency might also have suggested a doubt of the propriety of abolishing a regulation, which had been for several years adopted, and against which no public complaint had been stated; or, at least, it should have induced a caution against the reception of any substitute for a mode of service without a most minute inquiry into the alleged defects of the subsisting plan, and a conviction of the superiority of the new arrangement, by the recommendation of competent and experienced men.

The abolition of the tent contract was determined upon, without any inquiry or recommendation of this sort. The measure itself, vitally affecting the army, was not submitted, as it appears, in violation of the custom of the service, and the instructions of the court of directors, to the military board; but finally and peremptorily adopted without any reference to this natural and prescribed organ, on the mere suggestion of Sir John Cradock, the commander-in-chief for the time being; confirmed, indeed, by the report of the quarter-master-general of the army.

Of the military acquirements of these officers, it would be presumptuous to risk an opinion; and it would be illiberal to pronounce on their general professional character from this particular act. But it would have been fit that the Indian government should have paused, ere it trusted to the suggestion of men, one of whom had never accidentally seen a tented field in India, and the other, a captain in the company's army, who had not, at any time, witnessed the evolutions of warfare, beyond a single and confined operation against a petty Polygar.—The speculative council of such men, though their talents had stood confessed and unrivalled in other respects, could not warrant, it should seem, a broad departure from esta-

blished usage, at the expense of the apparent demands of justice, and the obvious dictates of policy.

No other apology has been offered by the Madras government for its share in the transaction, than a naked assertion that it was governed by the necessity of the times. Nor has any excuse been framed for the innovation on the existing regulation, than the unsupported statement, or rather inauination, that the principle of the tent contract placed men's interest and duty in a point of variance with each other. But what service, it may be asked, could be performed to the government by its servants, which this principle would not equally affect? Would not the new contractors for tents, or the supply of public cattle, be liable, in the degree of their several interests in the articles furnished by them, to a like influence? As these were intended to be put, by the operation of the new arrangements, at the especial and sole disposal of the quarter-master-general, an additional jealousy might have been excited against his proposition from that circumstance. It was nevertheless received, and instructions given, by Sir G. Barkow, to colonel Capper, the adjutant-general of the forces, to signify the same by an order to the army. Colonel Capper, who had arrived at the important rank and office which he held, by the routine of the company's service, and who must on that account have been understood to be conversant with the customs and feelings of the army, ventured to arraign the impolicy of the measure, and to advert to the evil consequences that might result from the adoption of it in its present shape. He dwelt as well from considerations of public duty, as private sentiment towards his brother officers, on the obligations of justice towards the commandants of corps, who having performed their part of the contract, to the benefit of the company, might equitably expect the fulfilment of the resulting advantages. He combated, also, the insinuation, that the interest of the commanding officers of corps had stood in the way of their duty, and asserted



that the experience of the effects of the contract, for a series of years, repelled the influence of such a supposition. Nor did he fail to enforce, by natural and plain arguments, the danger of altering a practice of tried advantage, for a mere theoretical speculation. To this the governor, perhaps, too hastily replied, that he had found the measure resolved upon before his arrival, and that he considered himself imperiously required to carry it into execution, and that little if any discretion was left to him; but if he were allowed to pause, his conduct must be determined by the urgency of the company's affairs; adding, however, that as rigid economy was the grand and leading reason of the intended measure, so that if such object could be promoted to a like extent, by any means short of the abolition, he would not be indisposed to listen to a proposal with that aspect, if it were seasonably made. Colonel Capper, seizing with avidity the apparent favourable opportunity, thanked the governor for the assurance he had been just pleased to afford him, and pledged himself, that, within a few days, (which pledge he eventually redeemed,) that he would lay before him a meliorated plan for the supply and carriage of camp equipage and stores, to which no public or individual objection could reasonably be stated, and which, in respect of economy or saving to the company, should be more availing than the measure in contemplation, by the yearly amount of 150,000 star pagodas, or sixty thousands pounds sterling.

Within three or four days after the interview just mentioned, the suggested arrangement of colonel Capper was forwarded to Sir G. Barlow, who now, either repenting his deviation from his first intentions, or considering the plan of the adjutant-general as inefficient, or inferior to that which it sought to supersede, gave direct and positive orders to the last-mentioned officer, without reference or explanation, for the immediate abolition of the tent contract.

If the new measure, which was

substituted for the late contract, had originated with Sir George Barlow, this haste in the introduction of it, might, perhaps, have been censurable; but it has been shewn that it owed its origin to other most respectable persons, and that it had been long and fully canvassed by men of ability and station; whence it might seem to exact a deference from him, who was to lend his hand, as a mere instrument, to put it into action. Though the submission of individual judgment to aggregate authorities, may often be commendable, it is devoutly to be wished, that the governor, in this instance, had relied more on his own judgment; and had dared to think and act for himself in a concern, now materially altered in its features from its primary form and appearance. It was no longer insulated and single, but stood contrasted with another object, challenging comparison. That a minute and careful examination of these distinct plans was not entered into by Sir George Barlow, who might, from not having exercised any previous judgment, or expressed an opinion on either, have dispassionately viewed their respective merits, is much and deeply to be lamented; for it might have been expected, as so improbable result from such an examination, that the amended contract of colonel Capper would have been preferred to a radical reform; and thus a measure had been avoided, odious in itself, and particularly calamitous in its remote consequences.

Mr. Petrie, who had favoured the reform for a considerable time, and had been one of the most active supporters of it, has since most candidly admitted the superiority of the amended plan of colonel Capper, both in respect of economy, and practical utility and effect. But the abolition of the tent contract was fixed, and abruptly announced by a general order in the month of July, without any other compensation having been tendered, or promised to the former contractors, than the price of the tents then in their possession. No estimate was required, no remuneration held



out, of the heavy expense consequent on the carriage of the articles of contract, during the preceding period of war. It is but common justice to observe, that, notwithstanding the harsh manner in which the abolition was resolved on and published, the orders of the government were obeyed without any resistance on the part of the army; nor did they provoke any complaint, until some weeks afterwards, and then in the manner and tone of a legitimate appeal from the officers aggrieved, to the court of directors of the East India company. This paper, though conceived in a temper of moderation, and couched in respectful terms, was, at first, refused by the commander-in-chief, though it afterwards experienced a more favourable reception, and was forwarded to the government of Fort St. George, for transmissal to England. In the interim, the reform proceeded, without interruption;—and but for an accidental circumstance, of which some after notice will be taken, its introduction, or progress, would not, in all probability, have been attended with any remarkable occurrence.

The circumstances and operation of the tent contract have been, perhaps, too minutely detailed; but a particular explanation was, in some sort, necessary, to obviate a public misconception of the regulation itself, and a general misunderstanding of the effect of the abolition. Whatever sentiments the latter measure engendered, it may be safely said, that it neither occasioned at the time, nor since, any shew of opposition in the army.

Scarcely had Sir George Barlow delivered himself of this early trouble, before he perceived, or supposed, himself surrounded with fresh difficulties. As these must have grown out of his own acts, it may be believed, that they were less embarrassing than the first; and that they had not been wholly overlooked in the consultation of the measures that gave rise to them.

Immediately after the abolition of the tent contract, the attention of Sir George Barlow was directed to a matter, more of individual than of public

concern; a supposed mismanagement in the grain department, under the direct custody of Mr. Sherson. This was conceived to arise out of the mode of keeping the accounts of the department, by the Native servants, employed and paid by the individual in trust. The charge was levelled in the first instance, and had no other appearance than against those servants. But the chief interest in their accounts, from the circumstances just explained, was in Mr. Sherson, the immediate master of the parties keeping them, who could not but feel himself attacked through the side of his servants. Some resentment was naturally felt, at the manner of the attack on him, which rendered him, from a collateral party, a principal in the assault. This gentleman, on an ex-parte statement preferred to the government, and before his solemn disavowal could be had, was suspended at once from his appointment.

It would be beyond the province of this narrative to go into the detail of the duties of the office; but it will be sufficient to say, that the individual in charge of it, had a certain interest in the custody and disposal of the grain, and a correspondent responsibility to account for the trust committed to his care. He stood in the relation of an ordinary agent, subject, however, to receive instructions, as to the time and circumstances of sale, and the price of the article, from an especial committee. He accounted for his daily transactions; but his final discharge could not be operated, if any exception should be taken to his accounts, but by the production of the public vouchers in his office, of the occasional deliveries from the store. These were taken possession of by persons sanctioned by the government, almost at the same moment with the suspension of the officer, to whom they naturally belonged.

Notwithstanding the protestation of Mr. Sherson against the seizure of his accounts, which could alone enable him to account, and which might possibly subject them to be abstracted or lost in any other keeping, a commit-



tee, consisting of five persons, among whom were his accuser and his deputy, directly interested in his removal, were afterwards ordered to commence an investigation into the alleged malversation in office; still, however, regarding the enquiry in the light of a scrutiny into the Native accounts, in which it is evident that no one could have an interest but the party, on whose behalf, and for whose discharge, they were kept. After some preliminary correspondence and ineffectual proceedings, which it is not material to describe, or to characterize, the accounts relative to the grain agency were referred, with the consent, nay at the instance of the governor, to the adjustment of the civil auditor, who, according to the custom of his office, proceeded to state the account between the government and their agent; and ultimately reported, after a full and circumstantial examination of the vouchers and documents on both sides, in favour of the latter. The report was sent back, under the authority of the government, and with specific instructions, for revision, and returned after a second and mature consideration, in its original form. This is construed, by Sir George Barlow, as a species of cotumacy in the auditor, who is, thereupon, removed from his office; for which he was most eminently qualified, and placed in a relation, foreign to his information and habits, as a judge of a provincial court. The appointment, which submitted the lives and properties of a whole people to the hands of the late auditor, of itself spoke the acknowledged integrity of that officer, while it betrayed the displeasure of the governor, and inculcated the explicit obedience which he expected to his instructions, and possibly a more alarming supposition that he was careful in a secondary degree of the effect of his act to others, so that it promoted his immediate end. But in justice to Sir George Barlow, it must be observed, that he admitted, even in the anger of the moment, the purity of the auditor's motives, when he dismissed him from his appointment. It

is to be wished that he had explained, though the event has rendered an explanation, at this day, more curious than necessary, why he appointed Mr. Smith to an office for the fulfilment of which he had none of the requisite qualifications, and where the absence of any of them might have involved the fate and fortune of thousands! The conscience and probity of the individual, in the refusal of the trust, though at the ruin of his private interest, prevented any public mischief. Mr. Smith, the late auditor, chose rather to retire from the country, with a fortune insufficient for his support, than venture on a duty, which he felt that he could not conscientiously discharge; a fit lesson, it is to be hoped, to the authority that cast such office on him.

Mr. Sherson, though in possession of the award of the chosen arbitrator of the governor, was suspended formally from the service, and for reasons connecting themselves with such award. These facts must make their own impressions.

These occurrences did not gratify the public mind, or dispose it to admit the merits of the new administrator of the affairs of the government.

Sir George Barlow was, not long in discovering, through the neglect of the society over which he presided, the tendency of the general sentiment: though he was not so quick-sighted in observing the source whence it sprang. His friends have declared, and he himself may probably have supposed, that the ill reception of his ministry was ascribable to the system on which it is stated to have been founded, of economy and reform. But beyond the abolition of the tent-contract, no other reform of consequence has been mentioned; none certainly has been specified, as the cause of any opposition; but the fact itself of the unpopularity of Sir George Barlow stands confessed on every side, and its effect on his temper and conduct, it is to be feared, is equally unquestionable. Perhaps the supposition of the general dislike to his measures, was, in Sir George Barlow, more fanciful at first than



real ; an associated idea of dissatisfaction generally accompanying reform. Be it as it may, it appeared after a very short residence at Madras, that he numbered but very few friends, or even ordinary visitors. This, however, might have been occasioned by circumstances distinct from personal dislike to the governor, the privacy of his habits, and the coldness, universally admitted, of his feelings and deportment. But whatever might have been the general sentiment towards the governor, it was as yet carefully suppressed. In the progress of his government, the public voice echoed the public opinion; complaint followed complaint, until they formed a formidable aggregate ; and while they seemed on the one hand as a number united designedly together, in a spirit of concerted opposition, they might have been regarded by the society at large, as by the sufferers themselves, as so many separate and substantive representations of injury, following in a natural and not a forced or combined order. Whether these complaints were, in reality, the fruits of a factious and persevering opposition, to the measures of the new governor, as he unfortunately appears to have considered them, or whether they were reasonable remonstrances against individual acts of oppression, is hereafter to be enquired.

It was impossible for the civil or military servants of the company to view the proceedings of Sir George Barlow, with respect to Mr. Smith, and Mr. Sherson, without much emotion. The members of the two branches of the service rise to offices of respectability and trust, by seniority and degree ; and when these have been obtained, after passing through the subordinate gradations, such servants may justly conclude, that they have an interest in their offices, of which they cannot be deprived at the will or caprice of any party, whatever may be his station. Governors of the different Indian presidencies have, however, exercised, from time to time, more, it is imagined, from indulgence than from any acknowledged power in the nature of their offices, the right of

suspension and removal of the servants in both provinces of their service indifferently. But they have been controlled in the exercise of this authority, by repeated instructions from home, directing that it shall not be used, but on due investigation, of which the party interested shall be fully informed, and previously have the complete means and opportunity of defence. This is so natural a course, that it seems to be a libel almost on the practice of the government to suppose that repeated instructions should be necessary\* for the enforcement of it. Any deviation from so equitable a rule, except under extreme circumstances, notorious and flagrant, must not fail to raise a prejudice in the breasts of all men, to whom the exercise of such a power can reach. It is at all times the last remedy applicable to a desperate case, and not to be called into use until common experiments have failed ; it is not for ordinary but rare resort, losing its properties and character in the ratio, that it is repeated. If, instead of its being reserved for particular and urgent occasions, it be indiscriminately adopted, as an every day expedient, as a rule instead of an exception, like all other powerful remedies, in weak and unskilful hands, it must be productive of mischief, in the degree of its force.

The suspension of Mr. Sherson from the service, and the removal of Mr. Smith from his office, without any anterior enquiry, or hearing in either case, and indeed without any specific charge or imputation, was the extremity to which an act of that description could be carried. Neither were the circumstances of the one or the other very striking, nor the season tempestuous or disturbed. There was nothing of a peculiar feature about either of them, so that the service at large might view it as a special exertion of authority\* in a prominent case ; but, on the contrary, it could not be considered in any other light than as a general use of a power, which might be exercised at will, and applied without ceremony, to every person, and to every condition of things.



From the unrestrained and wanton repetition of so dangerous an expedient, it is to be wished most fervently, that the governor may refrain, or it is plain to foresee, that, in the sequel, it may create, almost of necessity, universal abhorrence and resentment.

From measures effecting the immediate interests of the state over which he was appointed to preside, Sir George Barlow was now required to interpose in an affair of great delicacy and extent, remote, if not foreign, from his general duty.

It will be recollected, that on the cession of the Carnatic by the late treaty, concluded by his highness the nabob and the East India company, a parliamentary provision was made for the payment of the debts of the two preceding sovereigns of the Carnatic. A commission was, at the same time, appointed for ascertaining the amounts actually due to individuals, from those great personages, and a certain and fixed sum, which was not to be exceeded, was set apart for the ratable payment of the debts, eventually to be established. By a further provision, individual creditors were at liberty to question and litigate the claims of each other; and commissioners were appointed in England and in India, for finally arbitrating or awarding on the pretensions of each. In this arrangement it is to be seen that the claimants had an adverse interest to each other, and that the whole, except as to their own claims, must have been directly disposed to diminish the amount of the alleged debt of the nabobs; as in that event, the fund would become more adequate to the discharge of the debt, ultimately established.

There could not be the slightest hope that the debt would ever be reduced under the sum allotted by the company for its discharge; so that in the conduct of the enquiry by the commissioners, either at home or in India, the representatives of the company would have but little, if any, concern. The act, indeed, prescribed the entire course of proceeding, and left it to the commissioners themselves to pursue it, compensa-

ting them for the trouble and expenses incurred by the trust, out of the fund immediately noticed. To obviate local or personal influence, the Indian commissioners were selected from the Bengal civil service, and sent, for the purpose of prosecuting the requisite investigation, to Fort St. George. They had not long proceeded in their employment, when, as might be expected, from the conflicting interests involved in the enquiry, much irritation had shewn itself among different classes of creditors; the effect of which it was the duty of the commissioners to have repressed; and, at all events, to keep themselves clear from any participation in the operation of such passions. Their peculiar province it was to decide and determine on the merits of the claims preferred, without reference to the feelings of the claimants.

Among the number of the apparent principal creditors, there was, it seems, a Bramin of the name of Reddy Row, who had formerly filled a reputable situation at the durbar of the late nabob, which gave him, in the discharge of his official duty, a particular knowledge of the state of the nabob's pecuniary engagements. This man had been desired to attend the commissioners, and had afforded them very material aid in the progress of their enquiry. He had enabled them to detect several false, but specious claims. He was retained, if not as an assessor, as a material agent in the commissioners' apartments; and had a constant admission to the books of the durbar, and seemed an almost indispensable appendage to the commissioners.

It is to be regretted, that he was, in any way, a possible party in the points to be discussed and adjudged; since the office must have proved invidious, and rendered the person discharging it peculiarly obnoxious to those whose claims he might defeat.

Being himself a creditor, it is not to be expected that his own securities will pass without being scrupulously and jealously examined by parties in an hostile relation; who might be reasonably inclined to doubt his claims for the self-same cause that the commis-



sioners had required his services, from his intimate knowledge of the nabob's affairs ; a circumstance that might give him a facility, open to no one besides, to prefer a counterfeit demand. The very countenance shewn by the commissioners to the Bramin, might unhappily subject their decision, if it should be in his favor, to the suspicion of partiality.\*

The very first bond tendered by Reddy Row, was impeached on the part of the creditors. It was sustained on investigation by the commissioners, and it is but common justice to these gentlemen to suppose, as it appeared to them, on probable and satisfactory testimony. The opposite party not content with this decision, determined on a more solemn trial ; and accordingly laid an information before Mr. Maitland, a justice of the peace, against Reddy Row, and another Bramin, his confederate, for forgery in the fabrication of the bond in question.

A bill was found in due course of time by the grand jury, and the parties were afterwards put on their trial before a petty jury for the offence imputed. The verdict of the jury was against the accused. In the course of the defence, an European of the name of Batley, the secretary of the nabob, was examined on the behalf of the prisoners, in order to establish a fact that had become material to the issue. The evidence which he gave was not credited by the jury ; and the prosecutors, considering that it was false in toto, afterwards preferred an indictment against him to the grand jury, which was returned a true bill. This indictment was tried by a special jury, who pronounced the defendant guilty of perjury.

A third indictment was subsequently tendered at a different session, and found by the grand jury against Reddy Row, and his confederate, and Batley, for conspiracy, which was also tried by a special jury, and a verdict was again given against the prisoners.

The prosecutors on these indictments were a committee of the local creditors of the nabob, Messrs. Roebuck, Abbott, and Parry ; on the information of

a Bramin, of the name of Paupiah. An attempt was made to change the course of the criminal proceeding, by the previous trial of Paupiah, for a like offence with that imputed to Reddy Row, but the meditated prosecution was not persisted in.

Before the commencement of the preceding trials, the commissioners applied to the government for assistance, to the maintenance of their supposed authority, against the impeachment of their decision ; and more especially for its protection in support of Reddy Row, a very active instrument, as it has been observed, in their hands, for the furtherance of their official enquiry. But the legislature, in prescribing a duty to the commissioners, had given them, it may be supposed, sufficient materials to execute it. If it should have failed to instruct them with the requisite means, it is evident that no other power but the legislature could supply the defect. The local government, whatsoever might be its influence, could not usurp the function of the supreme authority of the state. The Indian executive should not therefore have been addressed on such a subject, since it could not attend to it without a flagrant violation of its duty.

The solicited interference in protection of the Bramin, appears, if any thing, even more objectionable, inasmuch as it called for a decision, on the mere report of the commissioners, that Reddy Row was a proper and indispensable organ for the conduct of the enquiry by the commissioners ; though he was evidently an interested party, and was, moreover, involved in a prosecution, in which his integrity and character was publicly questioned, and was then in a legal train of investigation. To request the government to express an opinion on the merits of the individual, under these circumstances, or to shew him a particular countenance, was an act, that approached very near, if it did not absolutely amount to, a crime of no favourable complexion in the eye of the British constitution. Such an interference, if practised, must have a tendency, besides, to create an influence in the de-



termination of a question of property purely between individuals, thereby working an injustice to one or other of the parties, with whom the company had no matter of concern.

Sir G. Barlow, and the majority of the council, in a mistaken view of their own powers, and possibly of the circumstances stated to them, unfortunately interposed, and publicly lent their commanding sanction to the cause of the defendants. They ordered the company's advocate-general, and solicitor, to defend the parties indicted, and the costs of the defence to be paid, from a fund over which they had no lawful controul, the legislature having vested it elsewhere, the amount set apart for discharging the nabob's debts. They also thought fit to commission one of the company's civil servants to proceed to a place at some distance from the presidency to collect evidence for the defendants; thus apparently identifying themselves in their interests with the accused. The possible effect of this on the Indian community, and, indeed, on the European inhabitants, for the most part in the company's service, and of whom the juries were composed, cannot be overlooked. May not the use of such interest towards the prosecuted, also stir some passions in the bosom of the governor, which cannot be raised without prejudice to the man, and without detriment to the public? It is happy that the interest felt and shewn by the government, did not extend, as apprehended, to the court of justice, so as to operate on the trials, the events of which have already been stated.

But it is to be feared, that the other effect, immediately deprecated, was unhappily produced by it; for it was soon afterwards made apparent that many of the persons, connected with the prosecution, had fallen under the avowed displeasure of government.

Mr. Roebuck, one of the prosecutors on the first trial, who had honourably served the company for 35 years, and who at this time looked for the reward of his services, in the undisturbed enjoyment of the respectable offices of shipmaster and military paymaster-general,

then holden by him, was removed from his employments, without any previous enquiry, and without any assigned reason, and ordered 500 miles from the presidency, to a solitary station, and to a comparatively petty office, with the abridgment of more than half of his antecedent salary.

Mr. Maitland was dismissed, in a manner equally abrupt, from his office of justice of the peace.

An order of the Court of Directors, for the recal of Mr. Parry from India, where he acted as a general merchant for more than 20 years, was in the same instant revived, and that gentleman in consequence was required to prepare for immediate departure from that country.

Mr. J. A. Grant, and Mr. G. Strachey, servants of the civil establishment, antecedently employed in the most important and confidential situations under the government, who had served on the grand juries by which the indictments had been found; and two more civilians, Messrs. Oliver and Keene, who had sat on the special juries; Mr. Wood of the same service, who had been understood to have expressed himself freely, in respect to the guilt of the defendants, were all, without the form of investigation, removed from their respective appointments.

The different parties, affected by these summary measures, applied to the government for a knowledge of their supposed offence, or the ground of the sentence, silently awarded against them; but it is left to them and to the public to form their own conclusion of acts, that might be characterized by the harshest terms, but which will not admit of a milder epithet than arbitrary or capricious.

Is there no one to suggest a doubt of the justice or policy of these repeated acts of power? No one to press on the recollection of the governor, the wisdom of the universal maxim, reiterated in the orders of the court of directors, "hear before you condemn?" A sage and constant monitor is not absent from the council, who, in several formal papers, equal almost in number



with the various acts of removal or suspension, records his full and reasoned dissents; and, in the instance of the Governor's interposition in the transactions in the supreme court, which entailed the consequences before particularised, the protests of Mr. Petrie have the confirmation of a grave and venerable authority, not less respectable in itself, than in its long relation to, and reception with, the company and its governments. Who can hear, without feeling the force of Mr. Justice Sullivan's pithy and pregnant remark?—"I was three and twenty years," says Sir Benjamin Sullivan, "a confidential servant of the company under this government, and feel an habitual leaning to them; I am not, therefore, inclined to impute any thing to them beyond imprudence; but imprudent, I am afraid, they have been, in taking any part in a cause which seemed to call on them for a steady and determined neutrality; and had I still been their attorney-general, this is the conduct I should have advised."

If neither the wisdom and experience of Mr. Petrie, nor the animadversions of the company's late attorney-general, could induce the governor to a retraction of any of the oppressive acts enumerated, they should have caused him to reflect ere he added to the measures, strongly and reluctantly condemned, any new aggravation; ere he committed a fresh injury to give an appearance of consistency to his assumed authority.

There were other advisers in the government, more powerful in their number, more interested in the progressive events, and more flattering in the tenour of their counsel, who had possessed themselves of the ear of the governor, and rendered it impervious to advice of a less soothing and conciliatory tone.

In every one of the instances, numerous as they have been shewn to be, in which Sir G. Barlow had exercised the indeliberate authority conceived to be resident in his office, in the arbitrary suspension and removal of the public

servants of the company, he was supported by the majority of his council. It will not, therefore, be a matter of great surprize, though our regret may not be lessened by that circumstance, that, thus confirmed in his measures, the governor shall persist in a practice that had become, from the acquiescence or non-resistance of the greater part of his colleagues, habitual and systematic.

The application of this extraordinary power has been hitherto limited to the civil department of the service, and has not penetrated the military barrier.

If Sir G. Barlow shall forbear to carry the exercise of this dangerous authority beyond the limits within which it has already been used, the triumph resulting from the controul of a passion, too generally increasing by indulgence, will be his own, undivided and unshared by the compliant majority of his council; but such a triumph is of rare, very rare, occurrence, and it is not our grateful duty to record it in the present page; but it is rather our melancholy task to trace the extension of the assumed power in a sphere, to which it could not be applied without the strongest apprehension of its exciting feelings which it is hazardous to move, and always difficult to tranquilize.

The civil servants, and the community at the presidency, were not permitted to brood over their sole wrongs; they were soon to have a fellowship in their grievances, from the same operative cause, in their military brethren.

In the progress of the discussions in the civil court, and of the circumstances growing out of them; a private misunderstanding had arisen between the quarter-master-general of the army, and the officers in command of corps, in consequence of a discovery recently made of a report under the signature of the former officer, which seemed to impute to the latter a wilful neglect of their duty, from selfish and sordid considerations. It has been shewn that the abolition of the tent contract had been principally occasioned by the information conveyed to the commander in chief and the government, by the



staff officer immediately mentioned ; and it has been explained, that the army, though deprecating the abolition, submitted most cheerfully to that harsh and unpopular measure. It remains only to be remarked, that the new regulation respecting tents, and the public stores, had been now acted upon for several months, and had experienced not the slightest opposition ; and nothing threatened to revive the subject, or any matter connected with it, until the discovery of the official paper described. This document, which was put into the hands of Col. Capper, by Sir George Barlow, unfolded the information on which the abolition proceeded, suggesting, in substance, but under a confused phraseology, that six years experience of the practical effect of the tent contract had shewn, that by granting the same allowances in peace and war, when the expenses bore very lightly in the first, comparatively with the latter period, it placed the interests and duties of the commanding officers, parties to the contract, in variance with each other ; making it their advantage, contrary to the interest of the state, that their corps should be in an inefficient state for field service, and therefore inducing them to neglect their duty. Practical experience, it is to be observed, is the very essence of the report, for if that betaken away, it is reduced to simple reasoning. But what will become of the foundation whereon to build the reform ? The inconveniences are stated explicitly to have been developed by the practical effect of the contract ;—which effect could not be produced without considering the evils enumerated, real, and not chimerical. And if real it may be asked, what must have produced them ? the acts of the commanding officers of corps ; and these acts being culpable, they necessarily implied the condition of the agents. The passage in the quarter-master-general's report, which has been just stated, might possibly have been allowed in another season, and under the influence of another temper, to pass as a general insinuation ; and, being inapplicable to individuals, to go harmlessly by. But

this was not a time to expect a favourable interpretation of the report by the persons to whom it related. It was sufficient if they could extract from it a reasonable complaint against its author ; who was known to have been instrumental to the annihilation of a beneficial arrangement to them, and, according to their impressions, on groundless and false assertions.

It is a circumstance of regret, that the report, in any interpretation of it, could warrant the construction put upon it by the commanding officers of corps. Such a construction might have been attached to it in the natural jealousy of professional honour, peculiarly characteristic of soldiers, abstracted from all interested considerations. In vain would it have been insisted, if any defence had been attempted, that it was a mere declaration of a general principle, a reasoning on an universal maxim, applicable to the common concerns of mankind ; since the report stated, that the objection to the contract was founded on its practical effect after six years experience of its operation. It could not be supposed that the government had determined on the abolition of the tent contract on general principles, and on mere abstract reasoning ; but on the personal knowledge, truly stated to the government, of the officer under whose peculiar cognizance the contract was conducted. It was besides the official duty of the quarter-master-general to muster the public cattle, and to inspect the tents, subject to the contract, once a month, and to report on their sufficiency ; so that if the establishment was not complete for any emergency, of war as well as peace, it would have been the business of that officer to have marked such incident in his reports. In these periodical returns no notice is said to have been taken of any remarkable inefficiency ;—a circumstance of a further aggravated appearance to the report immediately under our view, since it gave it the colour of a private and secret insinuation, instead of a public and honest detail. It seemed, unfortunately, to impute facts, prejudicial to



the character, as well as interests of the army, and to add insult to injury. Under these impressions it is not to be wondered, that immediate means were taken to resent the imagined wrong; by the exhibition of a formal complaint against the quarter-master-general, signed by a numerous body of the commanding officers of corps, charging the quarter-master-general "with conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and gentleman, for having in his proposed plan for the abolition of the tent contract, made use of false and infamous insinuations, tending to injure the characters of commanding officers of corps, and otherwise injurious to their reputations as gentlemen." After some delay and hesitation, and reference to professional authorities, the charge of the officers commanding corps, was duly admitted by the commander-in-chief.

It is not necessary to consider, whether the report would admit of a more natural interpretation than that fastened on it by the officers of corps; nor, whether the quality ascribed to it in the charge was imaginary or real, false or true; nor whether the matters of the charge, under the circumstance of the case, were cognizable or not by a military court; such an enquiry would seem superfluous, when the only authority on the spot, competent to form a judgment, had decided these incidental questions, in entertaining the charge.

The quarter-master-general was now placed under arrest, as a preparatory measure to trial; whereby the truth or falsehood of the charge was put into a train of investigation, when it might be ascertained, by the event, whether the individual was criminal or blameless.

A sudden order of the government, for the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro, to the surprise and astonishment of the army, broke the ordinary and natural course of proceeding.

The quarter-master-general had appealed, it appears, from the arrest of the commander-in-chief, to the governor-in-council, setting forth that the

report was made in an official character, and at the instance of his superiors, and that it was not, therefore, for public reasons, examinable by any other than the power under whose authority it was made; that this doctrine, on which the safety of public servants depended, was acknowledged by the Judge Advocate, who had given an adverse opinion to the charge: that the authority of the government itself, was involved in the accusation, since it had approved and adopted the report, and had acted on the plan which it recommended. Every one of these considerations, if applicable to the matters alleged, was for the commander-in-chief to determine on, in the exercise of an ordinary discretion, in the admission or rejection of the charge. The report and the plan might have the character described by the quarter-master-general, in opposition to that stated by the commanding officers of corps; but it was impossible to take the averment of one party in preference to the other. It was not sufficient to call the Report, and its statement, official, to render them so in point of fact—this was to be shewn in some judicial way, it could not be presumed. But if so, it would then remain to be seen, whether the official character of the report, abstractedly considered, could exclude the court martial from entertaining jurisdiction over it, or any incident connected with it, however it might operate to the prejudice of third parties. It is to be observed, that all the matters, stated by the quarter-master-general to the government, are circumstances of justification or defence, available before the military court, if at all available to him; and could not be attended to in the first instance, without closing the door of justice against the complaints of a large body of the army, arising out of a conceived injury.

The circumstance of the plan having been sanctioned by the government, could not form any ingredient in the judgment to be passed by the commander-in-chief, or the authority to whom the appeal was addressed, without the infallibility of govern-



ment, which it would have been difficult to argue, could have been satisfactorily demonstrated. The merits or demerits of the report, could not depend on the humour of any authority to receive or reject it; but on its own intrinsic worth. This would be the same under any, and all contingencies. If this were apparent, it wanted not any sanction to countenance it; but if deficient, no authority whatever could supply the inherent defects. So that the approbation of the report, could not of itself afford an indemnity to the party making it. Or how if the report had been rejected? In either case it is the nature and discharge of the duty, and not the success attendant on the execution of it, that must operate the indemnity to the servant of the state. It must rest, it is presumed, on principle, not on caprice. Much less could the opinion of the judge advocate, if he had been a professional man, which was not the case here, have been imperative on the commander-in-chief. It is his, the judge-advocate's office to inform, not to control his superior's judgment. With the latter the discretion is constitutionally left to decide on the whole matter.

To shew the nature and extent of the interference of the government, in the release of the quarter-master-general, and its effects on the rights of the army, it will be fit to take a short view of the relative authority of the commander-in-chief, and of the governor-in-council.

The first is an officer, appointed generally, as in this instance, by his majesty and the court of directors, to the supreme command of the joint army of the king and the East India company, with all the usual powers, incident to such command; and, among others, with the power of holding courts martial, for bringing military offenders to justice; whether they be officers or privates of the king, or of the East India company. The 27th of his late Majesty, the standing Mutiny act for the government of the company's armies, expressly enacting, in Section 8d, that whenever his Majesty's

forces shall be employed in the defence of the company's settlements, or assist against their enemies in the East Indies, the power of appointing courts martial shall be in the commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces, for the time being, over such, the said company's officers and soldiers. In the absence of a commander-in-chief, then it is competent to the court of directors, and then only, being first duly authorized by the King, by a special commission to that effect, to authorize and empower their president in council, by a warrant under seal, to appoint courts martial, and to empower the company's commander in chief also to assemble the like courts.

Thus the respective powers of the commander-in-chief of the King's forces, and of the governor or president of the company's council, are so clearly defined, that it would seem impossible they could be misinterpreted. The whole judicial power, as respects the joint army of the King and Company, is placed expressly in the hands of the commander in chief of the King's forces for the time being, not to be exercised, in any event, by the governor or president, but in the absence of a king's commander in chief. The right of holding courts martial, and of affirming or disallowing their sentences, necessarily includes all the subordinate powers requisite for bringing military offenders before these courts for the purpose of trial, as well as the subsequent means of carrying the sentence into execution.

The office of the governor or president in council, is more ample in power, not less distinctly marked out, than the province of the commander-in-chief.

The 33d of his majesty plainly describes what authority is lawfully resident in this important officer; in whom and his council, in all instances, and at some times in the governor alone, on his single responsibility, is vested the whole civil and military government of the presidency, and all territorial acquisitions, within the prescribed range of his authority. But



it is at the same time declared in the act, which gives this large and extensive power, that it is not arbitrary, and unconfined, but limited and restricted by the laws then in force, for the government of the British possessions in India ; or, in the quaint language of the statute, "subject to such rules, regulations, and restrictions, as are made, provided, or established in that behalf in this act, or acts now in force, and not by this act repealed or altered." Now neither by the 33d of the King, nor by any other act preceding or subsequent, has the judicial power, given by the 27th of his late Majesty, been abridged or taken away from the commander-in-chief of the King's forces, acting in conjunction with the troops of the company. It may therefore be affirmed, that howsoever the authority of the governor-in-council may have been extended by this act, that the new power, granted by it, cannot interfere with the objects governed by preceding positive regulations.

If the *whole* civil and military power, mentioned in the 33d of the King, be, as asserted, a relative and not an absolute term, it would then seem to result, ~~that~~ the commander-in-chief, and the governor-in-council, stood in the same relation each to the other, after the passing of that act, as they did before : and that the former was altogether independent of the latter power in all matters respecting the administration of the law in military cases. A contrary supposition, giving a larger scope to the statute, would overturn the entire constitution of things. If the *whole* civil power, which is conveyed at the same time with the military power, should be supposed to be vested absolutely in the governor-in-council, what would controul him, if he so willed, from interfering in the whole scheme for the administration of justice, civil as well as criminal, among his majesty's and the company's subjects. He might throw open at pleasure the doors of the gaol to the debtor, as well as the criminal, despising the form and figure of the in-

and violating, with the institutions themselves, the security of the public peace ; and thus become the sole unquestionable arbiter of life, fame, and fortune. But these, the first objects of society, are surrounded by a hundred safeguards : by courts, jealous of their protection, by magistrates, whose only care it is to attend to them, and by a power to enforce the vigilance and duty connected with so sacred a trust. This interesting charge could not be placed by the British legislature, or imagined by a British head, in the hands of a single and uncontrolled agent.

It is necessary only to state the extremes to which a different interpretation of the statute might tend ; to shew the fallacy of the assumption, that an unlimited authority, over the whole civil institutions, was given by the act last mentioned. The military authority of the governor-in-council, be it what it may, is conveyed in the same sentence and language, and under the same limitation with the civil authority, and must, therefore, be taken to be circumscribed by the like bounds.

If the powers of the governor have been rightly viewed and fairly stated ; the release of the quarter-master-general in the manner explained, cannot be considered in any other light, though probably otherwise contemplated by the governor, than an infringement on the lawful authority of the commander in chief, a contravention of the course of military justice, an attack on the fundamental rights of the army, and an oppression on the parties who had preferred the charges. Of the obvious effect to be expected from the disturbance of rights so various, and so important, it is not now the place to speak.

This assumption of authority by the governor was not silently admitted by lieutenant-general Macdowall ; though not openly and strenuously resisted. A formal protest, saving the rights of the crown, and the dignity of his office, satisfied the present feeling and honour of the commander-in-



mirable in the lieutenant-general, though it had required more patience than can be by all men, and at all times, commanded, if he had contented himself with this representation of the insult offered to his high commission, and wounded feelings; if in his submission for the sake of public tranquillity to the usurpation of the civil power, he had sacrificed the resentment against the individual, who had induced the interference. But this might have been regarded by him as an unnecessary compromise of his official rights; and he could not have foreseen, in the course about to be pursued for the enforcement of them, the extensive and calamitous consequences that ensued.

At the time of the liberation of the quarter-master-general from his arrest, general Macdowall was about to embark for a distant part of the coast of Comorandel, with an ulterior intention to proceed to Europe. This determination had been previously adopted under a mingled sentiment of disgust, from the alleged abridgment of the dignity of the office of commander-in-chief, and a constant interference by the government in the discharge of the duties of it. A farewell address to the army, published on the 25th January, announced this intention of the general; and, perhaps, imprudently, the reasons that had led to it. Being now at the eve of his departure, he issued an order to the army, explanatory of the cause of the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and declaratory of a reprimand to that officer for personal disrespect to the commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in appealing *directly* to the civil government; in consequence of which appeal, he, the lieutenant-colonel, had been released from his arrest. This order was published on the 28th January, 1869. Of the nature of the order, an opinion has already been hinted. It would have been probably more discreet, as well as more creditable to the general, if he had abstained from the act; there cannot, however, be a question of the lawful powers of the

commander-in-chief, to express his sentiments fully in the matters contained in it, and it may be fairly said, that such sentiments have been expressed in language, as delicate as the case would admit. It might be due, as much, perhaps to the parties preferring the charges, as to the justification of his own conduct, that some explanation should be publicly rendered to the army. But to the order,—the only part of it, capable of a possible application, by the most forced construction, to any other than the quarter-master-general, is the allusion to that officer's release, by the command of the president in council. But not a word of censure or question of the exercise of the authority by the governor in that instance, is adventured; while the order plainly shews, on the contrary, that the general had yielded obedience to the civil power in the particular ordered. But the quarter-master-general is reprimanded in the order, and, among other things, for his *direct* appeal to the civil power. Can any one conceive, that it was not possible for the quarter-master-general to be censured, without the government participating in the censure? They must look too deeply into the paper for the discovery of an intended insult, who could draw from its body the materials of a designed offence. The governor fancied he could perceive in it this latent meaning, and, in the heat of the moment, sent a mandate from the government-house for the suspension of the commander-in-chief, and of the deputy adjutant-general, the passive medium of publication of the commander-in-chief's orders. In one hurried exertion of authority, the military community had to witness the punishment of two supposed offences, of very unequal criminality, in the same sentence. Nay, the accessory was visited with a severity unexperienced even by the principal, in being removed not only from his office, but the service.

Surely, it would have been enough for the satisfaction of an honourable revenge, to have pounced upon the nobler quarry, to have pierced the mas-



ter eagle soaring in his flight, without stooping to wound the callow covered by his wing.

The manner of the governor's resentment, unhappily, was as remarkable as its extent. The commander-in-chief was not obtruded from his office, if such a phrase may be allowed, until he had himself virtually and voluntarily abandoned it, by sailing from the roads of Madras, in one of the company's regular vessels. An ineffectual endeavour was made to recall him, for the purpose of communicating the governor's displeasure, by the repeated discharge of artillery, from the ramparts of Fort St. George, but the ship pursued its sullen and indignant course, while the populace, assembled by the unusual roar of cannon, viewed the unavailing passion that urged, and the impotence which attended the attempt. The anger of offended authority, as implacable as it was unseemly, exhausted itself, on the following day, in a detailed order to the army, full of its own importance; big with complaints; high in its tone of indignation against the absent general,—low and abject as to the object within its grasp. The adjutant-general, on learning the fate of his deputy, begged an audience of the governor, to explain the circumstances attending the publication of general Macdowall's last order. He was not fortunate enough to obtain a hearing,—but finding access to his secretary, explained, that the commander-in-chief had given positive instructions to the adjutant-general for the immediate issue of the order in question; but that he having been called by duty elsewhere, had instructed his deputy, major Boles, to give a prompt effect to the general's command, and in this manner it had become accidentally the duty of his deputy to publish the particular order: that both he as principal, and major Boles, as deputy, were ministerial officers, and obliged to receive and obey the orders of their common superior: that, nevertheless, if any possible exception could be taken at the publication of the orders referred to, he, and not his deputy, must be

considered responsible; that, in justice, he should not shrink from his principal share of the blame, which attached to the obedience that had been shewn to the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief. This liberal and frank avowal, communicated by the secretary to the governor, had not the effect, anticipated by colonel Capper, of restoring major Boles to his office, or any other operation, than involving him in the same predicament with his deputy. The suspension of the adjutant-general was announced to the army on the 1st day of February, not for any substantive and distinct offence; but as the government order generally stated, for having been "materially implicated in the measure, of giving currency to the offensive general order of the commander-in-chief."

Thus, in a few short days, the right of suspension, without any communion with the parties involved in it, was exercised by the governor-in-council in three instances, embracing the head of the Madras army, and two of the principal officers of his staff. These extraordinary acts fraught with additional notoriety, from the importance of the personages affected by them, were canvassed with much interest, and with equal freedom throughout the military body.

If any doubt existed in the public mind as to the nature of the commander-in-chief's order, or of his general conduct, few men differed in opinion, in respect to the demeanour of the government. Some did not recognize any visible offence in the act of the general; and conceived that the government, in reprobating it, had discovered more of passion than of wisdom: all were satisfied, that whatever might have been the commander-in-chief's fault, (in a military view) it did not extend beyond himself; and the punishment of his staff officers, acting ministerially under his orders, was contrary to the practice of the army, if not directly dissonant to the common notion of justice. A subject of all others the most delicate and dangerous for discussion, was in this way forced on the notice of the



army; in which it was not to be expected, from its drawing into question the principles of military society, and the rights of every soldier in the army, that it could be treated without warmth and feeling. Where philosophy itself might be perplexed in her decision, passion would seem to be an imperfect and improper judge. There was scarcely a member of the army, from the general applicability of the last mentioned proceedings to himself, from the highest to the lowest gradation of rank, that did not feel himself most materially affected.

This interference of Sir G. Barlow, with the customs of the army, and the rights of the profession, must be deemed the most fatal of the errors committed by him in the development of the principles of his government; and if it be not seasonably renounced, it is easy to foresee that it will endanger the best and dearest interests of the state. They who have observed minutely the first measures of his policy, and the acts in which they have been exemplified, will not have much reason to hope that he may abandon the course pursued, though they may possibly form various opinions, according to their distinct views of things, of its merits, or its tendency. The policy of Sir G. Barlow, so far as it can be inferred from the acts of his administration, immediately investigated, would appear to be a peremptory reliance, on every occasion, in the rigour of his measures, and the strength of his authority to carry them into execution. And hence, result a perseverance in his first councils, and a strict exaction of obedience to them, let the submission cost what it will of feeling or of sacrifice in others. This policy, from the very commencement of his government, had an organized appearance,—a sort of constitutional habit, or rather the determined structure of a mechanic property, seeking its own ends, by fixed and undeviating means, and never stopping in its career, unless it should be opposed, by a superior physical resistance. The striking objections to the presumed policy of Sir G. Barlow are, that it is unfitted in the

determined quality of its principle, to the varying state of things; that it implies a supposed authority in the government, incompatible with the liberty and rights of the subjects of it—regarding the one as every thing, the other unhappily as nothing.

The rejection of colonel Capper's plan, for the amendment of the tent contract, the abolition of that engagement, the summary suspension and removal of the public servants, civil and military, the interference with the private rights of individuals, in the course of private litigation, and the counteraction of the ordinary administration of military law, are so many instances, it may be said, of the reduction of this unhappy policy into action. But in arguing from effects to causes, reason is often bewildered, and it is unnecessary to depend on it here, when a safe and more satisfactory course offers itself; (subject, however, to some disadvantage) in the accounts given of his conduct by the governor to his constituents. In a future place, it may be requisite to refer to those accounts, and to examine in how much they confirm or repel the idea immediately expressed of the policy of Sir G. Barlow. At the present the mind is ready to catch at any circumstance, that may possibly be means of diverting the government from the perilous tenour of its councils, or the thoughts of men from dwelling on the effects of it.

About this time an occurrence took place, which was likely to give a temporary employment to the hands of a large party of the coast army; and to turn their eyes from objects at home, to more distant scenes and events, most interesting to military feeling. In the midst of a deceitful tranquillity, hostilities commenced in a quarter whence nothing could have been anticipated, from disposition as well as power, but the most perfect good will. At the beginning of the year 1809, the period now considered, a large and simultaneous armament was ordered to be in readiness, from several divisions of the army, for marching into the



kingdom of Travancore. Of the sudden and unexpected rupture of the ancient alliance between the rajah and the company, and of the hostile operations which it induced, the succeeding chapter will treat. But the leaf of the present cannot be closed, without the expression of a wish, that this unfortunate event in itself may be productive of some consequences, that may diminish the evils naturally and necessarily flowing from a state of warfare. Sincerely must it be hoped, that the interval of hostility may give the governor an opportunity for reflection on his preceding measures, and on the principle in which they originated : and may induce him to pause, ere he

pushes things to an extreme, when it may be equally as dangerous to retreat as to proceed—that it may afford him leisure to look not only into himself, but to other sources beyond him, remote from interest, or agency, in the antecedent transactions, for the benefit of accumulated wisdom, and the aid of dispassionate advice, or, what is equally to be coveted, that in the occupation and bustle of the camp, and the interest of its concerns, the temper and passions of the army may have time to subside, and that nothing may arise hereafter to excite and embitter the recollection of the past.



### CHAPTER III.

Description of the alliance between the king of Travancore and the East India company—first, without any specific engagement—invasion of the lines of Travancore the cause of the first war with Tippoo Sultaun—treaties since executed between the East India company and the rajah, but not published—by first treaty, executed in the time of lord Wellesley—the rajah agreed to maintain a subsidiary force of two battalions, afterwards of three, with a corps of artillery—part of the subsidy to be paid in pepper—fall of the price of that article—Subsidy demanded in money—supposed to have produced a misunderstanding between the two governments—an undisguised ill-will created between the British resident and dewan; each striving to work the removal of the other—obstacles existing in the way of the removal of the dewan, not applicable to the resident—similar minister removed at the Mahratta court, exactly on the same ground—another resident said to have been nominated to succeed colonel M'Caulley—colonel M'Caulley instructed to insist on the removal of the dewan—an indelicate task—Large body of troops detached from Trichinopoly, under colonel Macleod, in the month of December, towards Travancore—ordered to halt, after it had proceeded several days on its march—colonel Forbes ordered to proceed, in a like direction, with a king's regiment and two battalions of Sepoys—his march also countermanded, by an alleged stratagem of the dewan, who pretends an inclination to retire, and requests an escort of the British resident to favour his design, which is granted—on the night of receiving the escort, an armed force is sent by the dewan, to surround the house of the resident, which is without a guard—the troops, surrounding the house, fire at the casement where the resident stands, who miraculously escapes—colonel M'Caulley is bent on rushing out with his sword in hand, when prevented by a domestic, who suggest the means of escape, which is fortunately embraced—the resident and servant hide themselves within a secret recess, just as an armed party enter—they search the house without discovering the retreat—at break of day, a vessel, under English colours, with troops on board, is discovered entering a neighbouring port, which induces the party to retreat; when the resident effects his escape to a ship, and writes to his government an account of the treacherous proceeding—this happens just at the conclusion of December—armed force assembled at the dewan's house at Quilon—prudential conduct of colonel Cuppage in detaching troops, the 13th regiment and a Native battalion, to the relief of the subsidiary force—one of the vessels, on which a part of this force was embarked, obliged to put into Alippee through distress of weather, and want of necessaries—thirty-three soldiers and a medical officer treacherously betrayed on shore, and barbarously murdered—orders given by colonel Chalmers to captain Clapham, to proceed with five companies of the 4th Native regiment and a gun, to take post near the dewan's house—the height to which captain Clapham was directed, was already partially possessed by an adverse party of men—a body of armed Nairs appear in front of the British detachment—are challenged—



and refusing to halt when required, are fired on by the British party, which is returned by the Travancore troops; one Sepoy killed, and a Native officer wounded—a more general attack ensues, when the Nairs are repulsed with slaughter—on the 31st of December, major Hamilton sent to seize the ordnance at the dewan's house, which he captures without loss—the guns, though ordinarily used in firing salutes, are found to be double-shotted—major H. afterwards ordered to oppose the passage of troops at the bar of Anjuvicha, which service he effectually achieves; and the enemy driven back with great loss—the enemy attempts to rally, and is again driven back—major Hamilton recalled, to prevent his being attacked from the rear—from the report of the appearance of vast numbers of the enemy, col. Chalmers takes post for a night at the fort of Quilon—moves out again to the cantonment in the morning—receives a reinforcement some days afterwards, of his majesty's 18th regiment, commanded by colonel Picton—on the 15th of January the enemy attacks colonel Chalmers, and is every where defeated, with the loss of 700 men in the field of battle, and of ten pieces of ordnance—the enemy takes up a position in front of colonel Chalmers's encampment; and detaches a large body against Cochin, which is most gallantly resisted and defeated by major Hewitt—thanks of the government given to colonel Chalmers and major Hewitt, and the officers and troops serving under them—The troops, before ordered to march from Trichinopoly and Seringapatam, again directed to proceed—the detachment from the latter place reach colonel Cuppage, who penetrates the frontier on the side of Malabar—account of the first movement of the force under lieutenant-colonel M'Leod, and afterwards of colonel St. Leger from Trichinopoly, on the 20th of January—reached Palamcottah the 31st—colonel St. Leger arrived off the Arambooly lines, the 6th of February—causes of the war now proclaimed in a manifesto—ordered to be circulated in Travancore, and the adjoining districts—seems a direct declaration against the dewan—observations on the manifesto—the lines reconnoitred on the sixth and subsequent days, and stormed and carried on the 10th of February—description of the Arambooly lines—thanks of the government returned to colonel St. Leger, and the officers and men of his detachment—the Arambooly gate fortified and garrisoned—numbers of the inhabitants flock to the British camp, under the terms of the proclamation—the collector of Tinnevely proposes to introduce the company's civil regulations into the conquered district; but is prevented by colonel St. Leger, who takes the responsibility of the act on himself—this detachment being reinforced from Ceylon, proceeds towards Cotar and Nagrecoil—dispositions made by colonel St. Leger for the attack on these villages—assault and defeat of the enemy—halts the detachment for one day—on the 19th of February, proceeds to Oodagherry and Papanaveram, which are surrendered without a shot—160 pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of ammunition, found at Oodagherry—colonel St. Leger receives a second vote of thanks from the government—after the possession of the last-mentioned places, colonel St. Leger receives various overtures for peace—these are referred to the resident—in the mean time he consents to observe a neutral conduct—colonel St. Leger induced to keep his position from the nature of intelligence received from colonel Chalmers—afterwards encamps between Oodagherry and Calachce, a sea-port on the coast; whence he sends succours to colonel Chalmers—strengthens the defence of Calachce—description of the country lying between colonel St. Leger's camp and Quilon—colonel St. Leger receives intelligence of the demolition of the Southern lines by captain Townshend—afterwards receives orders to recommence hostilities, unless the king should give up his minister within a given time—colonel St. Leger marches with his detachment towards Trevandrum, on the 27th—information obtained, that the dewan had fled into the jungles on the north-western part of Travancore—on the 28th, colonel St. Leger moves with the flank companies and cavalry, within three miles of the palace of Trevandrum, and is joined by the



remainder of his force on the next morning—short review of the further operations of the subsidiary force at Quilon—the enemy makes a second attack on these lines, on the 31st of January; and is again repulsed with slaughter—colonel Chalmers, in his turn, attacks the enemy's lines, on the 31st of February—destroys their batteries, and takes seven pieces of ordnance—enemy is dispersed in this quarter of Travancore—this force afterwards proceeds to within twelve miles of the enemy's capital, there ordered to halt until the conclusion of the treaty—proclamation, and reward offered for the apprehension of the dewan—he kills himself with his own hand—is brought to Trevantrum—exposed on a gibbet—treaty signed—conclusion.

It may be necessary to premise, before entering into the particular circumstances of the war, alluded to at the conclusion of the preceding chapter, that a long and intimate friendship and alliance had subsisted between the East India company and the king of Travancore. This connection was not secured at first by any solemn compact, but was regarded always with as much good faith, as if it had been protected by the most formal and sacred obligations. During the existence of this alliance, the support of the rajah's territories and throne, in seasons of difficulty and danger, has not been nominal merely but substantial. A most remarkable instance of active friendship was afforded by the marquis Cornwallis, on a memorable occasion, when Tippoo Sultaun threatened, with a very formidable force, the invasion of the Travancore lines. At this juncture his lordship interposed, almost unasked, all the authority of the supreme government between his ally and the enemy, and saved his dominions from the impending attack. This seasonable service was not rendered, without much hazard and expense to the British government, being the avowed cause of the first war with the sovereign of Mysore.

In later times, when it had become more the practice, from the extent of our dominions, or the intricacy of our relations, to mark the nature of the company's alliances, by direct and explicit engagements, the king of Travancore, with other Asiatic potentates, had been required to enter into treaties of offensive and defensive aspect. Though these treaties are of very recent date, they are yet but little known, and from report, rather than from any

authentic source; instruments of this nature, being generally committed to the private custody of those, in charge of the company's archives. From this circumstance, it is impracticable, in most instances, for any but the parties to the treaties, to render an accurate account of their conditions; but they may be supposed, in this particular case, to be simple, and plain indeed.

The kingdom of Travancore may be said, in its geographical position, to be insulated, or cut off from the whole world, but the British Indian territory; our possessions completely hemming it in on three sides, and the Indian ocean on the fourth; a boundary scarcely less our own; beyond which it pursues no commercial speculations, nor has been known to maintain any public or political engagements. A power, so circumstanced could not be much perplexed in her diplomatic negotiations or ties. All her defence must be expected through the surrounding frontier of her friend; all her apprehensions, if she can entertain any, must arise from the same source. The utmost that such a state can have naturally to stipulate, is freedom from attack, or, at most, the quota of supply, that she should contribute to the common protection of a territory identified with her own. Yet it would seem, that this power, wholly under the covering wing of British influence, has been burthened with all the heavy trappings and incumbrances of ordinary Asiatic alliances, and has been doomed to bear the appointment of a regular resident, without any possible diplomatic occupation; and of a subsidiary force, without any practicable effect, but to check and overawe the state which it professes to



protect, in its integrity and independence.

Under the operation of the first treaty, executed, we believe, at the end of the marquis Wellesley's administration, the king of Travancore was bound to maintain, in time of peace, two battalions of Sepoys, within the interior of his country, with their commandant and complement of officers; and, by the modification of this, or a subsequent treaty, negotiated by the government of Bombay, he was afterwards called upon to increase his subsidy to the extent of three battalions, with a suitable corps of artillery. Whether this contingent was to be further augmented in time of war we have not the means of ascertaining, nor the precise sums disbursed by the Travancore treasury for the maintenance of the troops; but in the latter respect it is understood, that the Bombay government, which negotiated the treaty, in the genuine spirit of trade, conditioned for the payment of a part of the subsidy, in an article of traffic, the growth and staple of the country, and then in universal request. But whether there was a positive provision of this description, it is not material to enquire, since, in point of fact, the actual payment of the subsidy was adjusted after this course.

The conditions of the treaty were duly and regularly fulfilled on the behalf of the king of Travancore, until the end of the year 1808; and it will not be doubted that the British government continued, within the same period, to furnish its military contingent, to the extent of the stipulation; and both the contracting parties might have been expected to discharge their respective duties until this hour, but for a fluctuation of commerce, affecting the value of the article introduced into the pecuniary clause of the engagement, or, according to another suggestion, probably the natural one, a new construction put, at this particular date, on the footing on which the contracting parties stood by virtue of the treaty, with reference to each other. This construction, if admitted by the

Travancore government, would have converted its sovereign into a mere dependant; or a petty-commercial agent, to supply, according to his means, the demands of the company's trade.

It is certain, at this era, that the price of pepper, the article in which the subsidy was partly paid, had fallen, from the circumstance of war, and the generally crippled state of commercial intercourse throughout the world, considerably below the estimation on which it had been calculated.

A requisition, it is said, was thereupon made to the Travancore government, that the future payment of the subsidy might be in money, instead of the produce of the country. The rajah's answer to this requisition, is said to have been to the effect:—"that the price of the article, as regarded the contracting parties, was stated and covenanted, looking to all times and all seasons, and did not depend on the value placed on it by strangers, and indifferent persons; that if it had been since depreciated, by external circumstances, as an object of trade; and if there were not, at this time, all the facilities for advantageously disposing of it, as existed at the date of the treaty, this was a risk incident, by the very nature of the engagement, to the obligation on the part of the British government, which had a correspondent benefit in a favourable state of things. At any rate, the mode of payment, and the price of the article, was determined by the desire or acquiescence of the company; and it would be highly unreasonable to throw an article, not every where marketable, into the king's stores, who had no adequate means of exporting it, thereby rendering him liable to the whole loss of a speculation solely and purely another's." If a requisition, in substance as stated, had been made to the king of Travancore, this answer would appear most natural and conclusive; and should have delivered him from all further importunity on the subject. Even if no express covenant had existed in the treaty for the payment of the subsidy, in the way described,



yet the acceptance of it for a time, according to such regulation, ought to have induced some degree of delicacy and forbearance as to the introduction of any change in the future manner of payment. It is, however, generally stated and believed, that the request was repeated, and pertinaciously urged, but produced not the desired effect.

This, aided, perhaps, by other co-operative causes, was the means of creating certain coolness, if not absolute personal ill will between the British resident and the king's dewan, or principal minister. But whatever might have caused the subsisting difference, whatever the extent and the object of it; it was obvious to all, at this season, that the dewan and the resident were completely at variance with each other; their representations and their acts, manifesting publicly, and without a wish of concealment, the spirit by which they were directed. In this condition of things, it was not very probable, that any public measure, be it what it might, could be promoted through agents, actuated by such opposite motives and tempers. Still, however, the public relations between the parties remained undisturbed.

It was soon discovered by the British resident himself, that the views of his government would not be speeded, unless he could procure the removal of the obnoxious minister, and his labours, both at his own court and at that of Travancore, were industriously directed to that end. But as the dewan had considerable influence of his own, and a certain favour with the king, this attempt of the resident did not succeed, but, on the contrary, was attended by consequences extending the existing breach. The dewan, in his turn, employed all his interest with his master, and at the Indian presidencies, to effect the recall of the resident, and equally without success. In the interval, it was perceived, that the personal feelings of the parties towards each other, did not abate; and that, unless some immediate measure should be resorted

to for the obviation of the natural effect of such sentiment, the most lamentable events might be expected to ensue.

It is scarcely to be imagined, that the king will displace his confidential servant, intelligent of all his affairs, and competent to the administration of them, from the accidental circumstance of his not being in good fellowship with the representative of his ally. A solicitation to this effect, without entering into the merits of it, bears so strong a resemblance of a disposition to intermeddle in the internal government of the country, that it is likely of itself to provoke opposition. The rajah would have had no difficulty in discovering that if it should be once attended to, it might be converted into a precedent for further applications of a similar tendency, and might be urged at all times, and on the same ground, until a minister should ultimately be appointed, who would exactly tally with the humour and purposes of the British ambassador. But what would become, in the event, of the interests and importance of the king of Travancore? There would be but one appointment more needed, to reduce his kingdom into a dependant and subordinate province.

But though these obvious difficulties, which could not be overlooked, lay in the way of concession on the one part—there were no obstacles, of an insurmountable nature or of a very uncommon complexion, on the other. It would have been no great sacrifice to peace, to have replaced an envoy at a friendly court, who had chanced to be implicated in a personal dispute with the first minister of the government. The course of policy, in such contingency, would seem plain enough of itself, without any example to enforce it—but a precedent of this sort was not wanting. A governor-general, of as high character and as much political wisdom as ever presided over the company's affairs, removed the resident from one of the principal Mahratta courts, on no other ground, for it would have been impossible for



policy or spleen to have a more favourable sentiment of the durbar towards his person. Let the diplomatic pretensions of lieutenant-colonel Macauley, therefore, have been more generally admitted, even than they are, they might, it should seem, have been suffered, without any compromise of the interests of the East India company, or the character of the individual, to give way, to prevent a public calamity.

The circumstances of the misunderstanding between the British and the Travancore minister was thoroughly understood at Madras, and had been, for some time, a topic of general discussion, if not of direct deliberation in the council of that presidency. It was, however, utterly impossible, from the notoriety of the fact, that the government of Fort St. George should be ignorant of that which was known to the whole Indian community; it must, therefore, be a matter of surprise as well as regret, that it should hazard the evil of a war with a state in actual friendship, the effusion of British blood, the probable danger of an insurrection in Malabar, and the almost certainty of a revolt in the scarcely-subdued Poligar countries, rather than remove a public officer, who could not, any longer, from inter-venient causes, no matter what they were, fulfil the duties given to him in charge. Yet in this obdurate and absurd policy, if so it can be called, did the Madras government persist, at the risk of the complicated calamities enumerated, and the great danger, afterwards exemplified, to the personal safety of the resident.\* In a conduct equally as inexplicable, did the same government authorize or countenance its resident to insist, in contradiction of the very purpose of his mission, on the removal of the minister of the court, at which he was appointed to reside. An interference so direct in

the internal administration of the affairs of a separate and independent power, and in so material a point, would seem to assume such an authority, as to supersede the necessity of maintaining the medium of diplomacy for the negotiation of public business. Sustained by the authority of his government, and in obvious contempt of the sentiment of the court to which he is sent, the British resident, it may be presumed, whatever may be his will or disposition, can have little power to promote the views of his appointment, and it may be feared, if his public deportment rise superior to his private sentiment, that the spirit which he himself is able happily to controul, may not be so easily kept in check by the subordinate, the native officers of his mission. They who have any knowledge of the natives of India in general, must be sensible of the facility with which such officers imbibed the feelings of their superiors, and how apt they are to imitate and improve on the example. What may we not, therefore, have to apprehend from the operation of such causes, on the affairs, fearfully involved, of the separate governments?

It must have been a most painful and odious task even to the resident, whose negotiations must have been personally managed with the dewan, to have proposed to that minister the necessity of his retirement from office, and more especially to have explained the causes, out of which the necessity was supposed to arise. Of the circumstances that made this measure requisite, nothing is known, but whether they were political or private, they could be discussed with little propriety, and with less temper between parties previously indisposed to each other. But there are duties, often imposed on the public servant, respecting the execution of which he can have no option; and which, in despite of his own feelings or delicacy, he is pu-

\* At one time it was generally reported and believed, that the resident had been recalled, and that another officer, (Major Blackburne,) had proceeded to relieve him, and had advanced several strides towards Travancore, when his appointment, but on what grounds it is not known, was suddenly rescinded.



remptorily bounden to discharge. In such a situation colonel Macauley appears to have been placed at this moment; and he seems to have carried his sense of duty so far as it was capable of extending; though at the date now contemplated, the end of the year, 1808, his exertions had not been crowned with any visible success.

At this season, to give effect, perhaps, to the representations and views of the British resident, a large body of troops were detached from Trichinopoly, professedly with the intent to proceed in a southerly direction, and according to general report, against Travancore. No secrecy, indeed, was affected as to the design of the armament, the command of which was committed to lieutenant-colonel Macleod, of his Majesty's 69th regiment. This officer had made several days march on his route to the place of his destination, when he was suddenly ordered to halt; under an impression, perhaps, that the objects of his government might be effected without any actual hostile means, and possibly, that the knowledge of the movement of the troops, here, and in other quarters, about the same time, might have been considered as a demonstration, sufficiently powerful to induce the king of Travancore to make the desired change in his councils.

At the same moment of time, a king's regiment and two battalions of Sepoys, were ordered to move in the like direction from Seringapatam, under the command of colonel Forbes.

It is said, however, and the fact appears very probable, that the march of the troops, and other military preparations, were suspended by an artifice of the Dewan; who just at this instant made a shew of voluntarily resigning his authority; since the retention of it, as he represented, was likely to be attended by the ruin of his master and his country. He is said to have so successfully imposed on colonel Macauley by this confession, and by the earnestness of his application to forward the execution of his intention, as to throw the resident completely off his guard. By a further representation, from the Dewan, that his retirement

was likely to be attended with personal danger, on account of the unpopularity of his ministry, he induced colonel Macauley, to promise him the security of his own escort, to conduct him out of the kingdom, to an asylum which he mentioned. This escort was accordingly sent to him at the time agreed upon, when the preparations were supposed to have been arranged for his departure. On the same night, when the resident had retired, without suspicion, to rest, he was suddenly aroused from his slumber by a loud noise, as if of numbers talking together, in the vicinity of his house. He immediately rose, and proceeded to the window, whence he thought he could discern a body of men drawn up in regular array, and seemingly surrounding his habitation. The conversation continued from without, in the course of which he heard his name frequently and distinctly mentioned. Determined to break silence, he instantly demanded, through the lattice, "Who's there?" Upon this, many voices cried out at once, "It is the colonel!" and several pieces were almost instantaneously discharged at the casement, where the resident stood, but without doing any mischief. Perceiving himself surrounded by a party of armed men, whose design could not now be doubted, the colonel seized his sword, and was hurrying down the staircase, with an intent of opposing the entrance of the party into his house, chusing to yield his life in the defence of his threshold, rather than render himself up, as anticipated by him, to a lingering death in the hands of a merciless enemy. For this purpose he was rushing to the outward door, when he was stopped in his design, by a domestic, an ordinary clerk in his service, who conjured and intreated him most fervently not to give himself up to despair, while providence might interpose and point out some unseen means of deliverance. At this very instant a thought suggested itself to this faithful servant, that he might ensure his master's safety, and his own, by committing themselves to a recess in a lower apartment, which was protected by a door, scarcely dis-



terrible in its opening, from the ordinary wainscoat. Into this colonel Macauley was reluctantly induced to enter, just as the armed men from without were forcing their way into the dwelling; they ran with haste through the different rooms and chambers, in the hope of seizing their expected prey. Every corner discoverable by the eye, is penetrated and examined; nor is their search abandoned, until it appears to be completely mocked by a cause, for which they know not how to account, and then they betake themselves to plunder and to destroy the property and papers of the residency. During the activity of the pursuit, which lasted for some hours, the anxiety of the resident may be imagined, better than described: he had, however, the good fortune at length to be relieved from his yet perilous situation, by an event almost as miraculous as that which had led to his original security. The day began to appear, as these banditti had concluded their quest,—and discovered a vessel, under British colours, entering a port at a very short distance from the resident's house. It was ordained by providence, that just at this juncture, a number of soldiers, in the British uniform, were seen traversing the deck; and other vessels, supposed to be full also of troops, were seen at the same time in the offing—a circumstance which induced these armed ruffians to seek a precipitate retreat.

The resident lost not any time, so soon as the way was open to him, in hurrying to the port, and embarking on the first ship that presented itself—thus making sure, by his own prudence, of the full effect of the providential interposition in his favour.

Hence colonel Macauley may be supposed to have communicated to his government the interruptions of his functions, in a manner so unexpected and so unprecedented.

The treacherous contrivance, just noticed, and which was well calculated to surprize its intended victim, was hatched, and carried into effect, so far as practicable, some time towards the end of December. Connected

with this act, or in anticipation of the consequences expected to flow from it, the Dewan does not appear to have neglected the arrangements necessary for his purpose. It was now known, that at the moment, in which he had lulled the suspicions of the resident, he had not only collected together the armed force, employed in besetting the residency, but had assembled at his own house, in the neighbourhood of Quilon, where the subsidiary force was stationed, a more numerous body of men, adequate, in his opinion, to keep that corps in check; so as to leave him a fit season for the device of other military dispositions.

It would appear, from these arrangements, that the treason of the Dewan was neither hastily conceived, nor attempted to be executed without thoroughly considering the possible or probable contingencies to which it might lead. Still there is no reason to imagine, that this abominable plan originated in any other source than the head of the Dewan. It has never been insinuated, nor believed, that the king of Travancore gave any countenance to, or had any previous knowledge of, the treachery of his faithless minister; as far, indeed, as respected the public interests, and the demeanour of the rajah, it was not known, except from the military preparations in the southward of the Carnatic, and some other movements, immediately about to be noticed, that any serious misunderstanding existed between him and the representatives of the East India company. These, however, manifested a temporary design, not very favourable to the king, and which had been delayed only in its progress, by some secret reasons operating on the mind of his ally. A cause, however, is now offered, in the wicked counsels and acts of his minister, unless disowned and punished for justifying the intended, and half-presented hostility of the company's government.

It will be in this place necessary to state, that the vessel, which so seasonably appeared off the port of Cochin, so as to work the final delivery of the resident, was only the forerunner of



several others, which had been taken up by colonel Cuppage, in command of the Malabar provinces, for the conveyance of his majesty's 12th regiment, and a battalion of sepoy's, to the reinforcement of the subsidiary force. That prudent and gallant officer having received information, it seems, from his private sources, that the Travancore government had lately set on foot an extensive armament in the southern extremity of that country, had taken upon himself the responsibility of detaching, to the support of colonel Chalmers, in command of the subsidiary force, this large proportion of the troops subject to his immediate command; a promptitude, not less declaratory of his prudence and foresight, than of his zeal and attachment to the service. These arrived, but with one exception, in good time, and were esteemed by colonel Chalmers as a most seasonable, as well as indispensable relief; and enabled him, as he amply and gratefully acknowledged, to withstand the no longer concealed approaches of the Travancore troops, that threatened otherwise to overwhelm him. The missing vessel, which had on board a surgeon, and about thirty-three privates, belonging to his majesty's 12th regiment, had been delayed in its course by contrary winds or currents, and had, on that account, been obliged to put in at the port of Alippee, on the coast of Travancore, for a supply of water and other necessities. Two or three of the soldiers landed immediately on the vessel's arriving at her anchorage, and being told by certain officers, in the service of the rajah, that a large body of British troops were in the neighbourhood, they were induced to go back to their comrades with the intelligence, and with an assurance that they would be provided with every requisite on landing, to enable them to proceed to the detachment near at hand. Knowing nothing of any existing hostility, nor suspecting any deceit, the whole of the party disembarked, and were conducted, in seeming friendship, some miles inland, where they were treacherously surrounded, and overpowered by numbers, tied in couples, back and back

together, and in that way thrown, with a heavy stone appended to their necks, and with an inhumanity hardly equalled on record, into the back water off the port. At the time that this atrocious act was committed, no public ground had been assigned for the hostilities, newly commenced, nor can any be fancied, that could palliate so base and so worthless a proceeding. But the ferocity of the deed marks the spirit of the times, and may be supposed to bespeak the confidence of the Travancore government, in its resources and arrangements, and a freedom of apprehension from any retaliatory practice, if the idea of such a retaliation could ever be supposed to enter into any civilised mind.

The principal military preparations of the Travancore government, were made, and directed in the first instance, against the subsidiary force at Quilon. The vigilance of colonel Chalmers seems to have anticipated the attack meditated against him.

On the 30th of December, the commandant of the subsidiary force received intelligence, on which he could rely, that a large body of armed men had been assembled on that morning, at the house of the dewan, and in the inclosed ground about it: that ammunition had been delivered out to them, with an intimation that they should hold themselves in immediate readiness for service. As such an assemblage had not previously taken place, without communication with colonel Chalmers, and as it was attended with circumstances so suspicious, he naturally expected and prepared himself for an attack. He ordered, in consequence, the whole force under his command, to sleep that night on their arms. He had scarcely issued his orders to this effect, when fresh intelligence reached him, that another military force, consisting of numerous armed Nairs, had been collected at Paroor, about ten miles to the southward of colonel Chalmers's cantonment, for the purpose of advancing in the direction of the subsidiary force. This information induced the commandant of that force to give specific instructions for a party, consisting of five com-



panies of the 1st battalion of the 4th Native regiment, with a gun, to advance, under the command of captain Clapham; to take post on a height, commanding the position of the dewan's house, so as to keep the body collected there in check, and to prevent the possibility of his being exposed to the fire of the two different bodies of troops at the same instant. This detachment had scarcely arrived at the point assigned for it, when it was observed that a small hill, immediately on the right flank of the post, had been already possessed by a body of Travancore troops, who were increasing momentarily in their numbers. It now appeared, that this commanding eminence was as much a military object to the Travancorean, as to the British commandant; and captain Clapham lost not any time in making the necessary dispositions for the defence of the height. These were scarcely effected when a considerable column of Nairs, armed with musquets, pikes, and other missiles, was seen rapidly advancing on his front; it was challenged, on its approach, more than once, and requested to halt; but heedless of the challenge and request, it proceeded steadily towards the British detachment, then drawn up in line, and evidently with a design to charge it. The Travancorean force had now arrived within ten paces of captain Clapham, when that officer, unawed by their numbers and resolute appearance, gave immediate orders for his detachment to fire, which was instantly returned by the force opposed to it, by which one sepoy was killed, and one subadar, of captain Clapham's small party, wounded. The British troops loaded and fired again with so much quickness and precision, that the enemy was obliged, after making several ineffectual attempts to gain the height, and after rallying on frequent repulses, to abandon his design, with the loss of many men killed and wounded. After this spirited and successful resistance, the British detachment was permitted to keep its position without any further molestation, during the night.

On the next morning, the 31st of December, major Hamilton, of the 2d battalion of the 13th Native infantry, with five companies of the 4th regiment, reinforced by two flank companies of his own battalion, was ordered by colonel Chalmers to advance and take possession of the battery at the Dewan's house; which he effected with much spirit, and without any loss. The capture of two brass four pounders, and four iron guns of the same calibre, was the fruit of this service, which was safely conveyed within the British lines. These guns were placed here originally for the purpose of firing salutes; but, on examination, after they had come into the possession of colonel Chalmers, they were all found to be loaded and doubly shotted. They were captured also in a situation, in which they were not usually placed, a spot having the command of the only road leading to the dewan's house. This circumstance would sufficiently indicate the hostile design of the dewan at this juncture, if it had not been discovered in more direct and unequivocal acts.

This enterprize was succeeded by another of equal good fortune. Before major Hamilton could return to the position whence he had been detached early in the morning, he was required to push forward with his party to the bar at Anjuvicha, about five miles to the north of the encampment of Colonel Chalmers, in consequence of intelligence having been received by the latter officer, that the enemy, in great numbers, were crossing the river in that direction. This movement of major Hamilton was directed with a view to prevent the further passage of the Travancore troops, and to keep those already landed in check. Several small parties of troops were encountered on the way, who fled on the approach of the British detachment: one of these, however, was luckily intercepted; from the commandant of which, major Hamilton derived intelligence of the strength and situation of the enemy in that quarter. It appeared that the force on both banks of the river amounted to 4,000 irregu-



lar troops, with a regular body, as well disciplined as any in the rajah's service, called the Carnatic brigade. This latter force had arrived but a few hours, previously, from Alippee. This intelligence induced major Hamilton to proceed with expedition to Anjivicha, where he arrived just as a numerous body of the enemy was crossing the water in their boats; while another was drawn up on shore to protect their landing. Perceiving that a moment was not to be lost, the British commandant ordered an immediate attack on the party on shore, which was commenced by a heavy and effective fire of grape and musketry; which made so severe an impression on the opposed forces, that they were dispersed in an instant, pursued to the bar, and driven headlong into the water. Four hundred of the enemy were left dead on the banks, and numbers drowned in the attempt to cross the ford. The prisoners taken on this occasion amounted to nearly a hundred.

A battalion of the Carnatic brigade was drawn up on the opposite side of the bar, and witnessed the slaughter of their countrymen and fellow soldiers, without attempting any thing further to their assistance, than a few discharges of their small arms, and from a distance at which they could do no execution. On the dispersion and discomfiture of the enemy on the nearer side of the river, major Hamilton directed his artillery to be opened on the Carnatic battalion on the opposite shore, which precipitately retired almost at the first shot.

In about two hours afterwards, the Carnatic battalion, being reinforced, and accompanied by heavy artillery, resumed its original station, and opened a brisk cannonade of round and grape on the British forces, which was returned with equal spirit. While this firing was maintained on the opposite shore, with a view chiefly to occupy the attention of major Hamilton, the enemy, by means of his boats, transported great numbers of his troops across the river; at a different place, in the expectation of attacking the British party in the rear. But this design was seen and frustrated by the activity of colonel Chalmers, who, at this jun-

ture, issued his orders for the recall of major Hamilton's detachment within the lines of the cantonment.

At an early hour in the evening, information reached colonel Chalmers, that a body of Nairs, to the number of 10,000, were advancing very rapidly on the side of Paroor. From the enemy, thus pouring in from every quarter, in numbers sufficiently powerful, and with regular means of annoyance and of attack, colonel Chalmers thought it prudent to shift his position, and take post in the ruined fort of Quilon, which otherwise, he apprehended, might have fallen into the possession of the enemy. In this position colonel Chalmers remained unmolested throughout the night, which was stormy and tempestuous; and, therefore, probably not employed by the enemy in hostile operations. Colonel Chalmers, on the following morning, not observing any arrangements on the part of the enemy for an immediate attack, moved out from the fort to his former ground, covering the cantonment; determined to await, in that station, the combined attack of the enemy.

From the 1st of January to the 15th of the same month, colonel Chalmers remained in the position last taken up by him, fortifying it by all the practicable means of military defence. The enemy, in the interval, drew all his available force to this point, and maintained himself in a formidable position in front. The state of the strength of the Travancore troops at this date, is not exactly ascertained; but it is understood to have amounted to more than ten times the number of the subsidiary force; but the latter had received, in the interim, a very valuable and important reinforcement, in his majesty's 12th regiment of foot, under the command of colonel Picton. This regiment, with the 1st battalion of the 17th Native infantry, under major Hewitt, had been providently dispatched to the relief of the subsidiary force, without individual application, or communication with the government, but on the mere motive of colonel Cuppage, in command of the Malabar province. The 12th regiment



had at this time newly and seasonably joined the camp of colonel Chalmers; but the Native battalion had been ordered to take post at Cochin, an unfortified place, lying immediately on the coast, and keeping the line of communication open with the subsidiary force.

On the 15th of January, the enemy confidently relying on his numbers, made a desperate assault on the British lines, consisting only of one European regiment, and three battalions of sepoys, with a small body of artillery. A most severe and sanguinary contest ensued, which terminated in the entire repulse and defeat of the Travancore troops, with a most heavy loss. On the part of the British, the loss was comparatively small in the aggregate, falling principally on the European regiment, which lost in killed eight men, and in wounded forty-five;—the sepoy battalions suffered in killed and wounded, a loss of about 70 men. The enemy left 700 men dead on the field of battle, and ten pieces of ordnance.

This brilliant action called for, and received; the public thanks of the governor in council of Fort St. George; who requested colonel Chalmers to accept and to convey the lively acknowledgments of the government to the whole of the troops under his command, but more particularly to colonel Picton, of his majesty's 12th regiment, major Muirhead, major Hamilton, captain Newall, captain Pepper, captain Macintosh, lieutenant Lindsay, lieutenant Arthur, of the engineers, and captains Cranston and Ahmuty, of colonel Chalmers's personal staff; who had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves individually in this most gallant affair.

Though the design of the enemy had been completely defeated, and his troops repulsed with great slaughter in the rencontre just described, they do not appear to have been dispersed, but to have taken up ground, at no great distance from that from which they had been recently driven. The nature of colonel Chalmers's force, and the very limited extent of it, would not permit him to take the full advantage

of this victory, by the pursuit of the fugitives.

The enemy was so dispirited, and so much worsted in this engagement, as to seem incapable of recovering himself for fresh rencontres, without some season for recruit, both of actual strength and of spirit. Still, however, he did not remain wholly inactive, though incompetent for any great exploit. On the unsuccessful determination of the affair on the British lines, he detached an apparently overwhelming force against Cochin, then defended by major Hewitt, with the 1st bat. of the 17th Native infantry, and a mere handful of Europeans, with the hope of retrieving and re-establishing, if it could be effected by the expected result of so unequal a contest, the character and confidence of his troops. Major Hewitt, on the 19th of January, found himself attacked on every approachable side, by strong bodies of the enemy; and in a situation almost devoid of defence; having neither the cover of walls nor of batteries: yet in these circumstances he exhibited so determined a resistance, aided by so much skill and bravery, that he repulsed the enemy in every quarter, after repeated and ineffectual struggles to establish himself within the town. This severe and new loss, experienced by the assailants, compelled them to retreat to their main body, leaving many of their numbers behind them, on the field of their unsuccessful enterprise. The brilliant efforts of a small detachment of the 12th European regt. inspired by the gallantry of their leader, major Hewitt, gave life and animation to the native troops, converting every ordinary individual into an hero, and empowering them to feats of generous and emulous courage, that would appear romantic rather than real. The exploit of this little detachment was not thought unworthy of the particular notice and distinction of the government, which it honoured and served.

With these successive examples and impressions of the spirit and energy of our troops, taken, as it were, by surprise, the ardour of the enemy may



be presumed to have been damped, and could not be restored but by new efforts, and by further augmented numbers. They had still united, however, in the front of the subsidiary force so large an army, reckoning on their mere numerical strength, as to render it imprudent, or unadvisable for colonel Chalmers to venture on an attempt to disperse them. So that from a different cause, the British, as the Travancorean force, was obliged to remain for a time inactive; but the consequence to one was different far from the other. •

If the Travancore troops were not able to achieve any advantage, at this season, when they had attacked the British force in an insulated situation, without any preparation, and without the possibility of obtaining immediate reinforcements, it could hardly be expected that they should prevail, when supplies should be forwarded to it from the different contiguous parts of the company's possessions. So that inactivity on the one side, must have been politic and desirable, while on the other it could operate little short of the absolute ruin of its affairs.

It was impracticable for colonel Chalmers, not only from the want of cavalry, but from the dearth of public cattle, and articles of equipment, to have moved forward towards the enemy; even had policy suggested such a measure. This is one of the early inconveniences, and it is easy to foresee that it will not be the last, experienced from the abolition of the tent contract, noticed in the preceding chapter.

To these busy and agitated scenes succeeded a temporary calm in the southern districts of Travancore, which allowed time to colonel Chalmers to strengthen himself in his position, and to look with confidence, if he could maintain it, for speedy reinforcements. On hearing of the sudden rupture of the friendly relations of the two governments, and the consequent dangerous situation of the subsidiary force, it may be supposed, that the Madras government lost not any time in forwarding a sufficient force from the

company's provinces, to sustain the British contingent in Travancore, and for further hostile purposes. The troops, therefore, that had been equipped on a former occasion at Trichinopoly, and also at Seringapatam, and had been suddenly recalled on their route in the same direction, were now a second time ordered to march for Travancore; and it was fortunate, from the late equipment of these separate detachments, that they were enabled to proceed without much delay, or otherwise, from the want of camp equipage and cattle, they might have been lost to the service in the opening campaign, from the usual season of the setting in of the Monsoon on the Malabar coast.

The troops from Seringapatam were quickened in their movements towards Travancore, by an urgent application from colonel Cuppage to col. Forbes, of his majesty's 80th regiment, commanding the force ordered from Mysoor; the former officer having dispatched, as has already been explained, an European regiment, and a battalion of sepoys, on the first appearance of hostilities, to the relief of colonel Chalmers at the British cantonment; a provision which had saved that officer and his troops, and had enabled him to make that gallant defence, or rather, we should say, to gain those splendid advantages over the enemy, which have already been noticed.

The aid, solicited by col. Cuppage, arrived some time at the commencement of the month of February, and served to render that zealous and active officer competent, in point of strength, which he immediately, and successfully used, to penetrate the lines of the enemy on the Malabar frontier; with which effort the operation on this side of Travancore seems to have concluded.

• After the detail of these particulars, it will be requisite to pursue the movements of the detachment, proceeding from Trichinopoly; which, from its importance, as a military body, but more especially from its distinguished services, on this occasion, deserves a minute attention.



This detachment, on its first moving out of Trichinopoly, towards the end of the month of December, and before the anticipation of hostilities, on the part of the King of Travancore, was confided to the command of lieutenant-colonel Macleod, of his Majesty's 69th regiment, which formed a part of the garrison at Trichinopoly, then under the command of the honourable lieutenant-colonel Arthur Sentleger, an officer of long standing, of great experience, and not less reputation in local warfare. The arrangement of all matters relative to the equipment and dispatch of the detachment which took some time in adjusting, was left to the commandant of the garrison and station, who used every exertion to facilitate the public service. When this had been perfected, and the detachment, consisting of his Majesty's 69th regiment, the 6th regiment of Native cavalry, the 1st and 2nd battalion of the 13th regiment of Native Infantry, with a full company of European artillery, had proceeded certain stages on its march, the honourable lieutenant-colonel Sentleger, addressed a letter, on the 28th of December, to the commander-in-chief, general Macdowall, requesting respectfully to be informed of the reason that so large a body of troops had been taken, in so marked a manner, from under his command, and placed, without any explanation or apology, under the order of a junior officer, while he himself was left at head quarters, with one troop of his own regiment, the 6th Native cavalry, and barely four companies of infantry, to garrison the company's principal southern fort. The honourable and spirited writer concluded, in the event of a satisfactory explanation being withheld from him, out of policy or any other motive, with soliciting that a court martial might be assembled to enquire into his conduct, which stood impeached in his own consideration, and the eyes of the army, by so singular an appointment over his head. The nomination in question had been made by the government, to whom general Macdowall thought it necessary to forward, with a proper recommen-

dation, the colonel's address. But it appears, that while the letter yet remained in the general's hands, that the government itself had removed the supposed reproach of colonel Sentleger, by appointing him, according to his natural and reasonable expectations, to the command of the detachment then in progress.

This appointment took place on the 16th of January, and though it might be imagined to wear something of the appearance of a reluctant selection, that circumstance abated not any thing of the zeal, as it is about to be shewn, of the officer appointed; nor discredited, in the event, the more slow, and, if may be conceived, the more considered judgment of the government.

Colonel Sentleger joined and took charge of the detachment on the 20th of January, and arrived at Palamcottah, without any intermediate events worthy of note, on the 31st; having left the main body, that reached the same place on the next day, under the command of colonel Macleod. At this place, it was understood that the detachment would be reinforced by an European regiment, and field pieces from Ceylon, but these not appearing in good time, colonel Sentleger, sensible of the necessity of rapid and immediate operations, from the season and circumstances of the campaign, after detaching a sufficient succour to lieutenant-colonel Vesey in Tinnevely, and providing his detachment with the necessaries requisite for its march, proceeded without an hour's delay, to the frontier of Travancore, and appeared off the Arambooly gate on the 6th of February; and hence we have to trace the proceedings of the detachment, with a lively and continued interest.

But before these regular military operations be pursued in their due and appropriate order, it may not be unreasonable to explain, as the means for the first time now present themselves, the public and avowed causes of them. The government at this season thought fit, for the purpose of quieting the minds of the neighbouring powers, and the subjects of the bordering territories, as well as to conciliate the



good opinion of the people of Travancore, who might be averse from the measure of war, to transmit for publication a proclamation, in different languages, to be distributed by the commanders of the company's forces, in the various districts under their controul. In these official notifications, the intentions of the government, in invading the kingdom of Travancore, are specifically announced. After describing the long-subsisting alliance between the two states, and the services rendered by the British government lately and of old, these representations set forth, "that military preparations of great extent had lately taken place in Travancore, hostile to the interests of the British government,—that the person of its resident had been attacked by the Travancore troops, and that an assault had been made on the subsidiary force at Quilon, that these outrages had proceeded, as the governor in council believed, from the desperate intrigues of the Dewan, who had endeavoured, by false insinuations, to excite rebellion in the company's territories. In order to defeat these daring plans that the governor in council had directed a large body of troops to move into Travancore, who would in a short time put an end to the power of the Dewan, and restore order and peace. That the inhabitants ought not to take alarm at the appearance of the British troops, since the British government had no other view, than to rescue the rajah from the influence of his minister, and to re-establish the connection between the two governments." This singular and curious paper concluded with an exhortation to the people of Travancore to co-operate with the British government, promising them in that event the fullest protection—holding out at the same time the strongest assurance of support to the Brahmins, and religious establishment, of the country.

Not wishing to delay the detail of the military transactions of the war, for the hostilities from this period must be taken to bear this legitimate charac-

ter, by any nice examination of the particulars stated as the immediate causes of hostility, we may be allowed in this place to express our regret that certain statements are wanting in this paper, which would seem otherwise to be deficient for the justification of the war, even on the footing on which the government has chosen to put it.

It is to be lamented, that nothing is said in the proclamation, that a demand had been previously made on the behalf of the British government, and refused, of an explanation of the reason for the alleged extensive armaments of the Travancore government; or that an application had been preferred by the King of Travancore to the British government, in the alleged abject state of his authority, (which had been usurped, as it would appear, by his Dewan) accompanied by a requisition for the assistance of his ally, in co-operation with him, for the restoration of his power. From the silence of this State Paper, in points so essential, it may chance to be inferred, that, notwithstanding the specious grounds alleged in it, it contains little else than an assertion, though somewhat disguised, of the right of interference of the company's government in the regulation of the internal affairs of the Rajah's dominions. Such an inference might receive a colour also, from the preceding acts of the British government, in ordering, some time before, considerable bodies of troops to Travancore—a circumstance that might, in itself, have induced, as a necessary measure of precaution, those very military preparations principally described and complained of in the proclamation; an official declaration, of this strange and novel feature, that it announces hostility against an ancient and faithful ally, while it exonerates him, in the same breath, from all share in the circumstances stated as the reasons of warfare.

So far as can be collected from the paper, it is a simple declaration of personal hostility, and on personal grounds against the Dewan; which it proposes



by the inversion of the common rule of justice, to revenge on a friendly unoffending sovereign, and his devoted people. A more unblushing manifestation of tyranny, perhaps, is not to be found in the acts of the unsparing conqueror of the western world. It were better surely to have avowed not any reason for the violation of the Travancore frontier, than have set forth so weak, and so untenable a cause; as unjust in fact, as indefensible in policy.

But if the war might want any thing in justice, or in principle, as it may be supposed from the view of the manifesto, it wanted nothing, it should seem, in that imposing effect, derived from brilliant exploits, to render its progress and its end admired, in the uniformity of the success attending it, which it is now our business to pursue.

It has been before stated, that colonel Senteleger arrived off the Arambooly lines on the 6th of February, and on the same day, it appears that the whole of the forces under his command, encamped within three miles of those extensive fortifications, which were hitherto supposed, from their intrinsic strength, the natural obstacles against approach, and from ancient repute and superstition, to be impregnable on every side. On this and the three following days, the gallant commander of the expedition was employed in examining the strength of the northern and southern lines, and determining on the point of attack; which was judiciously chosen on various parts of the northern, or Arambooly lines, and measures promptly taken for carrying that determination into effect.

As these far-famed works must be generally known, it will not be necessary to give a more particular description of them, than by stating that they constitute a line of fortifications, defended at regular intervals with bastions, of three quarters of a mile in extent, continued from hill to hill, running in the same direction, which are thereby incorporated in the defence. At each extremity is a hill, several hundred paces in advance, on which strong redoubts are constructed, flanking each division of

the line. The natural rampart of the mountains, thus strengthened by art, separates the Rajah's territories from the company's; the great Arambooly gate covering the principal pass through the mountains.

After some working parties of pioneers had cleared, with indefatigable labour, a narrow track through the Jungle, both on the north and south side of the Arambooly gate, colonel Senteleger detached a party to reconnoitre, and to make a demonstration of attack on the redoubts on the hill, in advance of the northern extremity of the line; while a more serious attack was meditated at a contrary point.

The command of the second detachment, consisting of the two flank companies of his majesty's 69th regiment, and four flank, and five battalion companies of the 3d Native regiment, was given to major Welsh. To this small force was added a few pioneers, with scaling ladders, and about an equal number of artillery. This brave party, under its no less brave and enterprising commander, left the British encampment in the evening of the 9th, with directions to storm the batteries on the hill, in front of the southern extremity of the line; and, after subduing the intervening difficulties, presenting themselves in thick uncleared jungles, abrupt ascents, rocky fissures, and deep ravines, at length arrived, almost exhausted under cover of the night, and after six hours continued scrambling, at the foot of the walls on the top of the hill, which they immediately scaled, to the surprise and consternation of the enemy, and marvellously carried, after a slight and ineffectual opposition, driving the enemy down the hill. The batteries, enfilading the whole of the line on this side of the gate, were now opened, and directed against the main line of the enemy's defence, and effected an immediate and visible execution. At this juncture, colonel St. Leger reinforced the storming party by an additional company of the 69th regiment, and three companies of the 1st battalion of the 13th Native regiment, under captain Hodgson;



who followed the leading detachment by the same arduous route. So soon as this well-timed reinforcement was despatched by major Welsh, at the break of day, he withdrew, and headed a party of his detachment in storming the main lines, and, by dint of courage and constancy, carried them in despite of a brisk and more-collected resistance. The enemy, at day light, struck with the appearance of the British flag in their strongest positions, and of the approach of the main body of the troops, in maintenance of the advantages already gained, and astonished, more than all, by the prodigy of British valour, just exhibited, abandoned, quite panic-struck, the northern redoubt, and the whole of the line, on that side of the centre gate, without firing a shot, or waiting to take a distinct view of the assailants. Thus suspicious was the opening of the regular campaign, putting, at one moment, and by one effort, skilfully planned, and most ably executed, the whole extent of the Travancore barrier, hitherto deemed unassailable, the arsenal, well furnished with arms, ammunition, and military stores, into the complete possession of the British commander, with the route and discomfiture of the enemy, employed in their defence, amounting in number to five or six thousand men.

In his report of this signal success, colonel St Leger spoke with sincere acknowledgment of the gallant and enterprising spirit of major Welsh, and lieutenant Bertram, of the pioneers, and of all the officers and men who distinguished themselves in their various duties on this memorable day, as well as of major Lambton, acting in the engineer's department, for the aid of his professional skill, and of lieutenant-colonel Macleod, the second in command, for his willing zeal in bringing forward, and directing, the strength of his regiment in aid of the operation.

The governor in council, to whom

the report was addressed, conveyed his expression, to use his own terms, of his warmest approbation and thanks to the honourable lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, and requested him to make known to the officers and troops under his command, particularly to major Welsh, the sentiments of cordial approbation due to their meritorious conduct.\*

Several succeeding days were employed in the destruction of the enemy's works and unserviceable ordnance, as well as in the construction of defences for the principal gateway, which was converted into a strong post, as a security to the rear of the British force on its advance into the country, and for the purpose of keeping up a communication with the district of Tinnevely. Nor was the British commandant occupied solely on military objects, but directed his attention in the interim to several important civil arrangements. The proclamation issued by the government was circulated with great industry throughout the country, and the strongest assurances were given, on the personal pledge of the commanding officer, of the amicable sentiment of the British government towards such of the inhabitants as should feel disposed to profit by it, and of complete security to their private property, and their civil and religious customs and usages.

The wisdom of these arrangements were immediately perceived by the flocking in, on every side of the British camp, of the headmen and principal inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, to avail themselves of the protection of the government; equally promised to them and to the sovereign, in the terms of the proclamation. So much loyalty and affection to their king, was felt by every description of the Native inhabitants, that the only hesitation they expressed in accepting the offered security was, as represented by colonel St. Leger, that their allegiance to their

Further particulars of this gallant enterprise, and of the instruments by which it was effected, are to be found in the Madras Occurrences for February, at pages 86 and 87, et



natural lord might be thereby suspected, or called into doubt, and which apprehension the British commandant could not have removed, but by adding his individual promise to the public assurances. These united had induced a general confidence, tending much to benefit the aspect of affairs—but which was scarcely gained, before it was likely to be endangered by a circumstance, wholly unforeseen by the commandant, and which, if it had not been obviated by his prudence, and firmness, would not only have been the means of disturbing the growing good understanding, but of introducing in its stead, dissatisfaction and distrust.

The British detachment, after the reduction of the barrier, had taken up a position about two miles within the line; and the country, for some distance from the encampment, was soon placed, from the precautions already noticed, in a condition of quiet and tranquillity; the inhabitants visiting the British lines, with a freedom hardly to be expected in the state of things.—Perceiving the extent of country reduced into subjection and order, without considering sufficiently the means that had conducted to it, the collector of the revenues of Tinnevely proposed to colonel Sentleger; in virtue of orders received from the government of Fort St. George to that effect, to introduce, with the aid of the local military force, the company's civil authority into the Travancore districts, immediately subdued, or, more correctly speaking, voluntarily submitting to the British protection. This most unwise proposal was resisted by col. Sentleger, as well from a full sense of the mischief that would result from the adoption of it, as from an impression, arising out of his private feelings, that his own honor and reputation would not be less implicated in such a proceeding, than the public faith. The civil arrangements submitted by the collector were, in consequence, suspended, on the responsibility of the commanding officer; who, by his manly conduct, saved the character of his government, at the hazard of his own.

In the interval, between the 10th and the 16th of February, colonel Sentleger received a reinforcement from Ceylon, of a company of royal artillery, with six light guns, and his Majesty's 3d Ceylon regt. (or Caffree corps) consisting of about 500 men.—Conceiving himself, with this accession, strong enough for further offensive operations, he pushed on his force, after having left a party adequate to the defence of the Aramboolygate, towards Cotar and Nagre Coil, where he had received intelligence that the enemy had taken post in great strength.

The position of the enemy in these villages was naturally strong, fortified by a battery in front commanding the only road of approach, which was narrow and rugged. It was moreover defended by a river in advance, with a single bridge, under the guns of the battery, and a thick jungle in the rear. The dewan had encouraged and animated the troops in possession of this advantageous position, to a desperate defence, by his personal address, and by promises of future favor; but did not think proper to risk his individual safety on the issue of the attack; having retired to the fort of Papanaveram, about two days previous to the advance of the British force, which occurred on the 17th of February.

The force detached by col. Sentleger to dislodge the enemy from so favorable a position, was adapted, and appointed with a due consideration of the strength, to which it was to be opposed. It consisted of the flank companies of his Majesty's 69th regt. under lieutenant col. Macleod; the whole of the 2d Ceylon regt. under lieutenant col. Morrice, three troops of cavalry, commanded by major Nuthall, the flank companies of the 1st and 2d battalions of the 3d Native infantry, and of the 1st battalion of the 13th, with a company of pioneers under lieutenant Patterson, accompanied by the detachment of royal artillery, with six light three pounders, under captain Bates; the gallopers of the cavalry, and the brigade of six pounders attached to the first battalion of the 13th regiment, forming in all, a formidable and highly-equipped detach-



ment, which was gallantly led on to the attack, under the command of lieutenant-colonel M'Leod.

The assault commenced at day-light; and, notwithstanding the heavy fire from the enemy's battery, and guns opening in all directions, his lines were carried with distinguished gallantry, after a sharp and most obstinate action, which terminated in the complete route and confusion of the foe, who were driven with the bayonet from the villages, and pursued beyond the verge of the jungle in their rear, which afforded a temporary shelter to the flying and the wounded.

After the villages had been cleared, and the enemy had been forced in all quarters, five miles, at least, from the ground previously occupied, colonel St. Leger took up his encampment where the pursuit ended; sending back a part of his troops to destroy the enemy's battery, and to reap the fruits of the recent victory, by securing the ordnance and public stores. The amount of the British loss did not exceed fifty, in killed and wounded. The enemy's loss is said to have been very large, though it was not ascertained at the time.

Owing to the excessive fatigue experienced in this severe operation, the British force was halted on the 18th, to refresh it for further pursuit of the enemy, which was not delayed beyond the following day.

On the 19th, colonel St. Leger addressed a letter to the government, communicating the welcome intelligence, that the British flag was flying on both the forts of Oodagherry and Papanaveram, without the necessity of a shot being fired, these strong fortresses having been deserted, the gates left open, and flags of truce hoisted on all sides, on the first approach of the British troops. Such was the terror inspired by their appearance, and the reputation of their preceding exploits.

In Oodagherry were captured 160 pieces of cannon, mostly mounted on works, and a quantity of ammunition and stores of all descriptions.

At this place the rajah had established one of his principal arsenals, with a fine foundry; the only one, it is believed, in use in India, for casting iron guns.

About 20,000 stand of arms, and 40 pieces of ordnance, with 1200 barrels of gunpowder, fell into the hands of the captors, at Papanaveram.

The governor in council, sensible of the value of these rapid and successful operations, honoured them with the repeated thanks of the government. But the best homage paid to the energy and bravery of the troops, and their gallant leader, was the terror and dismay of the enemy; who, discomfited on all sides, sent in different proposals for a cessation of arms. The first letter, requesting terms, was addressed to colonel St. Leger, by the dewan; but whether it was written with a political intention to try the confidence of the British commander in his success, and the extent of his expectations in consequence of it; or whether it was written with a spirit, which, notwithstanding it had been depressed, was not yet rightly humbled for submission, it was couched in such a style as to impress a belief that the writer considered himself as granting, rather than soliciting a favour; in begging forsooth, that our troops might not advance; and in that event his numerous and disciplined forces should not fall upon them; but he would be inclined, such his gracious disposition, to enter into negotiations for peace. It is superfluous almost to observe, that no answer was given to a letter dictated in such a tone. But the bearer of it earnestly intreated that he might be allowed to carry back some acknowledgement of the receipt of the letter, or his head might chance to answer for his master's indiscretion, in so framing it, as to render a reply unattainable. The good nature of the British commandant, always the concomitant of a generous courage, attended to the anxious request, and the safety of the messenger, by grant-



a certificate of the delivery of the paper.

About the same time other letters were received in the British camp, from the commander-in-chief of the enemy's forces, the brother of the dewan, and from the king himself. These, and more especially the latter, breathed a different spirit, and spoke a very distinct language from the letter of the minister. The first solicited a cessation of hostilities, and that the British detachment should keep its position, and on that condition the enemy's principal force would retire to a distant post. The second letter was said to be to the same effect; but containing the additional circumstance, that the king was ready to enter into an immediate negotiation with the resident, for renewing the amicable relations lately subsisting between the two governments, and which he, the king, had never supposed to be interrupted, until the British troops had entered his dominions, and, although they had lately forced his barrier, and penetrated into the interior of his country, he had never once entertained the mad project of seriously opposing their progress, or using other means than friendly explanation to avert the evil. He particularly deprecated the march of the British detachment to his capital, which would be the cause, as he apprehended, of disturbing its tranquillity, and possibly of the utter desertion of the city, by its principal inhabitants, with their families and property. Though the British commandant was most anxious to push on his advances to form a junction with colonel Chalmers at Quilon, as well from the perilous situation of the subsidiary force, as the approach of the Monsoon; he yet considered that the application of the king was entitled to such respect as prudence might authorize him to shew to it. He, therefore, after the usual compliments, informed the king, that he had every disposition to meet his wishes, and would comply with them, so far as it was consistent with the safety of the troops under his command, and the instruction of his go-

vernment, who had left the adjustment of all civil relations to the British resident; that as the king's dependence on the faith of the British government seemed real and unfeigned, and as he was assured that it would be met with a correspondent spirit, he should only make those movements, which the season would not justify him in delaying, towards Travandaram, the king's capital; but in so peaceful a manner, as not to bear the appearance of the advance of an hostile army. To this end orders would be given to his troops to abstain from attack, or excess of any kind; unless they should first be molested, a circumstance which he could not anticipate, by the Travancore force. That when he should arrive, by easy marches, within ten miles of the capital, he would halt, until he should receive instructions from the resident, communicating the intention of the British government to receive or reject the king's proposals. To give effect to the proposed negotiation, he finally suggested that the troopers, bearing his answer, might be usefully employed by the king, in his communication with the resident; and who had accordingly been furnished with passports to promote this desirable purpose. Colonel St. Leger correctly considered that he might cede these indulgencies, from the circumstance well known to the king, that he had several of his strong fortresses in his hand; and what might also be conceived no secondary object in the eyes of the rajah, that he had possession of his principal and esteemed pagodas, and their brahmins, whose pollution might be the dreaded consequence of any treachery.

This pacificatory proposal encountered a temporary and whimsical obstacle, from an accidental circumstance of eastern etiquette, which could not have come within the contemplation of the British commandant. He had ordered, it seems, the naive, the non-commissioned officer in charge of the party of cavalry, bearing the answer to the letter, not to deliver that paper into any other than the king's hands—



so that when the former had arrived at the palace, and had made known his commissions, he was acquainted with the impossibility of the king's receipt of the dispatches from his, or any other than sacred hands. The embarrassment did not continue long, but was expeditiously obviated by the good sense, and natural understanding of the Naigue; who was content, though an excellent soldier, to waive a strict compliance with the letter of his order, so that its spirit and intention was answered. He entered into a ready compromise, which would remove the difficulty of the most squeamish courtier, to deliver the paper to the minister, in the king's presence, so that he should have a personal opportunity of seeing that it was given by him to the rajah; being fully satisfied, that all that colonel St. Leger could intend by his order was, that the trooper should be certain that the answer would reach the rajah's own hands. It would not seem that the most rigid disciplinarian could form a reasonable objection to the latitude of the construction, put on his commandant's order.

The answer being conveyed by this contrivance to the king, and being fully weighed and considered, the troopers were by him dispatched, with a proposal grounded on it, to colonel McCauley, who was at this time stationed at Cochin, about forty miles from Travandaram.

Colonel St. Leger halted at Oodagherry until the 21st, and was then about to proceed, lightly equipped, and by short marches, on his route, as originally proposed, to within a short distance of the capital, when he received information from colonel Chalmers, that he was yet unable to take the field, for the want of necessary equipments; a circumstance that induced colonel St. Leger to forego his first intention, and to take up the first convenient position that should present itself between Oodagherry and Colachee—stationing a portion of his force in each of those places, until the commanding officer of the subsidiary force should effect a junction with him. It

was impracticable, it appears, for colonel St. Leger to detach a sufficient force, to give convoy to the supplies he had received for the use of colonel Chalmers's detachment, without exposing his baggage, a dangerous experiment, in the unsettled state of affairs, to the mercy of the enemy.

On the 22d the detachment moved in the direction of Colachee, taking position about midway between that place and Oodagherry; a sufficient body was thence ordered to Colachee, and arrived there on the 23d, where it found two brass guns, and about 1000 stand of arms. The possession of this place, immediately on the coast, empowered colonel St. Leger not only to keep up an open communication with the sea, but to dispatch assistance by that medium to colonel Chalmers, which the success of his operations allowed him to afford. The first care of colonel St. Leger was to strengthen the redoubt, which already contained two brass nine-pounders, by an additional six-pounder, and to detach a small party to take possession of the city of Travancore, which lay between the encampment of the British force, and the garrison of Oodagherry: this was the last arrangement necessary for securing the richest part of Travancore, and rendering it impossible for the enemy to draw any supplies in this quarter, or to send even a detachment southward, without coming into contact with and risking an engagement with the British detachment.

If, instead of availing himself of this advantageous post, colonel St. Leger had sought an immediate junction, as he was originally instructed, with colonel Chalmers, he would not only have exposed his extensive convoy to direct peril, but he might have had to combat with a great disparity of force, calculating on the best-grounded reports, in a most difficult, and almost unknown country. The numbers of the enemy were at this time stated to amount to about 16,000 infantry, regularly armed, and trained; and about 85,000 bowmen; a description of men capable of occasioning much an-



noyance to an hostile army, moving through such a country. Not to enumerate all the obstacles in the way of such a movement, it may suffice to say, that Quilon was full eighty miles distant from col. St. Leger's encampment : that between that place and Travandaram, about forty miles from the British camp, there were three large rivers, two of them breast high, wide, and rapid. The road, for the most part, lies on a high bank, a very narrow ridge, running through the rice or paddy fields, and rising generally about twelve feet above the level of the plain, which can at all times be flooded, and usually is so. The bottom of these fields is of deep black earth, which renders a passage nearly impracticable in any way but by the elevated road. These fields wind through the hills, with the road in the centre, which is often commanded from both sides of the hills for three or four miles together, within musket shot, and sometimes even within the smaller distance of bow shot. All the rising grounds or hills, are divided into small enclosures, each of which has the strength of a military work, being in general seven feet high, with a very thick, prickly pear, or pine-apple hedge on the top ; with a small gate, on certain sides, preserving a communication between the different enclosures. In each of these separate fields is a Nair's habitation : in other parts, on the summit of the rising grounds, the road is frequently good, laying between beautiful avenues of the finest trees ; but these are defended on either side, by a thick, impenetrable jungle ; with apertures cut at the bottom, through which the Nairs know how to direct their devious course, crawling on their knees, and by which one person only can proceed at a time ; and this narrow way is often disputed by tigers, and other fierce and savage animals inhabiting and infesting the woods. A country, so beset with natural obstacles, it would be difficult under any circumstances to traverse with a large body of men ; but it would have been an inexcusable rashness in the commander of

an adverse army to attempt it, unless under the most urgent and imperious necessity ; as this did not exist, it is not a matter of any surprise, that the British commandant selected the position, immediately described, affording so many advantages, for annoyance of the enemy, and not less opportunities for supplying the necessities of his friend.

On his first arrival at Colachee, colonel Sentleger received a dispatch from captain Townsend, whom he had left in command of the Arambooley Gate, conveying the agreeable information, that he had cleared the Southern or Canniah Comarah lines, according to the instructions communicated to him, antecedent to the movement of the detachment into the interior of Travancore. This part of the barrier had been considered, in the first instance, too strong to be attempted by the detachment, unaccompanied as it was with a battering train ; but its defence being weakened by the fall of the Northern lines, and the troops having generally deserted it, it fell into the hands of captain Townsend, as it had been foreseen by colonel Sentleger, without resistance, and was dismantled effectually in its ordnance and works.

The troops dispatched on the 21st instant to the king of Travancore, and by him sent forward to the resident, with the sub-idiary force, returned on the 24th to the British encampment, having marched in the interval 170 miles, sixty of which over the sea-beach, in deep sand. They brought back with them the reply of the resident to the joint communications of the king and the British commander, which was forwarded to Travandaram, immediately on its receipt. From the arrangements thereupon made, that looked to the further progress of the troops towards the capital, it was to be conjectured that the resident's reply was not favourable. It was now generally reported and believed, that the detachment would not stop short of Travandaram, unless the rajah should consent, within a given and short time, to render up his minister, to deliver



the medical officer and party of the 13th regiment treacherously seduced on shore at Alippee—and to issue decisive orders for the dispersion of his troops in the different parts of his kingdom. The latter condition had in some sort been complied with already; the troops having observed on their return several parties of soldiers retiring peaceably to their homes, under the orders of the rajah: and what remained to be done required not, it should seem, any fresh promise from the king, his majesty having given the most positive assurances of a disposition to disband his troops, and of his intention not to oppose the progress of the British detachment, both in his communication with colonel Sentleger, and the resident himself. And with the two preceding conditions, it must have been known by the resident, judging from his own representations, and those of his government, that the king had it not in his power to comply.

If the Dewan had usurped, as asserted, the sovereign authority of the state, and had made the King a secondary personage within his kingdom, it was in vain to seek from him the delivery of the usurper into the custody of the resident. Nor can any ground be conceived for so preposterous a proposition, connected with the dignity of a mighty state with another independent power, or any other motive be imputed for it, than one which would degrade the high sentiments of the British government to a level with the dictates of the lowest and worst passions of individuals. It is impossible to form any notion, if the King should have been able to place his minister in the power of the British government, of the purpose for which it insisted on the demand. With whatsoever heavy and detestable crimes that individual might have been charged or chargeable, it is not to be fancied that the British government could in cool blood, have proceeded to punish that wicked minister, without the means or authority of enquiring into his offences. And it may be imagined that such government had victims enough of this description in its possession, wasting

their lives and strength in dungeons, where the light and air of Heaven is not allowed to visit their eyes, or refresh their frames. It must be left for others, in their more refined policy to explain, for we confess that we cannot, the hidden reason and wisdom of the extraordinary condition here insisted on.

The impossibility of the surrender of the British prisoners, surprised on the coast, has been shewn in a preceding page, that recounts the horrid and most melancholy end which attended them. It is, under present information, as impracticable to devise an excuse for the barbarity that marked it, as to decry a possible cause for it; but the expression of our grief, in respect to the sufferers, would be as unavailing at this period, as the tardy concern exhibited by the government for their relief; a concern, however, which cannot be accounted for, when shewn, on any other ground, than as raising up another perplexity, to confound the party with whom a desire at least was signified to negotiate.

The answer of the King to these strange proposals having not been received at the British camp on the 27th, colonel Sentleger, made a movement with the main body of his detachment, towards Travancorum, and on the same evening advanced about six miles beyond the ancient city of Travancore. This march of the troops was probably intended to quicken the determination of the Rajah, and was well directed to that effect.

For a long period, nothing had been heard of the designs or the operations of the Dewan: but it was about this date known, that after the event of the defeat of the Travancore troops at Cotar and Nagrecoil, the unhappy minister had precipitately fled to the capital, whence, hearing of the success and progress of the British detachment, and the brave and noble resistance of the subsidiary force in another quarter, he again took to flight in a north-west direction, among unassailable fastnesses, and in a country scarcely inhabitable; there hoping to find a temporary asylum, rather than expecting to



while the means of opposition to the British arms.

On the 28th the British commandant, taking personally on himself the command of the flank companies of the army, the cavalry, and royal artillery, with their light guns, made a rapid march, and encamped at night within three miles of the rajah's palace at Travandaram; where the remainder of his detachment joined him on the following day. In this commanding position, overawing the palace and the capital, we will for a while leave the southern army to take a cursory view of the proceedings of the subsidiary force, under its distinguished and able leader.

It has already been shewn, that the enemy had made several unsuccessful attacks, on the first demonstration of hostility, on the subsidiary force at Quilon; the last of which, that has been noticed, occurred on the 15th of January, and was attended with a loss on the part of the enemy of 700 men. It was long after the occurrence of this signal repulse, that he could inspire enough of courage into his troops to venture on a new assault, which was however at length repeated, and with the like result attendant on the previous attack, on the 31st of January. The fresh loss experienced by the enemy is not described, but his defeat was so remarkable, that it seemed to have checked all idea of further enterprise on his part, and to have introduced such dismay into his camp, as to induce almost a daily desertion and diminution of his numbers. Perceiving from this time the inactivity and the despair of the foe opposed to him, colonel Chalmers saw that only one vigorous, offensive measure, was wanting for the entire dispersion of the hostile army, in his vicinity, and he determined on urging it without delay. Having made all the necessary arrangements for the assault of the enemy's lines, colonel Chalmers himself superintended the event of that operation on the 21st of February, a day before the receipt of colonel Sentleger's last dispatches.

The attack was made in two co-

lums, moving simultaneously upon the batteries and works thrown up in front of the enemy's position. The right column, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Picton, of his majesty's 12th regiment, and the left by the honourable lieutenant-colonel Stuart, of his majesty's 19th regiment, were led on with such an irresistible spirit and gallantry, that the batteries were almost instantly silenced and carried, and the works every where possessed by one bold exertion, and, it is with much pleasure added, with inconsiderable loss; the enemy quitting his posts at every point, without daring to encounter the experienced danger, and almost certain slaughter, of the British bayonet. The right column captured three of the enemy's guns, and the left four, which were removed without opposition to the encampment of the subsidiary force.

Captain J. Grant, attached to the residency, and captain Foote, of his majesty's frigate *La Piedmontaise*, with a party of seamen, volunteered their services on this distinguished occasion, and partook of the honour of the day.

From this and the preceding gallant operations of colonel Chalmers, the enemy lost all confidence in himself and in his cause, and was on the point of deserting the call of his country in his despair, when he received the command of the king to discontinue his exertions; by the same hands that brought the letters of his majesty, and of colonel Sentleger to the British residency and the subsidiary force. The Travancore camp in consequence broke up, and military parties, in small detachments, repaired to their several homes, in peace with themselves, and without molestation from others.

It is impossible to close this part of the history of the war, without expressing our sincere admiration not only of the repeated acts of gallantry achieved by this portion of the British forces; but of the cautious and wise system of the leader of the subsidiary force, which enabled him, against fearful odds, unforeseen accident, and a most treacherous assault, not only to sustain his post with honour, but to



turn the multiplied evils, meditated by the enemy, on his own head.

On the happy termination of hostilities in this quarter, colonel Chalmers prepared for moving forward to the capital, under similar orders from the resident, communicated to colonel Sentleger, to co-operate in the same design, and to effect a junction, if necessary, with the latter officer. Colonel Chalmers moved from his encampment at Quilon on the 26th of February, and arrived at the high ground, within twelve miles of the opposite side of Travandaram, much about the same time that the last-mentioned officer took up his position near that city; having received instructions also, like colonel Sentleger, not to proceed nearer to the capital until further orders. Possessed of all the strong positions in the country, and of the immediate keys to the capital, without any remaining resistance, and without any fear of future attack, it is to be supposed that no reasonable obstacle can present itself to the solicited negotiation of peace; which is suffered now to proceed, but still after a tardy pace, and in a manner not promising any speedy determination, one of the negotiators carrying on this desirable work on board a frigate, laying off the coast; subjecting it of course to interruptions, from the want of constant means of communication.

Pending the protracted negotiation, the different British detachments observed a pacific demeanour; and, as it proceeded, colonel Sentleger embraced the opportunity of disburthening himself of such parts of his force and his equipments, as the occasion would allow.

His arrangements in this respect, though not so showy or interesting, were, nevertheless, not less judicious and important to the interests of his government, than those rapid measures planned and executed by him on his approaching and entering the Travancore lines, that had effected the business of a common campaign, by a continued series of glorious and successful operations, in the very short period of ten days. In what is the

government and his employers not indebted to him, and his gallant colleagues, for services so singularly distinguished?

Nothing would now seem to be wanting to complete the full satisfaction of the government, but the possession of the object, that had been made the ostensible cause of the war; the pursuit of which is not delayed, though enough advantages are in its power, to leave it nothing to apprehend from private design, or private enmity. The unfortunate Dewân, if not of terror, is still the cause of another passion; which is not to be quieted, often, but with the ruin of its object. A sharp and close search is instituted after the ill-fated minister; stimulated by a large and tempting reward; but not one of the followers of his fallen fortunes can be prevailed upon to betray his solitary retreat. In the wild scene, chosen as his place of refuge, he has less to fear from the savage and ferocious herds, continually howling around him, and watching for their casual prey, than from merciless man, his unappeasable and never-ceasing pursuer; the constant dread of whose approach, and the knowledge of whose unforgiveness, preying always on his heart, makes it meditate on the certain means of destruction, to get rid of the haunting, lingering apprehensions of death, and the pollution that may attend it through the hated hands of an insatiable foe; but who might be expected, if he had not the magnanimity to forgive the living, that he would not profane, with his unhallowed touch, the sanctity of the dead. Misguided man! stay the impious instrument upraised against thy life, and know, that the grave is not always a security against the thirst of mortal Revenge! The steel, alas! has entered his soul, and the minister, lately commanding an empire, lies now a clod upon his fellow clay, whence he sprung; and to which even his unrelenting conqueror shall, in his turn, be reduced: a lesson that should purge the pride, and the still ignobler passions, ranking in the human bosom!

Intelligence of the death of the



Dewan soon reaches the residency, when new rewards are offered to him who shall bring in the still-persecuted remains of the now unconscious minister; and the blood bounds are warmly laid upon the scent. The lifeless trunk is discovered, drawn from the cave that concealed it, and delivered, a precious gift! to hungering vengeance. That gibbet! erected in the view of the palace, speaks the rest; where the wasting body of the minister, swinging to and fro with the wind, shall, so long as the elements spare it, appal the eye, or grate upon the ear of his master, keeping constantly alive the sense of his own dependance on his magnanimous ally, and scaring away from his employment the honest services of his subjects.

The seal is now put to the treaty.\*

Some future historian, with more

ample materials before him, and with feelings more subdued by time, may be led, perchance, to speak of these transactions, and to characterise them as they deserve: it is the humbler office of the annalist to place them before his readers, in the imperfect light in which they appear to him; happy if his limited account, or his incidental observations, shall awaken curiosity, or excite an interest to events, that would seem to call for a most serious and seasonable enquiry; which may remove the slander, if it be such, of the reports that have reached our shores; and, with it, the reproach that they would seem to cast upon the national character; or that the country, in its express disavowal and abhorrence of the act, may not suffer its general fame to be stained by the crimes of individuals.

\* Since the preceding sheet was sent to press, the editor discovered accidentally, in a very recent report, laid on the table of the House of Commons, the following particulars of the treaties of the rajah of Travancore with the East India Company, inaccurately stated at the commencement of this chapter.

"In the year 1795 a permanent treaty was concluded with the rajah, subject to the ratification or approval of the court of directors, in which it was stipulated that a subsidiary force should be furnished by the company for the service of the rajah, consisting of three battalions of Sepoys, one company of European artillery, and two companies of Mascars, for which a sum was to be paid annually, equivalent to the expense of the same.

"No payment was made under this treaty till 1798-9. From 1798-9 to 1806, the amount of the subsidy fixed at 42,944*l.* has been annually realized in the way of set-off in the accounts with the rajah for pepper furnished by him under *cont. act.* It is to be remarked, that in January 1806, another treaty was entered into with the rajah increasing the subsidiary force by one complete regiment of Native infantry and adding to the subsidy to the amount of 45,186*l.* for the expense of it; but no payment was made on account of the additional subsidy for nearly two years subsequent to the conclusion of the treaty, notwithstanding the remission of half of it for that period."

2d report of the select committee.



## CHAPTER IV

Policy of Sir George Barlow not altered in the interval, or by the events of the war—disaffection most prevalent in Travancore—examination of the causes of discontent, and dispatches of government in relation to it—explanation given to the army on the 6th of February—orders of that date examined—abortive attempt at private conciliation with major Boles—lieutenant-colonel Martin detained in India—loses his passage—allowed to embark on a succeeding ship—major Boles not permitted to proceed to England—ships sail—permission granted to him—Secretary of Military Board suddenly removed—Sir George Barlow's private invitations generally refused—removal of officers on that account—favourable reports made by Sir George Barlow to Lord Minto, who inclines in consequence to the subordinate government—on the 20th of February his lordship approves of the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and suspension of general Mac Dowall—silence as to major Boles—memorial to the governor-general prepared, but abandoned—address to major Boles—these acts resented, and made the grounds of the order of the 1st of May, suspending numerous officers, and removing many others from their commands and staff offices—this order considered—orders of the 2nd of May, directing several other removals on summary grounds—resentment shewn by the Hyderabad subsidiary force, of the compliment paid to it, in the order of the 1st of May—declaration of that force—general irritation of the army acknowledged by Sir George Barlow, who solicits the interposition of the governor-general to allay it, which produces the letter of the 27th of May, approving all the foregoing measures of Sir George Barlow, and vindicating the reasons of them—ordered to be printed—the grounds of the vindication examined—the impression of this letter on the army and the government—general combination at the different stations of the army—the honourable colonel Smtleger, major Boles, and captain Marshall, ordered to embark, at a few hours notice, for Calcutta—removal of officers at Masulipatam from the staff—others, with detachments from the European regiments, ordered to serve as marines on board the fleet—regular committees formed here, and at other places—undisguised revolt of the officers at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other stations—the Native troops not acquainted with the existence or cause of the revolt—colonel Malcolm sent by Sir George Barlow to Masulipatam—fails in his negotiation—colonel Close fails in a like manner at Hyderabad—lord Minto hears of the revolt of the garrison of Masulipatam, on the 10th of July—resolves on proceeding to the coast—on the 20th, publishes an order to the Bengal army—leaves Calcutta the 5th of August—attempts of Sir George Barlow to procure addresses—suggests a test to the officers of the company's service—generally refused—officers removed from their employments—replaced by the king's officers civil and military—measures devised for subduing the revolt—the latter not generally carried into effect—attack on the Chintledroog battalions—operation of lord Minto's order of the 20th of July—submission of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, and of the troops generally—amnesty granted by general Pater to the garrison of Masulipatam—lord Minto arrives at Madras on the 10th of September—develops the policy which he means to adopt—publishes, on the 25th of September, his



amnesty to the army, and announces the cases, 21 in number, excepted out of it—examination of the order of the 25th of September—court-martial appointed to assemble at Bangalore—defence of the parties involving the character of the government—lieutenant-colonel J. Bell and major J. Story, cashiered by the sentence of the court-martial—lieutenant-colonel Doveton acquitted—sentences sent back for revision—accompanied by a letter from the Judge-Advocate—the court adheres to its first opinion—observations on the preceding acts—conclusion.

THE great display of zeal and energy by the army, in the conduct of the war in Travancore, shews that all private resentment, if any part of it could be supposed to attach to the military body employed there, was sacrificed to the public cause. It will hardly be believed, that this precise spot was regarded by Sir George Barlow as the hot-bed of disaffection, and that its growth was imputed to the very season which produced the fairer fruit of a generous emulation in enterprise, and devotion to the public service.

The interval embraced by the Travancore war was brilliant, yet short; but it was long enough, in its duration, to have afforded the means, if they had been embraced by a congenial spirit, for the renunciation of an obnoxious policy on the one hand, and the abandonment of acrimony on the other. But Sir George Barlow does not appear to have relaxed for an instant the rigid principle of his government: and as long as the influence and operation of it should continue, it was not to be reckoned, that the passions of the army, which it excited, would cease or abate. If the governor had reviewed his measures in the interim, the re-consideration had no other visible effect, than of confirming him in his primary judgment, instead of inducing him to tread back the steps that had raised so general a jealousy. From this moment, as if he had gained new strength, or confirmation from the pause, he is seen advancing in acts, that had already stirred the fiercest passions, and could not have any other tendency, judging by the past, but to drive them to excess.

What, it may be asked, is the fresh necessity, that requires the new exertion?—The dispatches of the Madras government, at this time, may be supposed to speak, both the sentiments of that organ, and the nature and latitude

of the offence imputed to the army. The latter is not described, in the public correspondence in question, to amount to more than an alleged and indistinct clamour about the abolition of the tent-contract, and the interruption, by the act of the government, of the prosecution of the quartermaster-general. To these, indeed, is added a complaint against the late commander-in-chief of the army, who had now left the peninsula, and against the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general of the army, who are represented to have shared, but more by implication, than any direct deduction, in the fault of their superior. But these questions immediately concerned but a comparatively small number of persons, though they might relatively interest, if pushed beyond the present instances, the whole circle of the army. No insinuation, derogatory to the general body of the army, is stated in this official correspondence. It is, therefore, to be concluded, that with the exception of the partial discontent, which is noticed in it, that the other part of the military community was yet as free from taint, as from accusation; a circumstance that should have awakened the caution of the governor, to prevent the disease of the few from communicating to the many. This natural caution is no where to be observed in the proceedings of the government; but a spirit, it is feared, may be traced in them, equally indignant of opposition, and careless about the provocation of it. All delicacy in respect to the use of its authority, is henceforward thrown aside. If no new power be brought into action, it is, that its ultimate resources have already been exhausted. It may be communicated to fresh objects, and may be varied in its application, but it is still the same power.



The dispatches of the Madras government, of the 28th of February,\* shew what that government thought of the supposed crime of the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general, so severely punished by it; the grand and efficient cause, it will be seen, of the discontents that began, about that date, to agitate the army at large. It is styled, in this document, "an act of great enormity," but such was the professed moderation of the government at the time, that it was prepared to receive "any acknowledgment," (such are the words of the dispatch), as an atonement for their conduct; yes, if they would have said only, "that it had proceeded from an imperfect conception of their duty."

Whatever colour the government thought it right subsequently to give to the alleged offence of these officers, it is evident, from the slight atonement which they were ready to admit, and which they seemed to expect, that it was not very heinous, even in their own eyes. Passing over the unreasonableness of the expectation, that these gentlemen should enter on a defence of their conduct after it had been published and condemned, and punished, it may be safely asked, on the explanation of the government itself, what necessity existed for drawing forth at once, for the punishment of the principal staff of the army, the extraordinary powers of the state? If a flimsy apology could have averted the anger of the government, would not the season allow of a moment to demand it? When if an instant had been given for reflection, the horrors of a civil strife had been probably avoided. It was ordered otherwise.

The government, in their dispatch, express a reluctance, it is true, to proceed to severity, and a readiness to depart from the harsh measures, which they represent to have been forced upon them—yet their outward acts wear any thing rather than a conciliatory appearance.

It was now no longer concealed from the government, how unpopular its acts had become, and how necessary it was to devise some means of removing the further discontent, occasioned by them. As the greatest apprehension first arose from the side of the army, an explanation was unexpectedly made to it; but then it was rendered in so awkward and ungracious a manner, that it had been better avoided altogether. This explanation was made by a general order to the army, excusing, at some length, the proceedings of the government in releasing the quartermaster-general, from arrest,† but hinting not a word on the more interesting cases of the suspension of the staff-officers.

Notwithstanding the austerity of the principle acted on by Sir George Barlow, assuming an unquestionable power over the army, and his resentment of the conduct of general Macdowall in appealing to its opinion, he condescends himself, in this order, to reason with the same body on the grounds of the release in question. At the time, too, that he states himself studious to soothe the military feeling, he offers, unwittingly perhaps, a glaring insult to its judgment.

The governor gives, in this general order, his own view of the conduct both of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and general Macdowall, and of the report which had entailed the serious consequence stated. In speaking of the expressions conceived to be injurious, by the commanding officers of corps, "he has no hesitation, (he says,) in declaring, that it appears, in his judgment, impossible, under any correct construction, to attach an offensive meaning to words, where injury was not meant, and where the intention of offence did not exist;" and, having given his own gloss to the matter, he concludes, "the honourable the governor in council deems it his further duty to observe that the question which has been under deliberation"

\* Inserted in the State Papers, page 265.

† See General Order, 6th February, in the Madras Occurrences.



must be now considered as *concluded*." It would appear that he is prescribing in this order, not only the mode of conduct for the army, but even the train of their thinking. What is this but laying down a doctrine, not to be disputed, that the whole military body can act and think only by the measure, of his (the governor's) understanding?

To this clumsy attempt at public conciliation, a private essay is made to bring the deputy-adjutant-general to submission; possibly at the suggestion, though not at the avowal, of the government.

Major-general Gowdie, who had succeeded, on the suspension of general Macdowall, to the chief command of the army, had arrived at this time at Fort St. George, and shortly afterwards waited on major Boles, professing for him a great friendship, and proposing, on an admission of his fault, in the most easy and palatable terms, that he would intercede with the government for his restoration to the service and his office. But this specious offer was not listened to by major Boles, under the declared conviction of his own integrity. Whether the act of general Gowdie was authorized or not, it unequivocally shews, that the offence of the deputy-adjutant-general, in the general's opinion, was, of all others, the most venial, when it could be expiated by a solicited apology. But there is reason to believe, in despite of all the apparent backwardness of Sir George Barlow, to acknowledge the excess of his authority, in the severity shewn to this officer, that this unfortunate application was made with his privity. This may be inferred from some of the succeeding acts of the governor, and more especially from a public letter of general Gowdie, who ascribes a contumacy to major Boles's refusal of his mediation, which could hardly have been fancied by him, unless his application had been understood to have been sanctioned by superior commands.

At the end of the month of December preceding, lieutenant-colonel Martin, one of the commanding officers of corps, who had signed the charges

against the quarter-master-general, arrived at the presidency, with the purpose of prosecuting, according to the previous permission of government, a voyage to England. He had engaged, at a considerable price, a passage on one of the company's ships, expected to be dispatched at the close of the month of January. On the 29th of that month it was intimated to him by the government, that he would not be allowed to depart, his presence being deemed necessary to the prosecution of the charges against lieutenant-colonel Munro. It is not easy to fancy that this could have been the sincere motive for the detention of this officer, since lieutenant-colonel Munro had been released from his arrest several weeks before, and the proceedings against him in the military court thereby superseded. Could the government intend, notwithstanding the release of the quarter-master-general, to deliver up that officer, subsequently, to trial? Whatever might be the reason, the public, until this hour, know not how to account for the seemingly wanton detention of this gentleman until the middle of the month of February, at an expence to the company of 400*l*, the price of his forfeited passage-money. It pleased the government, at length, to permit lieutenant-colonel Martin to leave India, on the Sir Stephen Lushington; a ship on which major Boles, the deputy-adjutant-general, had also contracted for a passage, desirous of making as early a personal appeal as practicable, to the honourable the court of directors. But the government thought fit, in a like manner, to detain the latter, like the former officer, by absolutely refusing him permission to embark on the Indiaman, or on another vessel about to leave the roads at the same time. About four days afterwards, when there was no opportunity of a sea conveyance for eight months to come, it was graciously communicated to the deputy-adjutant-general that he was at full liberty to prosecute his voyage, when and how he could.

Captain Marshall, who filled the respectable offices of secretary to the mili-



tary board and fund, and was an active member of several public committees, then sitting, and had discharged the duties of his various offices, as it was supposed, with equal satisfaction to the government and the public, was suddenly removed, about this period, from his multifarious trusts, and sent, without an explanation, to the comparatively trifling employment of pay-master to a provincial garrison.

These are not the only acts of gratuitous authority exhibited by the government, but the whole conduct of the executive appears to have been now swayed by those petty passions that sometimes disfigure and degrade the acts of individuals. These acts might have been occasioned, perhaps, by the odium in which the person, as well as the government of Sir George Barlow, were holden at this juncture; a fact of which he must have been, at this time acquainted, however slow he might have been to discover it. No reverence or outward respect were voluntarily paid, or could even be exacted, beyond the members of his family, or the partners in his acts. Though the source and fountain of all promotion, not a civilian or soldier could be induced to pay more than a customary compliment or courtesy to his office, while his house and his board were deserted of all, but his very retainers. His particular invitations are rejected, and he finds himself at once the head and out-cast of society.

Finding no refuge in integrity or pride, he attempts to introduce the governing principles of his public policy into the walks of private life; to enforce civilities by law, and courtesy by proclamation. Is it necessary to state the failure of this wretched expedient? which is not, however, resigned without a full and abundant trial. And what the fruit of the experiment? A host of individuals are removed from their stations, and banished to distant and unhealthy situations, rather than submit to the mortification of receiving constrained and compulsory kindnesses. The loss of direct interest, and the resignation of the fairest prospects, are willingly endured rather than the

degrading sacrifice of the independence which providence gave to the heart along with the blood that warms it. Not only the veteran with his brave battalion, is to be viewed measuring his weary way, over a wider expanse in a tempestuous season, in preference to the easy enjoyment of a stationary and advantageous position, but a yet more interesting spectacle presents itself,—a chosen body of youth, the hopes of armies yet to come, a whole institution is dispersed in every direction of the Indian Peninsula, to scatter far and wide the projects and discomfiture of domestic despotism. A general statement of these notorious facts, without any specification of particulars, will be sufficient to demonstrate the imprudence of the attempt of the governor, and the unavoidable consequence—the disgust of the army.

The discontent of the army seems to have been thoroughly understood, but not so its origin, or the remedy applicable to it. The governor, in a partiality not uncommon to his own acts, attributed every thing to the disaffection of the army, rather than to the mistaken policy on which he proceeded. He saw, or fancied that he saw, a predetermined hostility to the system of his government, founded on the generally ungrateful principle of reform, and to this he was anxious to ascribe every shew of resistance or opposition. But an impartial eye may trace the temper that now shewed itself to a more obvious and natural cause. The only effects produced by the economy and retrenchments of Sir G. Barlow, as described by himself, were a temporary clamour, in the first instance, and an ultimate representation, from certain members of the army, to the court of directors of the East India company. These had occurred many months previously to the first exercise of the power of suspension, and had ceased to be mentioned; nor would the memory of them, in all probability, have been ever revived, but from the infliction of new sufferings by the same hand. No one, capable of forming a sound judgment, would have looked to these distant and remote



circumstances, as the causes of the evil, now obvious and visible to all; when there were grievances, present to the eye, immediately operative and infinitely more galling in their pressure, that naturally explained the reason of the 'public discontent. Sir G. Barlow looked to the first feelings and acts of the army, without once adverting to the aggression on the part of the government, that had changed the objects and the very nature of the feelings themselves. What is the loss of a little paltry pelf; in a military or civil consideration, compared to the destruction of the primary right of redress for injuries, of personal immunity, and private property, all of them intended to be secured against arbitrary violation by the express letter of the law? Every one of these natural rights had been invaded, and the consequential injuries had flowed, when Sir G. Barlow began to look around him for an adequate cause that might account for the reigning dissatisfaction, and found it, as he supposed, in a stale and forgotten suffering. He did not once call to recollection the interference of the government, with the process of military judicature, and the obstruction of the course of martial law. He did not glance at the disturbance and removal of men, from their respective avocations and employments, without the figure of investigation; nor of their suspension from offices, in which they had acquired a property from precedent services, by the mere weight of authority. Nor could he have contemplated the necessary tendency of acts, that seek to exercise a rule over mankind, not in their public duties and obligations, but in their private relations and affections. The inevitable effect of such an oversight in a government, must be an universal opposition; unless the nature of man and the end of government, should be changed, no other consequence could be anticipated.

It is not surprising that Sir G. Barlow, misconceiving the reason of the discontent, did not embrace the proper method for removing it. Under a

supposition that his system is odious, and his general agency, therefore, unpopular, he seems to have imputed every dissatisfaction, not to any fault or defect, in a particular measure, but to personal dislike. Fancying the public opinion against him, he apparently becomes regardless of the public sentiment, and proceeding on the imagination, and a policy adapted to it, that every man is his enemy, it cannot be long before he makes him so in point of fact. In his representations, relative to the existing state of affairs, he may be supposed to communicate to others the impressions felt by himself; and, hence, giving credit to his statements, results a confirmation of his proceedings by the controuling power in India.

What were the precise relations made by Sir G. Barlow to the supreme government, there are no immediate means of judging; as no dispatches of his to that authority are yet before the public. It is, however, to be collected from the governor-general's letter of the 12th of October,\* that the correspondence of Sir G. Barlow had a view to produce an impression that the discontent was not general, nor likely to be permanent. Up to the 10th of July, lord Minto writes, he continued to receive very favourable reports from Sir G. Barlow, of the hopes which might be entertained of the army's speedy return to subordination and obedience; and he only lost these views, from intelligence received from Masulipatam. This may account for the early countenance shewn by his lordship to the acts of the government of Fort St. George, which, as they portended to effect no evil to the state, he was inclined, in ordinary compliment to the inferior government, to support. The first approbation conveyed to the supreme government, was on the 20th February, and related solely to the release of the quarter-master-general, and the suspension of general Macdowall. On the first impression of the supreme government, then only intent on praise, it was thought prudent, perhaps, to be silent, where it

\* Vide page 384.



felt that it could not safely commend. The suspension of the deputy adjutant-general was not even glanced at.

The approbation of the supreme government, as it might be foreseen, was the means of strengthening the governor in his policy, rather than of inducing a doubt of the propriety in persevering in it. It had scarcely been received in Madras before the effect of the approbation was extensively experienced.

The army, in the interval of the communication of Sir G. Barlow with Bengal, had leisure also to consider of their grievances, and of the manner of redressing them; for they were of such a nature, that it was hardly believed that they should be forgotten in the lapse of time. In the acerbation of their feeling they do not seem, however, to have meditated any other than a regular and constitutional course of proceeding. They content themselves with devising a representation of their general wrongs, and means for the alleviation of individual distress from the oppression, as they conceived, of the local government. The first measure is attempted to be effected through the medium of a memorial to the supreme government of India; with which a controuling power is vested for the prevention of evil in the subordinate Indian governments; but this measure is relinquished, in an inchoate and imperfect state, on the receipt of information that the council of Bengal had sanctioned the preceding acts of the Madras government. But several addresses are framed and forwarded at this period, to the deputy adjutant-general, expressive of the condolence of his brother officers in his fate, and assurances to major Boles of pecuniary support, co-extensive with the deprivations under which he laboured, so long as he should remain suspended from his office. In certain of these papers a paragraph is introduced, which has something the appearance, though it is liable to a less objectionable construction, of an engagement in the subscribers to adhere to one another in the event of their being subject to a similar situation with

the object of the address; a sufferer, it must be observed, through a pure and strict obedience to military orders. Beyond these two acts, either in deed or counsel, the military had not yet proceeded. These acts, coming to the knowledge of Sir G. Barlow, were sufficient in his mind to induce an instantaneous application to the single but forcible instrument of his government; the suspension of the supposed principal offenders.

A moment's pause may be allowed for an enquiry into the real grounds that existed for the repetition of an extreme measure which had already failed in its effect, and had produced, instead of the proposed end, the most unhappy and mischievous consequences.

It was evident to the government, from the acts of the army, that a very general discontent existed, at the unusual exertion of its authority on the release of colonel Munro, and the suspension of colonel Capper and major Boles; and so severely felt, that it was with difficulty restrained from outwardly manifesting itself. It was however restrained, but not kept under by so strong a rein, but that it might, by inattention or by any fresh stimulus, break forth into an impatient and active opposition. At this instant it had only opened its mouth in complaint against the local government to the supreme authority in India, but had stifled its cry when it had reason to believe that the source of its appeal had been pre-occupied. It had given up its public appeal, and in all likelihood would have confined its sufferings within its own breast. Sir G. Barlow in his minute admits this important fact. We had every reason to believe, he says, "that the intention of pressing the memorial is almost, if not *wholly* abandoned." In another passage also, in the same document, it may be seen that the emergency of the times did not require the use of any extraordinary authority in the government.

In proceeding to recommend the measures necessary to be adopted, with regard to this intended memorial, Sir G. Barlow states, "I have been anx-



ious to avoid the two difficulties, of either, on the one hand, acting on insufficient evidence, or, on the other, of waiting too long for the full discovery of all the signatures affixed to it, as I had reason to believe that the spirit of dissatisfaction was not *gaining ground* in the army; it did not appear that any danger was incurred by waiting hitherto for fuller proof as to the individuals who had been concerned in signing or promoting the circulation of this paper.\*

What a confession is here! that the governor of a vast empire, assured that there was no threatening or impending danger, condescended to play the spy and to lay in deceitful ambush, until he could surprise all the unfortunate persons, parties to a thoughtless and angry writing, cancelled and condemned to the flames! He had no fear, no anxiety it seems, but that the period should pass away without affording sufficient victims, or without a possible opportunity of displaying the extraordinary energy of his government. He could not bear to wait, lest peradventure the crimes and the actors in it should have been lost and forgotten, and no new offence or offender might arise for reprehension and punishment. It needs not another observation to prove that neither the times nor the occasion called for fresh and renewed severities, or that any other than measures of forbearance or neutrality were requisite for preserving the public peace.

Fortunate would it have been indeed for Sir G. Barlow, if a gleam of reflection had shone on the past, or that a ray of wisdom had irradiated the way before him, but he seems wholly lost in the regard of the stupendous engine in his grasp, and cannot restrain his eagerness to put its powers to the test. He hunts down with avidity the authors of this almost-forgotten paper, in every possible direction, and joining them with less heinous malefactors, he showers down on them the blind indiscriminate vengeance of the government,

in the memorable orders of the first of May.†

This official instrument claims the attentive consideration of those, who wish to form a true opinion of the provocation which induced the agitation of the army, and the events to which it gave rise; combining with it the history of proceeding transactions, and the existing state of things. These will enable them to draw a fit conclusion both of the internal merits of the order and its probable effects. By this one instrument is awarded, as it appears, a sentence to several offences, and to numberless offenders—varying in the extent or quality of guilt—yet visiting all alike, or, with little apparent distinction, with the extremity of punishment; all of them judged alike, in the same hurry, and in the same measure, without hearing, without a defence, without a knowledge of their crime, except in so much as it may be learnt from the language of their sentence, written in so unintelligible a style as to perplex both the individuals suffering, and the public, to be instructed by the example, in understanding the proclaimed offences. In one place the army had to view two respectable officers, captain J. Marshall, late secretary to the military board, and who was then at Seringapatam, and lieutenant-colonel G. Martin, who was far advanced on his way to Europe, declared highly criminal for having been "*principally* concerned in preparing and circulating the memorial;" and another officer, the hon. colonel A. Senteleger, who had so eminently distinguished himself in Travancore, and who was then in that kingdom, condemned in the self same paragraph, for the very determinate and yet but half offence of the principals, of having been "*active* in promoting the circulation of the paper;" and Capt. Marshall and col. Senteleger, lieutenant-colonel Martin, (being luckily beyond the reach of Sir G. Barlow) are both injudiciously confounded in the judgment of suspension.

\* Vide Page 273.

† Vide Page 102.



Major J. De Morgan, who was then at Tellicherry, remote from any of the parties just described, is adjudged in the like loose terms with colonel Sautleger, and for the same indeterminate crime, to the unvaried punishment of suspension from the service. Captain J. Grant, commanding the body guard, and then assistant to the resident in Travancore, is involved in the like penalty with his brother officers, for having put his signature to the address to major Boles; admitted by Sir G. Barlow to be of inferior guilt to the memorial, and attended with circumstances that would undoubtedly have found favour in other times and with other persons, than those of whom the Madras government was composed.

In another place, in the same order of the 1st May, the army witness the punishment of other classes of officers for alleged offences, even more doubtful than those already particularised, to whom the principle of suspension, though somewhat modified, is lavishly applied.

Lieutenant-colonel Bell, the commanding officer of the coast artillery, stationed within eight short miles of the presidency, and whose particular offending might have been minutely ascertained, is removed from the command, the pay, and emoluments, of his station, or, in other words, suspended from his office; because a paper of a similar tendency with the address to major Boles had been circulated among the officers of his corps, and that its circulation was said to have been promoted, but when, and in what manner, is not stated, by lieutenant-colonel Bell.

In a succeeding paragraph of this singular paper, lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, commanding to the south of Travancore, and lieutenant-colonel Cuppage, employed in the northern extremity of the same kingdom, and who had been recently appointed from his acknowledged character and desert, to the office of adjutant-general of the army, are removed, the one from his command, and the other from his staff-appointment, for this capricious reason, that they "appear to have taken no steps whatever, either to repress, or

report to the government the improper proceedings pursued by part of the troops under their orders." What improper proceedings had been pursued, and by what part of the troops under the respective orders of these officers, are not described; neither is it explained whether colonel Chalmers, or colonel Cuppage, had any knowledge of such proceedings.

Captain J. M. Coombs, assistant-quarter-master-general in Mysore, is also removed from his staff situation, for having "been concerned," as the order alleges, "in these reprehensible proceedings;" but whether they were the last-mentioned proceedings, or any other particular proceedings mentioned in the order, there is not a ground even for a conjecture.

In this unheard-of manner, are eight officers, some of them of superior rank and station, and all of them of great respectability in the service, suspended, without private question, or public enquiry, from the service, or their stations; for causes either unspecified altogether, or if specified wholly inadequate to the punishment inflicted.

Sir G. Barlow, sitting in his private closet, and viewing objects at the four cardinal points of the compass, bids his anger travel N. E. W. or South, according to caprice or whim, for it is impossible, that a single vision can embrace the whole expanse which his severity visits. It ranges by turns, leaving every where a mark of its displeasure; the kingdom of Travancore, the Circars, the Barhamahl, the Carnatic, the Mysore, some hundred miles distant from each other, and from the point of view, trusting its own keen sight, or borrowing for its purpose the eye of others—liable to the delusion and infirmity to which that organ, by the law of nature, is subjected.

From every one of these remote recesses is a conceived culprit coolly drawn forth; his hands tied, his mouth gagged, and rendered up without pity or remorse, not to the hands of justice, but of the executioner. What are the mad and melancholy times, in which such a practice can be men-



tioned, and borne with patience? At this season the army had not been driven into despair and revolt, but, according to Sir G. Barlow's report, the military discontent had not appeared "to gain ground." But how far the day may be distant, warranting the application of summary and unrelenting sanctions, it demands no uncommon foresight to say. But these will be produced, not by the violence of the times, but the times by the violence and frequency of the punishment.

The edge of the uplifted sword of government is not suffered to fall on every devoted neck, by the merciless sentence delivered in this order. There are other victims reserved for a succeeding execution, which follows on the ensuing day; when the commander-in-chief is ordered to relieve the tired hand of the governor. He perfects the business of vengeance, by proceeding with the proscribed list, and removing from the command of corps,

Captain Smith, 2d battalion of the 14th regiment.

Major Keasbury, 2d battalion of the 9th regiment.

Major Muirhead, the 2d battalion of the 18th regiment.

Major Hazlewood, 1st battalion of the 24th regiment, for the alleged, but unproved offence of not "having exerted themselves in maintaining order and discipline in their respective corps."

At the time that this extraordinary commission is given to the commander-in-chief, he is vested with the strange and most dangerous power, the right of supercession of officers, whom "he may be induced to consider," from his information, "as improper persons," to be entrusted at the moment with the charge of corps. So that the assumed prerogative of the government, of punishing at will, is communicated, without hesitation, to the temporary commander-in-chief; and, on the same principle, might have been transferred to a hundred subordinate links of the chain of authority, without the fear of the abuse of that delicate power, or any anxiety about the possible

sufferers by it. And as a specimen of the care with which a prerogative of this consequence should be exercised, the government, at the instant of communicating it to the commander-in-chief, require him to remove lieutenant-colonel Rumley from his regiment of cavalry, for this very flagrant fault, "that his conduct had been for some time unsatisfactory."

This is the worthy sequel to the order of the 1st May, which cannot be quitted, without a brief remark on its concluding office; which is to correct, as it states, "a misapprehension, highly dangerous in its tendency, which had arisen in the minds of some of the officers of the army, with regard to the nature of the authority of the governor-in-council;" which misapprehension is ascribed to the influence of the order of general Macdowall to the army, of the 28th of January, preceding the order of reprimand. There could be no future misconception, it should seem, even without this observation, of the extent of this authority, from the liberal use that had been made of it in the striking punishments, just exhibited. This practical lesson superseded the necessity that might have existed for the promulgation of the doctrine, which at best appears out of place, following, and not leading the acts, to which it is applicable.

After publishing the conviction of the government, that the majority of the army did not participate in "the improper and dangerous proceedings," declared in the order, it ends, with a particular, and ill-judged, compliment to the exemplary conduct of the Hyderabad subsidiary force. This commendation, at the expense of a part of the military community, was indignantly refused in the very moment it was offered; a striking proof of the temper, which the order of the 1st May was calculated to excite throughout the army. The two powerful motives, praise and expected favour, could not influence the Hyderabad force to view the acts effected by that order in any other light, than as destructive of the



rights, and insulting to the feelings of the whole military body. Some indignation might, perhaps, have been occasioned by the conceived attempt to cajole them, through the medium of the order, by placing them in contrast, and in seeming opposition, if they willingly admitted the governor's approbation, to their brother officers in other branches of the army. A declaration was thereupon made to the officers of the Madras army, and the government, by the Hydrabad force, which gave both reason to understand, that the sufferings of the army, as wrought by the orders of the 31st January, and the 1st May, were as keenly felt by the members of this corps, as by the general body of the company's officers. The spirit and language of these papers, which no one could commend, and which few would seek to excuse, may serve to show what was the nature and the strength of the feelings that had been roused by this most obnoxious and operative order, and what was immediately to be expected from the force and influence of such feelings, if no means should be discovered for the counteraction of their effects.\*

The danger threatened by the existing temper of the army seems either to have been misunderstood, or the possible result of it miscalculated or despised, for no other state measure appears to have been resorted to for quieting the turbulence of the times than soliciting and procuring a long and laboured discourse from the chair of the supreme government of Ben-

It cannot be considered that Sir G. Barlow could have imagined, seriously, that men, so inflamed, would be preached out of their humour by a tardy sermon from Calcutta. But it is not difficult to guess the reason of the

request, so flattering to the governor-general, who seems to be deluded, step by step, until he becomes identified with the governor of Madras.

This paper comes at last; the purport of which is to allay, as it would appear, the ferment which is universally understood to rage over the military state, and this it expects to promote by the opposite and contradictory means of reprehension and of reasoning. These at any time, would seem but slender means for soothing or healing the passions of an inflamed multitude; but little, indeed, could be done by their aid, when urged, as here, through the dull medium of a tedious epistolary disquisition; in which doctrines are broached and broken in the same breath, and in which truth in statement, and error in reasoning, are so blended, that one loses which to admire most, the sense of the writer, or the apparent perversion of it in the use.

The governor-general, desirous, as he professes, himself to be, of instilling into the minds of the Madras officers, the principle of passive obedience and of indeliberate insubordination to the commands of the civil authority, argues throughout the endless paragraphs of this paper, with the passion and the persuasion of the advocate, not with the authority and decision of the judge, to establish positions, where he should declare the law. While he would forbid deliberation, he calls upon the army to deliberate; while discountenancing military discussion, by his doctrine, he promotes it by his practice. He makes opponents and disputants of those whom he is regarding in his address as silent and submissive pupils, yet he loses not the sight of his authority, except in the manner and the moment of exercising it.†

In this production, lord Minto enters

\* The manner of ordering colonel Seftinger to the presidency, seems to have roused, in a peculiar manner, the indignation of his brother officers. He is removed without any explanation, save through the order of the 1st of May, from his command in Travancore, the field of his late brilliant operations, and instructed to pursue a private route to Poona, the depot of French and Dutch prisoners, the enemies of his country: from the contact of which society he is not permitted to free himself, but by the especial indulgence of the government.

† Vide letter of Lord Minto, of 27th May, page 373.



## HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

on the detail of events, which it will be convenient to pursue, that had produced the general discontent. Every where, as he goes along, he vindicates the proceedings of Sir G. Barlow, by the unqualified condemnation of the conduct of the army. He censures, in broad terms the act of petitioning or memorializing in bodies, inveighs generally against military combinations, condemning, without reserve, the meditated memorial to the governor-general, to which the order of the 1st May refers. He illustrates his statements, on every one of these topics, by allusions to the acknowledged principles of the British constitution, and genuine British feeling.

If he had confined his labour here, though there might be some doctrines, and some illustrations attempted by him, that had more of splendour in them, than substance, none would have been much inclined to have excepted to his general propositions. But his lordship has not only conclusively pronounced in disfavour of the right of memorializing in the present instance, but has utterly denied the existence of any grievance as a cause of memorial in the army; and has endeavoured to sustain his assertion, by a minute examination of every one of the acts attributed to and affecting that body of men. These have already been described, in a general way, but it will be necessary to advert to them more particularly, that it may be seen whether the army were setting up, as it is alleged, ideal and visionary grievances, and whether the government was justified or not in the severe measures pursued for the suppression of military complaints.

The practice of memorializing in numbers, though it may not be strictly military, is not novel in point of fact. Numberless instances might be quoted where memorials have been forwarded to his majesty, and the court of directors, from the Indian army, or large bodies of officers attached to it, and have not only been received in that form, but have been wisely and formally attended to. An extraordinary paper of this sort was presented to the king,

by the Bengal army, then commanded by general Popham, in which his majesty was informed of the sufferings and sentiments of that branch of the service, and the redress which it expected, accompanied by a bold, if not menacing declaration, that the sufferers were 150,000 men, with arms in their hands, and with ability, at least, if not relieved by the beneficence of the sovereign, to enforce, by their own means, a redress of their grievances. The appeal was not thrown back on the appellants, neither was it without effect. On another, not less memorable occasion, the complaints of the united Indian army were presented at the India house, and in Downing street, through the hands of acknowledged representatives and commissioners, chosen openly by their military constituents at the three presidencies. These representatives were treated with respect by Mr. Pitt, and they were admitted by that enlightened statesman to discuss and adjust the rights of those whom they represented. It is observable, also, in the papers laid upon the table of the House of Commons, that the court of directors have very recently thrown off something like disapprobation of the conduct of Sir G. Barlow, in not forwarding to the court the memorial of certain officers, complaining generally of the reduction of their advantages, which had been sent to the Madras government by general Macdowall, for transmissal to England. These are all in proof of the manner and extent of appeal in military matters. It appears, at all times, to have been permitted to the officers of the Indian army, in indulgence, if not in right, to make a joint representation of their wrongs to the constituted authorities, both at home and abroad. Convenience may have had much to do in the toleration of the practice; and, perhaps, a contrary course would be unsuited to the peculiar constitution and situation of the Indian army. Lord Minto himself seems to admit, if not directly, by the tendency of his illustrations, the right of individuals to memorialize together, but not the right of officers to



give their joint memorial the denomination of an appeal from the whole army. This narrows the objection to the memorial under consideration to a question of form, rather than of substance. His lordship, forgetting that the paper is not complete, and that it is capable of revision and alteration, considers it as a finished composition, giving to all the parts of it a fixed and determinate meaning, without any reference to the general purport and context of the writing. He excepts, primarily, to its title, as bespeaking it to be a representation of the army at large : and this affords an occasion for his reprobation of the supposed end of the paper, which he conceives is " to bring to the council board a *clamorous demand*, enforced by the *combined and united voice of the army.*" But if the title be exceptionable to the full, as it appeared to his lordship, the exception is only to the title, and might have been explained, and in reality removed by reference to the matter in the body which is the essence of the memorial. This does not show that the persons, whoever they might be, who subscribed the memorial had, or pretended to have any commission or authority, from the army to represent its grievances ; and therefore, whatever erroneous title the memorial carried on its front, it could not in fact be considered as any thing more than the joint memorial of the persons subscribing it ; and hence all the reasoning of lord Minto, on this score, would seem in fairness to be inapplicable and irrelevant.

The tone and language of the memorial, considering it as having arrived maturely in the hands of the governor-general, but in which way it never came thither, is not certainly so respectful, or decorous, as it might or should have been. But this will be more or less excusable from the reality or non-existence, as it shall eventually appear, of the alleged circumstances of complaint.

The governor-general, examining every one of the imagined circumstances, declares them to be without reality or foundation. These circumstances are stated by him to be " the

exclusion of lieutenant-general Macdowall from council ; the release of colonel Menro, and the removal of the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general from their offices." But are these the grievances actually preferred in the memorial, or are they misconceived and misrepresented by lord Minto ? and may not a great deal of his argument fail, as proceeding on this misconception of the premises ?

In respect to the exclusion of gen. Macdowall from the council, which his lordship places at the head of the represented grievances of the army, it may be observed, and it must be evident to every one who has given the intended memorial to the governor-general a patient and impartial consideration, that it is *not* set forth as a *substantive cause of complaint*, ~~and~~ it hinted at in any other way, than as a reason, by which they account, rightly or not, for the sufferings of the army. They " lament generally that although their claims, their duties, and their privileges are so multifarious, as to require the assistance of practical experience in discussing the merits of them, yet they have not a representative in the council of the government, where alone the discussion can be agitated ; " to this cause probably " (they say) " may be ascribed the *recent measures*, which have made it necessary for your memorialists to implore your gracious interposition." And they continue " a succinct notice of *those measures* will amply develop the principles by which your memorialists estimate the *injuries* they have *already* received : and by the further abuse of authorities, which they have reason to apprehend." They then immediately pass to the enumeration of the government measures, which constitute the sum of their representation. Is there any thing in this, like the assertion of a right in the army to have a representative in council, and a consequent oppression in the exclusion of general Macdowall ? Is the circumstance ever stated as a *positive cause of suffering* ; or alluded to more than as the *possible or probable source of the measures* which have borne on the feelings of the army ? To



this comes probably, (say they) with moderation and modesty enough, may be ascribed the recent measures which have made it necessary for the memorialists, not to resist the government, but to "implore the gracious interposition of the governor-general." The allusion might have been more absolute without any great excess either in duty or respect.

Whatever might be the demerits of the memorial, none certainly are imputable to it for pretending to rights incompatible with the condition of the subscribers to it, but appertaining unquestionably to his Majesty and the directors of the East India company, respecting the degree of political or military power to be possessed by the commander-in-chief. It might have been expected, therefore, of the candour of his lordship, that he should not have attempted to involve the subscribers to the memorial in arrogant, but imaginary pretensions to rights which are constitutionally and wisely vested in other and more fit organs.\*

If his Lordship had viewed with an impartial eye the quoted passage in the memorial, he might have avoided half the labour of his letter, and all the pain which must result to an ingenuous mind, on reflection, from ascribing motives to men which they evidently did not feel, and where the imputation might have an injurious tendency, as here, in implicating and embroiling them with those authorities to which alone they could look, from the unhappy event of things, for a fair consideration and just decision on their conduct.

It has been shortly shewn, that the exclusion of the commander in chief from the council, was not alleged as a grievance in itself, but was lamented generally as the probable cause of the evils endured and anticipated by the army. This act was known to be the act of the government at home; while the memorial distinctly complained of the measures of the government abroad, "a succinct notice of which, they state, will amply develop the principles by which they estimate the injuries already received; and which, by

the further abuse of power, they reason to apprehend. It is the object of the memorial, thus explained, not so much to seek redress for what has passed, as to stay the further progress of injury; this is most explicitly declared towards the conclusion of the memorial. It is addressed also to an authority whose particular office it is to controul the acts, if they shall seem unwise or injudicious, in the inferior governments. So that the direction of the appeal was peculiarly correct, on the ground of it was substantial, and the mode of representation void of offence. The negative of the latter position, is argued by the governor-general, who states the subject of the appeal, as has been shown, not altogether as it is, in respect to the leading head, and who denies the justice of it in all that it sets forth.

The measures of the government, noticed in the memorial, and described by lord Minto, may be taken, with the exception particularised, on the statement of his lordship; but with certain allowances. They appear to be, reduced in number and aggravation, the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and the removal from their offices of the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general of the army; but each of these heads includes in it several inseparable and oppressive incidents.

The release of colonel Munro does not relate to that individual only—but to the numerous officers of corps who prepared charges against him, and relatively to the whole army, interested in the due administration of the military law. It collaterally concerns the character and the rights of the commander-in-chief.

The removal of the adjutant, and deputy-adjutant-general, is not the sum of the next offensive measure of the government, as specified in the memorial; for they are suspended not only from their offices, but the service, and the avowed cause of their suspension, and the manner of it, are more pointed at in the representation, than the act itself. These considerations surely are not foreign to the army, for they might be made applicable to



every member of it, in an instant, by a sudden fancy of the executive. But these are very slightly considered, and explained by the governor-general, though the measures themselves are defended in the aggregate, on the footing of the false clamour of the memorialists.

The release of colonel Munro is spoken of as an act of grace; but such a view of the act is confined to the case of the officer released; not extended to the other parties, surely, and they were numerous, who had procured his arrest. It would be trifling to waste a word on so preposterous an assertion. But the release is approved, or rather excused, on graver reasons. It is stated, that colonel Munro was not a fit object of arrest, since he was an agent in the matters imputed to him, by way of charge, in the direct employment of the government, and within the letter of his commission; for that his act, when perfected, had been adopted and approved by his employers. Whether this were true or not, there is no means of forming any accurate notion, unless the quarter-master-general's assertion is to be held, in a point of controversy, as decisive and unexamined. But taking the act, in any construction, who is to judge of it? It is a military act, and the agent is a military agent. The persons complaining of it are all clothed with a military garb. The organ, cognizant of military offences and instructed with the means of bringing them to punishment, would seem here, as in ordinary cases, to be the judge of the propriety, or impropriety, of the arrest, and the subsequent release;—and this organ is the king's commander-in-chief, for the time being, sole and uncontrolled. The arrest must have been preceded by a charge, alleging some breach of military custom or law, of which the commander-in-chief is to form his own judgment, and to award the first process, or not, as he sees occasion; and it must be presumed, in favour of such office, that a fit foundation was laid for the arrest in this instance. The act of the com-

mander-in-chief, it has been shown in a preceding place, is not controllable within the sphere of his authority, and who, in the course of the administration of justice throughout the army, is as free from the constraint of the civil power, as the courts established by his majesty for the dispensation of the civil law to the community, not professing a military life. Any interference with this authority, within its proper bounds, must be deemed unlawful, and when affecting the rights of other parties, as much a resulting grievance to them as the more direct and open infringement of the rights of the commander-in-chief.

Lord Minto admits, "that the warrant to hold courts martial is addressed to the commander-in-chief, and he considers his authority exclusive in that branch of the public administration; but the abuse, he adds, of a legal power is illegal, and the supreme military control of the governor in council extends, in his judgment, and beyond all doubt, to the prevention of such abuses." This may be granted to the fullest latitude; but it will be asked, where the abuse of the commander-in-chief's authority is apparent?—Has he brought a party within his power not subject to military command? The act is admitted to have been done by a military officer, and in the course of his duty. In what is it suggested that the general has transgressed his legal province, so as to call for the controlling hand of the civil government? It is said, that he has exercised a jurisdiction over an act, which may, or must, involve the government in the inquiry. But, if so, the common measure of justice must be meted out here, as in other instances, without attention to remote consequences, without any squeamishness or overstrained delicacy about the conduct or character of the government, supposed to be implicated in that enquiry. The law shows no courtesy to persons or to place; but if what it constitutes a crime be apparent, it will not be less so in its eye, that the thing has been done by the command, or with the approbation of any



authority, however exalted. If the sanction of the government could excuse an act, otherwise a crime, it must, at all times, be in the power of the government to draw the consideration of such act, whether it concerned the civil or the military agent, within its cognisance, and to oust the king's courts of law of all their jurisdiction over it. The absurdity of such a position is too manifest to require more than a simple statement: but if such a sanction could cover the agent from the legal consequences of the act, it must be necessary for him to plead, and to shew such circumstance in evidence, in justification or excuse; of the sufficiency of which, the civil or the martial courts, and those who are ultimately to approve the decision, must judge. It is not for the government to judge of the lawfulness of its own acts, to erect itself into a tribunal, to sit in judgment on its own conduct, to the mockery of the very idea of justice, and to the contempt of the established courts of the crown and the country.

But the supposition, seriously insisted on by lord Minto, that the character of government could be affected, in an injurious manner, by the trial, or even the conviction, of lieutenant-colonel Munro, would seem to do more credit to his lordship's fancy and ingenuity, than to his judgment.—How is the thing supposed possible? by this complicated process: that the tent contract was abolished by the advice of colonel Munro, that his advice was suggested in the form of a report, and that the advice, as well as project, the abolition of the tent contract, had not merely been approved, but applauded by Sir J. Cradock, commander-in-chief at Fort St. George, the government in council at the same place, by the commander-in-chief in India, and by the governor-general in council. He then concludes, "to charge either the measure which had been adopted under these authorities, or the reasons upon which it was recommended, and which had been sanctioned and approved by the same authorities, as base and infamous

crimes, was a studied insult offered by those officers (the parties preferring the charges against colonel Munro,) and by lieutenant-general M'Dowall, who supported and co-operated with them, to every authority, which it was their duty to respect."

Now if Sir J. Cradock, and the government of Fort St. George, are to be presumed to have known any thing of the truth of the facts stated in the report, it is clear that the commander-in-chief in India, and the governor-general, could, from their remote situation, have no knowledge whatever of the facts stated, so as to undertake themselves pledged for the truth of them, nor, in the common course of things, could the local commander-in-chief, or the local government. The official report of the quarter-master-general, like the communication of any other officer, was received and acted on by the authorities enumerated, as a statement, *prima facie*, to be credited, but without the force of binding the government, by their adoption of it, to the authenticity of the matters contained in that statement; but leaving them a full opportunity to withdraw their approbation at a posterior period, if they should discover that the facts, which the report assumes be not as they are related. The approbation of all the authorities mentioned, is founded on the supposed veracity of the quarter-master-general's report: it implies not, however, any stipulation for its truth, nor could it make that true which is not so in point of fact. The imputation of the government might go a great way; but it could not alter the very essence of things. It would, too, be doing the greatest injustice to the character of the Indian authorities, to give a countenance to the supposition of lord Minto, that they would not be ready to retract their own act, if it should be requisite, and give up the guilty adviser of it, if it should, at any time, be discovered, that it was bottomed, in injustice and falsehood, under the imposition of an accredited agent. The character of the government would only be involved in sustaining



the act with the conviction of its injustice or impropriety. But what is the charge against colonel Munro?—not for framing the report in question, not for the general reasoning, not for the ultimate advice given in it, but for the allegation, in that paper, of particular facts, which are stated to be unfounded, and libellous of the reputation of the parties preferring the charges. Now, whether the matters of charge were true or otherwise, it would seem as much for the honour of government, as the prosecutors, that they should be investigated. To arrest such an investigation in its first steps, and under any pretence, would lead some to think, either that there was great injustice in the measures of the government, or, which admits the truth of the charge, that the adviser of it was so conspicuous a favourite, that it was resolved to throw the shield of power over him, at all events, and all consequences.

After the justification of the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro, the governor-general mentions, incidentally, the order of reprimand on that officer, published by general M'Dowall, on the 28th of January, as an induction to the suspension of colonel Capper and major Boles, the next supposed grievance of the army. Here, also, his lordship discovers no small degree of earnestness, to make the government and its protégé inseparable from one another. This order, says his lordship, "purports to be a reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro; but substantially, it conveys, in every line, a reprimand to the government of Fort St. George. And if, on examination, it should appear, as his lordship supposes, it will, of course, take away a great part of the weight of the representation of grievance, touching the suspension of the staff officers for giving currency to the order.

It is conceded by lord Minto, that the order has the outward appearance of a lawful instrument; but, it is said, that an illegal intent was in under it. It contains, as his lordship says, the act of government and the quarter-master-general

ral; but this intent cannot be collected, it may be confidently said, from the face of the order itself, nor can it be inferred, even in his lordship's judgment, without reference to numberless transactions, not to be learnt from the letter of the order, and with which he fancies the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general to be respectively conversant.

The external view of the order shews, that lieutenant-colonel Munro had been guilty, in the commander-in-chief's opinion, of a new offence, altogether foreign to the original charge on which he was arrested; which latter is only alluded to in the order as descriptive of the cause of the arrest. The General states, that he is prevented in his design of bringing lieutenant-colonel Munro to trial for this new offence, by his immediate departure, and he, therefore, contents himself with reprimanding him. This fresh offence is stated to have arisen out of a direct appeal, by lieutenant-colonel Munro, to the civil government, in contempt of the military authority of the commander-in-chief, and which produced his release. He then proceeds to the apprehension of that officer.

Now, if the quarter-master-general had been guilty of the offence, here stated, for the first time, which may be clearly and satisfactorily shewn, it is plain that general M'Dowall was armed with a power suitable to the occasion, to reprimand that officer; and it was not possible for the government, except in an unnatural, and, it may be said, an absurd conclusion, to attach the least particle of the reprehension to itself.

It is observed, by lord Minto, and his whole argument is built on that supposed fact, "that colonel Munro had exhausted all the means he had, of obtaining relief from the commander-in-chief himself: this it was his duty to do in the first instance; but that, when justice was denied in that quarter, &c. &c. he had a right to claim the protection of the supreme military authority, which



is vested by the law, in the governor in council."

Now, if it be made apparent that colonel Munro, instead of having exhausted all the immediate means of redress, had rushed, at once, and in the first instance, into the arms of the power, which he knew to be disposed to protect him, despising and trampling on the military power immediately set over him, he will be guilty of the contempt for which he is reprimanded, and in which the government cannot possibly be understood to have any share, without wilfully countenancing him, in what the highest authority in India admits to be a palpable breach of duty. That this was literally the fact, may be seen by the letter of colonel Munro, to the secretary of the government, of the 22d of January, in which he forwards his complaint, in the first instance; assigning the near dispatch of the ships as the reason of the irregularity; observing, also, that he had, on the same day, forwarded a like letter, "through the channel of his excellency the commander-in-chief;" the answer to which he had not thought it expedient, it may be supposed, to await; though it followed on the succeeding day.

This explanation will save the memory of lieutenant-general M'Dowall from a part of the bitter reproach cast upon it in this correspondence, and the orders and writings of the Madras government. To that end some explanation seemed necessary; but not to the support of the act of the staff officers, who published the general's orders. It would be sufficient for their defence to say, that the breach of duty, for which general M'Dowall reprimands the quarter-master-general, is distinctly marked out on the surface of the order, where it is stated to be "for appealing direct to the civil government, in contempt of military authority, and defiance of the commander-in-chief." In reprimanding a staff officer for this very clear offence, solely his own, and on which no military mind could own a doubt, the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general were bound to acknow-

ledge, and give effect to the authority of the general, by the publication of his orders. It is not alleged, even by lord Minto, that these staff officers were at liberty to discredit the averments of their commander-in-chief; nor does his lordship question the facts, or the manner in which they are described. All that is attempted, is to give a colouring to the reprimand, which it will not bear; not even on a forced and violent construction, without relation to other circumstances, not mentioned or alluded to in the order. All these collateral circumstances are presumed, on nomenclature authority, to have been known to the staff officers. Without such presumption, his lordship's doctrine is worse than nothing.

It is not directly relevant to the present purpose, to consider the application or modification of the military principles, laid down in the letter of lord Minto to the cases of the staff officers; since it has been shewn, that these were wholly different, from what they were conceived by his lordship, and that as his premises are without foundation, his superstructure must fall to the ground. But it is not beyond the design of the history of these transactions to correct some notions on the principal actors in them, that appear erroneous, and calculated to create, if not questioned and refuted, some future mischief.

In considering the suspension of colonel Capper and Major Boles, lord Minto acknowledges the principle, that all officers, and more especially the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general, are bound to obey the orders of their superiors, without regard to the *quality* of the order; that it would be a breach of military duty to deliberate about obedience, being merely ministerial in their functions, as the organs of communication of the commander-in-chief's will. The only exception, as defined by his lordship, and dictated by common sense, is, that they are responsible for the publication of criminal orders, understood to be so at the time of issuing them. To these plain propositions, it would be dif-



difficult to frame a dissent. But what has this to do with the cases of colonel Capper and major Boles? They are supposed, by his lordship, to apply, by the following logical course:—

"Before this order was prepared, it was not only known to those confidential staff officers of the commander-in-chief, but it was notorious to the whole army and settlement, that there was a warm and vehement dissension between the commander-in-chief and the government. These officers were acquainted with the prosecution of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and the part which lieutenant-general M'Dowall had taken in that proceeding, they knew that every step in that extraordinary transaction was a studied insult to the government, they knew that lieutenant-general M'Dowall had become the patron and channel of a memorial to the court of directors, highly disapproved by the president in council of Fort St George, which he had himself, at the instance of that government, and at no distant period, written circular letters to discourage and suppress, but which, in a ripe stage of hostility towards the person and authority of the governor, he had countenanced and promoted. It is, in fine, superfluous to prove, what is beyond doubt, and is not denied, that a warm passionate rupture had broken out between these two high authorities."

What proof is there that any of these many and various facts were known to the adjutant and deputy-adjutant-general, or that they had formed the same opinion of them, as lord Minto had himself drawn? Whatever might have been the bad humour, subsisting between the two contending authorities, it does not appear, from any public paper, that they had ever made an unseemly disclosure of their differences to the world; but that they had more wisely kept them to themselves. These officers could not be understood to know all that his lordship states, all that he argues, intuitively. But even if they did, what is

the inference? Because these two powers are at variance, they are, according to his lordship, to deliberate; they are to commit a positive breach of duty, in the act of hesitating to obey a superior, for the purpose of considering all the circumstances, that may, by any possibility, connect themselves with the orders received, when, after all, they may think it expedient to obey. They are encouraged to decide against their ordinary head, presuming that, in every fancied quarrel, which he may be conjectured to have with the government, he must, of necessity, be in fault; and that they must not suffer him even to receive a simple reprimand, in one of the clearest instances of military crime, lest an angry government may chance to be offended. If his lordship could seriously intend to render ministerial officers responsible, under these unheard of circumstances, he should, in common justice have laid down another previous principle, that the government and commander-in-chief should duly advertise such officers of the commencement and termination of their backerings; when it may be known when this extraordinary responsibility commences and ends. To what does all this tend? but to show that the obedience of subordinate officers may be dispensed with, not so much on account of the quality of the order, which is certain, as the state of external things, about which all men may differ. What becomes of the single exception of lord Minto? it is confounded in a hundred general considerations.

A fanciful doctrine, that men's duties are to adapt themselves to persons and occasions, which are ever varying, instead of resting, as they should, on fixed and immutable principles, is most of all unfitted to the exigency of military concerns; and never could have been inculcated by the ruler of an empire, at the time when he is promulgating, as he professes, principles "that are to check the progress of error," unless he himself partook of the reigning infatuation of the day. At a cooler moment, he would



have abided by his fundamental position, without attempting to fritter it away, by modifications of which it is not susceptible, or by extensions, which it will not admit. He would have told the subordinate ranks of the army, that their superior's orders are imperative in all cases, except where they enjoin a positive and known crime, so plain, so manifest, so glaring, as to exclude the necessity, or possibility of reflection, or deliberation, and that in all else, to doubt is to disobey. If one season could be more unsuitable than another, for the declaration of wild and speculative doctrines, it would seem that very season, when the conflicting passions of superiors might be expected to communicate themselves to the body, whose first and whose only business it is to obey.

If it shall appear, from what has been said, that the release of the quartermaster-general, by the civil government, was an infringement on the rights of the commander-in-chief, and an interruption of the course of the administration of military justice; it will follow, that it was a direct oppression to the individuals who signed the charges against that officer, and an indirect attack on the general rights of the army. If, too, it has been shewn, that the order of reprimand was a lawful order, in an ordinary case—it succeeds as a consequence, that the suspension of the commander-in-chief and the adjutant and deputy adjutant general of the army, is not to be justified. It would be superfluous to ask, whether the deprivation of a large body of men of their common rights, arising out of the provisions of the law, applicable to their condition; and next, whether the stripping them of the means of their subsistence, without the form of a trial, or a hearing, are or are not circumstances of just complaint, in themselves, or whether they afford not a reason of apprehension, for the safety of the few rights of the army, which lie beyond the circle of those already invaded? If these should be considered as grievances, or fit objects of representation, there was at least a ground for the memorial, which Lord

Minto has denied, and which it is the main object of his letter to elucidate; the character of that paper will not be, as it is termed, tedious;—setting up extravagant claims in ideal and fanciful cases, but a bona fide representation of evils to the only authority in India, appointed to redress them, and to prevent future abuse in the inferior government.

There is still another objection to the paper, which may admit, perhaps, of a brief answer, and which arises out of the manner, more than the matter, of the representation; the language, and the supposed temper discoverable in it. His lordship allows that the most questionable passages in it will admit of two constructions;—and the memorialists may certainly lay claim to the less offensive one, the paper having been abandoned in the shape in which it stood, and having passed to his lordship's hands in an incomplete form, and by a more quick way, than it could have been lawfully forwarded to them. It could not have been transmitted regularly to Lord Minto but through the medium of Sir G. Barlow, and it may be fair to conclude, that it would have been so shaped in the intermediate passage, as to have lost its principal obnoxious features: but which are not in any view so striking as his lordship has fancied and represented them. If the grievances are stated in glowing colours, some allowance should have been made for aggravated feelings, and the language which they prompt, especially as there is no fixed rule, no scale, no boundary for a complaint. If the redress expected, like the complaint itself, should appear to be somewhat exaggerated, it is a redress, however, not self-sought by the army, but solicited at the hands of the governor-general, in rough, perhaps, but in honest terms.

If, as Lord Minto argues, the memorial can be understood to aim at the removal of Sir G. Barlow from his government, for the causes assigned, and for the dangers apprehended by the army, it may be regarded as an unreasonable object, but not as a groundless or an unlawful one; considering the power to whom it is ad-



dressed. The implied threat, in the concluding paragraph of the memorial, the governor-general has himself excused, in saying that it is capable of a harmless interpretation.

One of the addresses to Major Boles has some censurable parts, but it is to be remarked that there was more than one address to that officer in circulation; and some of them are wholly exempt from the grand exception taken by Lord Minto and the governor of Fort St. George; and not one of them that will not allow a much more innocent construction, than has been put on it by the governor-general.

But if the statements in these papers were ever so unfounded and erroneous, or more objectionable than they are taken to be by Lord Minto, they will not justify, it is conceived, Sir G. Barlow's punishing the whole army, or such portion of it as he shall select, without legal evidence of their having subscribed to, or participated in the framing and circulating of the supposed criminal papers. The heinousness of any crime will not dispense with the necessity of proof, nor the forms of investigation: and though the latter may be simplified in time of danger, it has never been contended till now, that, in any times, they may be altogether disregarded. But the governor-general, at the instant in which he is appealed to, in most earnest supplication, as the medium of intercession in a case of great and alarming suffering, and which is stated to be so severe, as to be then almost unbearable, and if increased in its degree, is likely to exceed the measure of forbearance, denies the very existence of the wrongs of the army, and gives a sanction to the extension and repetition of the evils complained of, affirms and approves the practice, and promises the utmost of his countenance of arbitrary and summary suspension.

The letter of Lord Minto has been examined more particularly than was at first intended, for the purpose of answering some positions, on which both the governor-general and the subordinate government, and their respective advocates, have thought proper to put their defence. Sir G. Barlow

pretended to attach so much consequence to this writing, that he ordered it to be printed and circulated in every corps throughout the army. Such an apparent deference was at least due to literary labours, complaisantly undertaken at his call.

The whole tenour of Lord Minto's letter is conformable to the policy of Sir G. Barlow, since it tends to cut off all hope of the intervention of the controlling power. Sir G. Barlow affects a surprise, that the harangues of his lordship, so flattering to himself, should not produce a correspondent sentiment in those to whom it is addressed. The obstinacy of the army, in not acknowledging an authority so fortified, seems to have called forth the further energies of the governor to the maintenance of his first and darling project.

The honourable Colonel Sentleger, who was now at the presidency, and had begged in vain for a court martial, and who had laid the foundation of a civil suit against Sir G. Barlow in the supreme court, is ordered, on the shortest notice, to embark for Calcutta; in despite of his protest against the act, depriving him, as he suggests, formally, of the means of pursuing the lawful redress of his injuries. He is hurried away, without being permitted to visit his late residence at Trichinopoly, whence he was ordered to fight the battles of the company. His local property, his public and his private papers, are of consequence left at the mercy of the government and strangers.

Major Boles, too, leading a retired and inoffensive life, in the vicinity of Madras, detained in India against his will, having been twice refused permission to proceed to Europe for the purpose of appealing to the court of directors, is at the same time ordered, also against his will, to proceed without delay to Bengal. Both of these officers are subjected, with the aggravated circumstances noted, to a double voyage, and double expense.

Much about the same time, Capt. Marshall is sent in the same direction from Vizagapatam, with almost every mark of ignominy attendant on the



removal of a state prisoner. Circumstances like these, were not wanting to inflame the military body from passive resistance to active aggression.

The army had further to notice the removal of a staff officer from the European regiment at Masulipatam, and another of the same corps to the command of a solitary and unhealthy garrison, at which no part of his regiment is quartered, for an alleged offence, utterly denied, and wholly uninvestigated. At the same instant, two large detachments from the same corps were ordered, under appearances the most equivocal, to act as marines on board his majesty's ships, a service from which the king's troops had been recently exempted, by the especial orders of his royal highness the Duke of York. These injudicious acts increase the general irritation, and induce the distinct bodies of the army to league together, without any concealment of their design, for the purpose, as it is declared, of resisting a further infringement of their rights. A correspondence is established between the different military stations, and committees are appointed to conduct it, as well as to arrange the general plan of operations. These, at first indefinite, assume in a short time the more determinate shape of organised resistance; but, beyond this, the spirit of combination does not extend itself. In such confederacies, the step from passive measures to acts of a contrary description, is easily and almost imperceptibly made. The danger consists in moving or giving way to feelings, which, when once excited or indulged, hurry men through all the gradations of passion, from negative to positive crimes. In such a moment when authority is weak, it is in vain to imagine that morality shall supply its defect.

They who say that a soldier, under all contingencies, should command his passions, forget the frail nature of which he partakes, forget, also, the opposite sensibilities to which he is subjected, balanced in his, and every other heart, so nicely, and with so wise a care, that if one shall be subdued or agitated too much, the whole organ

becomes diseased, and ceases to fulfil the great design of providence, with the more narrow ends of political institutions. A soldier, without the same feelings that distinguish his fellow men, would appear to be not less unfitted to perform the functions of his calling, than the ordinary offices of humanity. But this is not a place for enquiry into the communion or dependence of one passion or another, or of weighing, very scrupulously, the amount of error, from the consequences attending it, or the accidental condition of the agent.

The most strict and zealous defence of military subordination, must admit, that the soldier's, like the obligations of others, has its prescribed boundary. The government of India, and they seem to have carried their ideas of prerogative far enough, do not contend that military duty is without its limits; but, they would seem to have formed some extravagant opinions of its extent; their doctrine is in general correct, but the application, for the most part, erroneous.

In Sir G. Barlow's eyes, all his acts wear the air of lawful authority, and those of the military body, of illegal opposition. The army, in his, and lord Minto's contemplation, have no grievances whatever, and having none, their representations and remonstrances are esteemed as so many captious and seditious proceedings, to which it would be weak and impolitic to yield.

The army, on the other hand, conceive themselves injured and oppressed, in the particulars before enumerated as the burthen of their complaints. If no alteration be worked in the sentiments of one of the parties, it is not to be hoped that any movement will be made towards the conciliation of differences, but that matters will be driven to extremities. Events, indeed, are hurrying on, one after another in quick succession, that would appear to exclude the idea of any other than the most melancholy conclusion to the subsisting misunderstanding.

Towards the end of the month of June, there can be no longer any doubt



of the tendency of the measures of government, or of their effects. The most unquestionable acts of insubordination occur, at one moment, at Hyderabad,\* Masulipatam,† Seringapatam,‡ and other principal stations of the army. It is not necessary to take a particular view of the disorderly transactions that ensue, or of the persons implicated in them; these are set forth, at length, in the correspondence of the agents of government, and of the government itself, in a series of letters, under the title of State Papers.\* These most clearly shew the general defection of the company's officers, the loss of the controul of the government, and of its deputed authority, at every one of the places named. The orders of government, directing the detachment of troops, are openly disobeyed; and the authority of the officers, in local command, superseded by the assumed power of committees, appointed by the majority of officers, disaffected to the government. It does not, however, appear, at the time mentioned, that the Native soldiery had any knowledge of the cause, or the existence even of the misunderstanding between the government and its military servants.

Colonel Montresor and captain Sydenham, the resident at Hyderabad, express themselves decisively to this effect, at the end of the month of July. The greatest evil that could arise out of the revolt, might, therefore, be prevented, even now, if a suitable policy should be adopted. But all that the government is intent upon, first and last, is the reduction of the offending members of the army, by the rod of power.

With this view, colonel Malcolm is dispatched to Masulipatam, a favorite alike with the government and the army; but without the discretion of using his influence with effect. His mediation is employed to enforce the submission of the refractory officers, without the relaxation of any military principle; to induce their surrender, to demand an instant and unqualified resignation to the extreme severity of martial law, which would,

in the worst of circumstances, apply to their humbled situation, if that should be effected. This experienced officer soon perceived the unfavourable appearance of the season, and the temper of the garrison, for such a submission, and the inadequate means with which he was armed for the execution of the object of his mission. This he represents in the most urgent manner to Sir G. Barlow, and with it the universal disaffection of the army, a circumstance of which he supposes the governor to be incorrectly informed. He most earnestly treats an amplification of his powers, and presses a modification of the austere measures of the government, venturing, in an allowable confidence, to suggest the manner of it; but offering himself, in a soldier-like devotion, if the governor should not approve his suggestion, to carry his will, at any peril, into execution.

Similar counsel is offered to the government by colonel Stuart, in Travancore, by colonel Macaulay, and more especially by the resident, and commanding officer of the subsidiary force at Hyderabad; urged and repeated with a warmth, that discovers a keen and lively interest for the welfare of the state, and a sincere conviction of the dangers impending over it. All the ordinary horrors of civil war are depicted in appropriate colouring, with the accumulate evils arising out of local circumstances, and the peculiar constitution of the Indian army.

The advice, with the representations of the expected evils to be apprehended from hostile proceedings, are alike neglected by the government, and another attempt to subdue the revolt, by means of regular authority, is made by the nomination of colonel Close to the command of the subsidiary force at Hyderabad.

This officer is sent to his new command like colonel Malcolm, without any powers in his hands, to conciliate the minds of those over whom he is set; and work obedience, by the natural weight of his station, and the influence of his private character. A

\* Vide page 320—323.

† Vide page 306—320, and again, page 326—369.

‡ Vide page 322, et infra.



more happy choice could not have been made, but this was rendered unavailing, from withholding the means by which alone his services could be made effective. The measures of col. Close, in his most arduous and perilous situation, appear not only from his own correspondence, but the reports from every other quarter, to have been at once bold and judicious; but, as it had been foreseen and foretold by himself, they were not successful. It wanted, indeed, little sagacity to discover, what colonel Close publicly observes, "that when the voice of the superior is disregarded, the inferior can have little hope of being heard."

In his letter of the 24th July, when he is meditating on his mission, this officer explains to the government his own views of the measures, and of the inadequacy of them to the state of things, and represents the experiment, through his agency, not only as unpromising of success, but unseasonable as to the moment at which it is to be made. He considers, most justly and prudently considers, that such an expedient is only fitted to an extreme struggle, and should not be hazarded at an earlier stage. He could not but observe the danger of discovering to the Native troops, what had hitherto been concealed, the existing quarrels between their officers and the government, by which disclosure alone could his purpose be executed.

A less considerate mind than colonel Close's, might well have pondered on the effect of such a disclosure. He was reluctantly compelled to make it; and the event accorded with his anticipation. It was not, however, wholly without its use, from the dignified example it held out, in the display of the most exalted military virtues, rendered more conspicuous and more striking, by position and contrast. The narrative of col. Close, giving a detailed, but modest account of his proceedings at Hyderabad, cannot be read, and it is recommended to be read, without a strong interest, and lively admiration.\*

On the 10th of July, lord Minto first heard of the revolt of the garrison of Masulipatam, and seemed then to think it necessary to make the requisite arrangements for his departure to Madras. These were not completed, a long interval in so imperious a case, until the 31st of August, when his lordship actually sailed from Calcutta, having previously published his intention and objects to the Bengal army, in an address, under date the 20th of July. In this paper the governor-general would appear to inculcate a belief in the persons to whom he addressed himself, that his presence was about to be interposed with a view to the mediation of the differences that had unhappily arisen between the Madras army and the government. In this view, the orders of his lordship, which found their way to the coast, were undoubtedly seen, and were hailed by the company's army, as a propitious opening to conciliation. The operation of this official document was uniform throughout the army; producing every where a temper correspondent with the blush of the order; and a desire to avoid extremities that might countervail, or raise an obstacle in the way of the apparent intention of the governor-general.

Though the government of Fort St. George was sensible of this disposition in the army, it could not prudently neglect the means of defence or of annoyance.

Its civil measures were few, its views, as explained, being principally military. These consisted chiefly of endeavours to procure solicited addresses, that were, after all, very scantily preferred, of approbation and loyalty towards the government. One measure, indeed, was devised, novel in its nature, and bold in its design, which deserves a more peculiar mention: this was no other than a demand of a test of all the company's officers, of their attachment to the government which they served. By this expedient, it was conceived, that the loyal and the

\* This report will be found amongst the State Papers at page 350 et infra.



disaffected would be marked and separated from each other, and that the government might thereby ascertain the number of its steady adherents; but this could not be done without showing also, a dangerous discovery, the strength of the discontented.

This test was to be proposed, without distinction, to every officer in the service, and in the event of the refusal of his subscription to it, he was to be removed from command; with the retention, however, of the pay of his rank.

A measure of this sort, arising out of a general jealousy of the service, and inferring an indefinite suspicion, naturally detached many from the assistance of the government, who might otherwise have afforded their services. It gave others, who might not have been prepared to place themselves under any circumstances, in direct opposition to the government, an opportunity of embracing a middle and safe course, by temporary retirement from office.

This measure was subject to these difficulties on the face of it; but there were other evil consequences to be apprehended, which, though not present, were not so remote, as to escape observation. It was impossible to carry it into execution, without informing the Native troops, a secret carefully concealed by their commanders, of the particulars of the misunderstanding between the government and their officers; and in the event of the refusal of the test, a circumstance that must have been anticipated, of severing the officers from the men, and thus breaking the intermediate link of connection of the latter with the government itself. These certain ills must result from the experiment; while the good could at best be doubtful, and might have been defeated by a strata-

gem, too obvious almost to be noticed; and on which we may hereafter remark. The effect of this was to convince the government, (how satisfactory the assurance) that it had so conducted itself, as to have estranged the hearts of four-fifths of its military servants.

Another pitiful resource, for it cannot be dignified with the character of an avowed measure of government, was to practice, by means of emissaries, on the fidelity of the sepoys, by the misrepresentation of the views of their officers, and by the promise of rewards and honors, never perhaps intended to be realised; corrupting the very source whence every manly sentiment can be expected to issue.

The military means of the government, were more respectable in themselves, and more efficient in their promise. These had an immediate view to the formation of a force of 12,000 men in the ceded districts, and other considerable detachments in the southern division of the army, and at the presidency. The force under colonel Davis, in Mysore, was esteemed sufficient for keeping the garrison of Seringapatam under check. These military arrangements are detailed in the minutes of council, and described with some minuteness in the general letter of the government of Fort St. George of the 10th of Sept.\* but as there was not, happily, any occasion for putting them in action, save in a solitary instance,† there is no necessity for a specification of them.‡

It would be needless to consider, from the event, whether these military arrangements, certainly not very promptly made, were sufficient or not to meet the critical state of affairs. There was happily, no occasion for an experiment of their efficiency or inadequacy to their object. Before the military force, under the control of the government could be set in motion,

\* Vide State Papers, page 287 *infra*.

† The instance referred to was the attempt at the interception of the Chittledroog battalions on their march to Seringapatam; inducing the only sanguinary event that occurred during the revolt. The particulars of this unhappy affair are stated, we wish not to repeat, or dwell upon them, at p. 342—346; and at p. 118—122.



an occurrence, so fortunate, as it was unexpected, obviated the necessity of an appeal to arms in a contest so unnatural. At this awful moment, the Hyderabad subsidiary force, which was the first to throw aside its allegiance to the government, discovered the earliest sentiment, as it often happens, of returning duty. It had been expected for some time, that Lord Minto would proceed to Fort St. George; but though his voyage had been delayed, it was well known that his lordship was in actual progress thither, and would ere this have arrived at that presidency, if untoward circumstances had not retarded his passage. Under an impression of his anticipated, if not actual arrival, the subsidiary force sent a tender of its unqualified submission to the pleasure of the governor-general, preferring their revived allegiance, by the subscription of the test of obedience to the local government, and by a recommendation of their example to the other branches of the army.

The influence of the conduct of this force was universally felt, and attended by the consequence expected. A similar submission was thereupon made by the garrisons of Seringapatam and Musulipatam, and lastly the Jaulna force.

It is, however, to be remarked, that the submission of the garrison of Masulipatam, was not effected from the peculiar circumstances of irritation locally prevailing, without the promise of an amnesty from general Pater, the commanding officer of the district.

All these desirable events happened, in the interim of the voyage of Lord Minto from Calcutta to Madras; so that the government of Fort St. George, whatever might have been its feelings, from the inducement and tenour of the act of submission, which was addressed to the governor-general personally, had the substantial satisfaction, of knowing, that the revolt, if it had been raised as it may be thought, by its weakness or passions, had been layed by its own energy and perseverance.

When Lord Minto arrived at Fort

St. George on the 11th of September, he found nothing remaining for him to accomplish, but to turn the events that had happened, though at great and alarming cost, to the future safety of the state.

His lordship was now called upon, a most important office, to express his definitive judgment on transactions, which had shaken the interest of the East India company, in a near and sensible part, and had endangered the general stability of its affairs. The governor-general seems to have felt all the difficulty and nicety of his situation; but without any fear, which might chance to present itself to a less determined mind, of his entire competency to acquit himself as he should of the charge. In writing to the court of directors on this delicate point, he thus deliberately expresses himself;

"I should have discharged imperfectly the trust for which the extraordinary powers I was then about to exercise had been vested in my person; I should have ill appreciated the momentous matter I had before me, and I should have lowered, in a manner prejudicial to the permanent efficiency of your Indian Government, the high and paramount authority of my office, which, for purposes alike of remedy and support, in their several cases, it is so important to hold high in the estimation and reverence of India, if I had professed only a blind concurrence in councils, in which I was come to preside; I should at the same time have brought to the government of Fort St. George a very feeble accession of strength, if my support had consisted only in an additional signature unsanctioned by the deliberation and decision, of a separate and superintending judgment. I determined, therefore, to pursue a personal investigation of the facts, followed by a mature deliberation on their results, before I should adopt any resolution, or even commit myself on any of the principal points depending."

The sense of the weight and dignity of his lordship's office is here most happily described, as are also the immediate



under which it enjoined; but it is to be feared, that his lordship had not estimated, at this moment, very accurately, the powers of the officer, from the natural frailty of his kind, to execute, under the circumstances of the emergency, all that was officially required of him. If his lordship had distrusted himself, as most men are apt to distrust themselves when their interest or their characters are concerned; he would have perceived, even on his own mode of reasoning, how little he was fitted for the seat of impartial justice, which he fancied himself about to fill, and to which he still more strangely boasts he was about to carry a pure and unobscured judgment. If he had looked as fully into himself, as into the nature and demands of his office, his lordship would have trembled while he was talking of his case, not to commit himself on any principal points depending; when he had already delivered himself most minutely, not only in his letter of the 27th of May, but in other public and official dispatches, on almost every point of consequence that could come even incidentally under his deliberation. This observation would not have been offered, if his lordship had discovered a magnanimity in the judgment, afterwards pronounced by him, which had rescued his decision from the partiality or prejudice that might be supposed, on general principles, to attach to it.

His lordship appears to have been occupied from the 12th to the 25th of September, an interval short enough for such a purpose, for the examination of the extremely voluminous documents of the government, as his lordship describes them, and the memorials and statements of individuals, and the complicated interests growing out of these adverse and opposed representations. On the last-mentioned day the governor general's interesting determination is made known in general orders to the army.

This document, like other papers issuing from the same pen, is long and argumentative; when it should have been, and more especially here, succinct and brief. His lordship seems

to forget, a fatal oversight, throughout this declaration, that he is not exercising a final and definitive judgment, but assigning the means for an intermediate selection of particular persons for future trial; whose cause may be prejudiced by observations from so high an authority before it shall arrive at the court, which alone can take cognizance of it; unless they shall be submitted, which cannot be discerned in the present instance, with a peculiar and studied precaution. Most of the topics introduced in this paper, have an unfortunate tendency, not only to enhance the late offence of the army, but to heighten the guilt of the supposed offenders, by stripping it of every palliative circumstance; while other of these observations are obviously of a nature to stir and renew passions, not in the minds of the parties only, but of the persons who are to become subsequently the judges of the lives and fortunes of their fellow soldiers, now about to be submitted to their verdict. If it were necessary to pronounce an eulogium on the government of Sir G. Barlow, it might have been effected by other more seemly means, than by the disparagement of individuals in the sacred circumstance and act of being delivered over to the severity of the law; whose spirit it is never to condemn before a legal hearing and conviction.

There are also certain needless remarks in this order, that insinuate, or perhaps go a great way to dictate the extent of the sentence, which would be pleasing or expected by the government in the approaching trials: remarks, viewing the authority whence they spring, and the body to whom they are addressed, which are strangely out of season. But these, if they fail to operate in one place, cannot fail without some weight, it would seem, on another; in converting those, to whom an option of trial or dismissal is held out by the order, into self-accusers, in accepting the latter alternative, rather than hazard the event of the decision of a court martial, dressed out in all its possible, and formidable terrors, as depicted by the imposing and



touching eloquence of the governor-general.

If there be one thing deserving particular notice, it is the motive that is declared, and stated as governing the small selection, as termed by his lordship, and as announced by him in this instrument; from the great mass of delinquency. Here, and it is feared in other places, where his lordship condescends and undertakes to lay down a general principle, he is seen unhappily wandering the very first moment he is called upon to make an application of it to a definite case. His lordship would be believed, at the time of writing this order, and he makes no slender parade of his sentiment, comparing his own notions of benevolence to the enlarged and enlightened mercy of our common sovereign, that he had a most anxious wish, "to limit the number of punishments, since impunity could not be general, and to mitigate their degree, to the utmost extent of lenity." In execution of this principle, he proceeds to state it has been necessary to make a *small* selection, using his own expressions, from a great mass of delinquency.

The mind is naturally prepared, after such an exordium, to expect that his lordship's selection will be confined to a narrow number of principals, engaged in the recent unhappy occurrences; when how shocked and disappointed is it to find, that no less than *twenty-one officers*, of different degrees of imagined guilt, are denounced for prosecution; or, to spare the time of the court and executioner, for quiet dismissal from the service.

Not wishing to rest on some of the capricious and whimsical grounds of selection, that are explained by his lordship, in divisions and subdivisions of offences and offenders, not from a supposed extent of guilt, but from accidental and personal rank and station. It may be shortly observed, that the very distinctions, taken by his lordship, shew the variance of his practice from his principle. If offences were capable of this classification, some of them standing eminently conspicuous from the rest, his lord-

ship's idea of tempered justice might have been satisfied, without endangering the lives of more, than are pretended in the first class, absolutely given up for trial. Would not these criminals, if so it had appeared, steeped; according to his lordship's constitution, in the deepest guilt, have been sufficient victims to the extended laws of their profession and their country? or did his lordship look for a further opportunity of displaying his clemency, meditating a mitigated sentence on subordinate offenders? Be this as it may, this extraordinary order, after exempting, on no very explicable, nor, perhaps, creditable reason the greatest body of officers, who had taken the lead in revolt, from all responsibility and enquiry, submits a large portion of others, twenty-one in number, to the peril of a criminal investigation, which cannot but keep alive feelings, to a protracted period, which the order professes a view of tranquillising and setting at rest. It would not seem practicable that any order could be constructed, more contradictory in effect of its declared principle, and more prevention of its own, or general policy.

The temper of the times would not appear more adapted for the impartial administration of justice, than the condition of the judges, who must, of necessity, be chosen, for the adjudication of the questions between the government and the disaffected members of the army. It would seem impossible that these judges could be nominated from the ranks of those, who had recently shewn themselves in opposition to the government; and if they should be taken from the king's or company's officers, who had embraced a contrary side, it may be suspected, that they may have a leaning not advantageous to the prisoners. This is, perhaps, one of the unavoidable consequences of the unfortunate occurrences detailed; which, if it had no other effect, should have induced the governor-general to have made a sparing a reference as practicable to



tribunal, to be composed of such materials. But, in opposition to this obvious course, numerous trials are ordered to take place, embracing an inquiry not only into the principal transactions of the revolt, but all the most minute particulars relating to it, necessarily involving, in the investigation, the counsels and the acts of the government, which led to the late lamentable state of things.

If the result of these trials may not favour the views of the government, it may be supposed to speak, at all events, the sentiment of its own partisans, on its conduct; and in such light it cannot be altogether useless in forming an opinion of the circumstances under review.

The court martial appointed, on this occasion, was assembled at Bangalore, at a distance from the presidency; and was composed of officers of his majesty's and company's service indiscriminately, who had adhered generally to the cause of the government; and the majority of them, so far as we are informed, had lately and distinguishingly participated in the defence of the government. This circumstance is not mentioned, for they are entitled to a different character, to throw the slightest slur on the proceedings of the court; but for the purpose of sustaining the remark, which we are about to make, that a court so formed, could not be suspected of a bias against the constituted authorities. The court proceeded to the trial of the principal cases towards the end of the year, on direct and express charges of mutiny, worded with exactitude sufficient, and supported, for the most part, by evidence, capable, however, of an answer on the part of the prisoners, that seemed to sustain the letter of the accusation. The general defence of the accused, it will not be requisite to enter into particulars, was grounded on the irritable state of the greater portion of the coast army, produced, as it was insisted, by the arbitrary and oppressive acts of the government,—an excess of authority, provoking opposition and resistance. Yet that in the most acute sense of injury, the parties had never

once consented on acts of aggression nor had ever swerved, (perhaps a refined distinction) from their allegiance to their country. All of them further contended, that their particular conduct, during the general dissatisfaction of the army, was influenced by a desire, and with the effect, of restraining a revolt, within the limits which it would admit, since it could not be by any human means, apparent to them, completely and utterly subdued.

It is not for us, at present, to enter on the consideration of the validity of this species of defence, when we propose merely to notice its effect on those, whose exclusive business it was to judge of it. The court, after having maturely weighed what appeared to them in evidence on both sides; decided on the guilt of two of the prisoners, and the acquittal of the third.

The first, lieutenant-colonel J. Bell, who had commanded the garrison of Seringapatam, and who had been convicted on all the branches of the charges preferred against him, was sentenced to be cashiered; the minor punishment, which lord Minto had left to the option of an inferior class of offenders, instead of the hazard of a decision by a court martial.

The second, major J. Storey, who had the temporary command of Masulipatam, and who, in addition to the general matter of excuse, set up by the other defendant, pleaded, but was not allowed the benefit of the plea, the amnesty of general Pater, was sentenced to the like extent with colonel Bell; but was recommended strongly to mercy.

And the third, lieutenant-colonel Doveton commandant of the force at Jaulna, was honourably acquitted.

The leniency of these sentences, in a charge so grave, and so serious in a military point of view, would, of itself, speak volumes, as to the opinion of the court, having all the evidence fresh in its memory, of the conduct of the prosecutors. But the circumstance receives an additional authority from the subsequent demeanour of the government, so far as it may be thought to be identified with the act of the



commander-in-chief; or may be illustrated by its concurrence in it.

The sentences of the court martial, after they had been judicially pronounced, and forwarded to head-quarters, were transmitted to the court for revision, accompanied by a letter from the judge-advocate-general, under the sanction of the commander-in-chief, arguing, contrary, as it should seem, to the duties of such office, certainly contrary to the dictates of natural justice, against the subject matter of the defence, and insisting on its incompetency as a legal excuse. It will be only necessary to remark, that this address to the court is made behind the back of the prisoner, and after the prosecutor, the ordinary judge-advocate, had previously had the benefit of a reply. There is, moreover, this extraordinary, and, we will add, this outrageous and unprecedented character about it, considering it, as we do, and as it must be considered by every one else, as the act of the commander-in-chief, that it is an address from the highest source of authority in the army, and from whom all military promotion must flow, to a military court appointed by himself, calling upon it, scarcely in an indirect way, to reject exculpatory matter, and to increase the pains of its sentence. That it is the grateful duty of such high military officer, to soften and abate the excessive rigour of a military sentence, the law and practice of the army has abundantly shewn us; but this is the first instance that has come within our knowledge, and we pray it may be the last, where he has borrowed the judge-advocate's professional skill, to instruct the ordinary court to increase the penalties awarded by it.

To the credit of the court martial be it spoken, that it adhered, notwithstanding the influence of this appeal, to the original letter of its solemn adjudications; even though, in the instance of major Storey, the commander-in-chief had notified, that if the sentence had been extreme, he might, in that event, have attended to the court's recommendation.

It remains only to be noticed, in respect to the decision of the military court, that lieutenant-colonel Doveton, though he had been acquitted fully of all the charges preferred against him, was immediately and publicly removed from the command of his regiment, and suspended from all military employment, until the pleasure of the court of directors should be known.

The acts of the government itself deliver us from the necessity of commenting on these proceedings; since they unequivocally shew the sense that it entertained of the result of these trials, which declares, through the medium of the different sentences, the innocence, or mitigated guilt, and consequent punishment of the parties, in the provocation which moved or urged to it.

In this way, not less remarkable in itself than in its origin and progress, did this extraordinary contest end.

To times more remote we must look for a calm and temperate consideration of events, that have created a general and an anxious interest. Some opinion may at present, however, be hinted, and possibly expected, from the extent of the existing information, on the principal occurrences that have been cursorily examined in their places, and in proper order of time.

In viewing the actual evil that has passed---and the consequences that remain behind, the late revolt may be considered as one of the most perilous events that have attended the company's affairs, since the first establishment of their power in India. It will not appear, either vain or unpertinent, therefore, in us, if we endeavour to recapitulate, though in a very summary way, the causes that, in our estimation, induced the complicated mischief described.

The great moving cause may be discovered, in our apprehension, but too plainly, in the arbitrary conduct, and obstinacy, too often, and too inconsiderately dignified by the name of consistency, of Sir George Barlow, which first leads him, as has been shewn, to commit an oppression, naturally ex-



cising irritation and excess, and afterwards imperately administering to the strength of the public feeling, by repeated aggression, in re-assertion of the principle exercised in the obnoxious act. It will be seen that we are adverting to the right of suspension, so frequently contended for, and used by Sir G. Barlow, from the very commencement of his administration;—a power so lavishly used, from the moment it was drawn forth, that it pervaded, in a few weeks, every department of the civil and military service.

It may be said, that the power was not new, or that others had used it without creating the same general discontent, that shewed itself against Sir G. Barlow; it may be answered with safety, and with truth, that it was never before exercised either in the degree, or in the circumstances, in which it was unhappily used by him; or from the nature of the power itself ever could be used at all, with the patience and forbearance of the objects suffering under it, but with the greatest delicacy and circumspection. Now it cannot be said, by the warmest of the governor's partisans, that it was so directed by him, or that it was regarded by him in any other light; but as an incident of his office, to be resorted to on all occasions which, in his judgment, should seem convenient, and without any communication with the parties, whom the supposed right more immediately affected, and consequently without any but a partial enquiry or information, into the circumstances, that are to warrant the exercise of it. The inconsiderate use of such a power, if there were no question about its legality, could not be deemed but as an intolerable grievance, under any times, and under any circumstances. But the constant resort to it, at all seasons, when ordinary remedies are at hand, and carrying it, at once, to the utmost possible stretch of which it is capable, and far beyond the limits, which the authority, whence the power is supposed to be derived, has, spontaneously, thought fit to prescribe to it, is so wanton and flagrant a use of it,

that, though we shall not attempt a justification of the opposition that it is too manifestly calculated to promote, we do not feel, and therefore express not, a surprise, from the known workings of human passions, at the provocation of it, even to the unfortunate extent to which it has been carried.

But the exercise of the power, grinding as it is in itself, is rendered even more grievous by the manner in which it is applied. Civil and military officers, without discrimination of their relations, the conditions, or the circumstances, under which they stand, are suspended alike from their functions, and from the means of support, and placed, unquestioned and unheard, and on pretences always indefinitely stated, and often wholly unexplained, without the protection, as well as benefit, of the company's service, and sent as vagrants, at a great expense, and without the means of redressing the injury under which they suffer, if they survive such unparalleled treatment, to the distant shores of Britain.

They who require a patient and easy submission, under evils so accumulated, and the possible extension of them, by unrestrained use, to the whole body of the civil and military service, cannot have formed any very accurate notion of the evils themselves, or of the boundary of human forbearance. The philosopher and the moralist may preach over cases foreign to himself, the sublime virtue of resignation; but deprive him of the fruits of his long labour; banish him from his adopted country; take from him the usual means of his subsistence; deny him the justice, ordained by the nature and law of his service, the right of a present hearing, and the means of a future appeal; brand him with disloyalty; denounce him far and wide, by the publications of the press; send him forth almost into a new world, condemned and punished for crimes, from which all men naturally fly; subject him to all these real, not imaginary ills, and if he shall miraculously preserve his own serenity, he



will find some difficulty in suppressing the sympathy of his fellows.

These acts of suspension alone, multiplied as they were, and executed in the way explained, contrary to the common dictates of justice, and the plain and repeated orders of the power to whom the government, as well as its officers, is immediately responsible (without the examination of witnesses, or the hearing of the parties;) were, from the nature of the acts, as well as from the frequent repetition of them, sufficient of themselves to stir the ill-will that manifested itself; unless, of which there is no proof, they should be afterwards renounced, or moderated, on more mature reflection, or some merciful suggestion in the bosom of the mover of them. On the contrary, Sir George Barlow's conduct is marked by the character of unremitting severity, which he fancies to be suited, and alone suited, to the state of things around him; and the principle owned and acted upon, is extended as well to his private acts, as his public proceedings. Whether men shall choose not to accept his personal invitations, or to favour his state policy, they are equally visited by the signal displeasure of the governor, removed from situations of profit or of honour, and unfeelingly sent on harassing marches, or on perilous and unhealthy employments.

What is the imagined power of the governor? what the abject condition of the governed, what the blunted state of public feeling, when it is expected that these things can be endured? What, too, it may be asked, is the danger of the crisis, when this extreme authority is resorted to, and applied in so general and so profuse a manner?

Nothing less, it should seem, than an universal mutiny or rebellion, could sanction so summary and so severe a remedy. But is it pretended even, by Sir G. Barlow, that any civil commotion existed, or any mutinous or rebellious spirit had shewn itself in the military body; when civilians and soldiers, with a like merciless hand, are driven in shoals from

their respective offices and employments?

It has been insinuated, but not proved, in the defence of Sir G. Barlow, that some trifling discontent had been spread throughout the army, by the abolition of the tent contract, and by the release of the quarter-master-general from his arrest, in subversion of the course of military justice; and that such discontent required to be put down by a strong arm. But it would become those, who insist on this species of defence, to show the acts, prejudicial to the cause of good government, or contumacious even of its authority, that had preceded the indiscriminate, and indiscriminating, suspensions, in the civil and military departments. It may be fairly said, that the sense of supposed injury, felt by the commanding officers of corps, on the abolition of the tent contract, had been suffered to subside, and to rest on the appeal made by them to the court of directors; and that the new arrangement of Sir G. Barlow, had been allowed to supersede the old contract, without the least shew of opposition, and had been acted upon for months, previous to any military suspension, without a murmur, on the part of the army, save that which had been expressed to the executive authority in England, through the memorial described.

This assertion will not admit, it is presumed, of denial; but in respect to the other object of discontent, the release of the quarter-master-general, it might have passed, it is believed, like the first, from the mind of the army, if it had not been unwisely and closely mixed with another more stinging suffering. But it was not permitted so to escape; being engrafted, as it were, with the first military suspensions of the commander-in-chief and the deputy-adjutant-general of the army.

To the time of the last-mentioned events, all the public orders of the government declare not only the obedience, but commend the discipline of the army. If this praise be to be retracted, it must be done in as



public and solemn a manner, as that in which it is pronounced. It is not to be whispered away in a corner, and in the dark.

It is at best but a spurious sort of defence for the governor, if even it could be maintained, that insists, because the army was in a state of irritation and discontent, he should be at liberty to have recourse to the exercise of doubtful and dangerous powers; not to remove the irritation, but to increase clamour or complaint, by supplying fresh causes for it. If it was conceived to be an injustice, that the charges of some of the principal and distinguished officers of the army, received by the head of that body, should be dismissed without enquiry, is it wise, on the heels of this unprecedented proceeding, and in peaceful times, to counsel and to execute an act, apparently of still more flagrant injustice, in dismissing from the present exercise of their offices, two of the principal military servants of the state, without hearing them in explanation or defence?

Even at the moment, when the popular discontent must, from the more extensive use of the power of suspension, be considered as most rife; i. e., on the 1st of May, when so long a list of officers are put out of the service, and their offences persecuted afterwards with an austerity, never before heard of,

however, it could be competent to the government then as now to resort to it, as far as our humble abilities will permit us to judge, it would only have entailed on the government the necessity of a greater precaution to avoid all possible causes of augmenting the prevalent irritation.

It is not meant to be denied that the defence made for the government, as growing out of the alleged public discontent, goes farther than it has been at present stated by us. It is not only insinuated by the government to have been general and loud, but also to have been highly unreasonable. The laboured letter of lord Minto, on the 27th of May, written at the request of Sir G. Barlow, is particularly directed to the justification of all the foregoing severities of the interior government, and not less to the demonstration of the unreasonableness of the pretensions and imagined complaints of the army. It is much to be lamented that his lordship was so easily, and, we will add, so unwisely drawn in, not only to pronounce on the merits of the separate acts of Sir G. Barlow, but to justify them in the heap, on the mere ex parte statements of the local governor; thereby not only countenancing by his approbation the primary causes of the evils, but pledging himself to all the consequences naturally resulting from the acts so absolutely approved.



himself from mediating in the differences springing up between conflicting powers, that, and which way they will, could not terminate without a great blow to the public safety: preventing himself from checking any of the inordinate measures of overweening authority; rendered more elate in itself more confirmed in its notions and visions, by the knowledge of its being beyond the reach of any present controul.\* The effect of this error must have been occasionally felt by lord Minto, though he has put the best gloss on his inactivity, during succeeding occurrences. It is acknowledged, as much as it consistently could, in the letter of lord Minto to the court of directors of the 12th of October,† where his lordship explains the difficulty, unwittingly perhaps, in which he is placed,—owning his suspicions of the progress of the discontent, and his determination to proceed to Madras, to check the growth of it, by the interposition of the presence of the governor-general, and yet miserably waiting in Calcutta, until the storm is blown over. for the instructions and call of Sir G. Barlow, whose private policy it obviously is, and whose only policy, for the consistency of his own acts, to have the only possible credit for the suppression of the revolt, if that can be effected, by his own resources. If these, even by any miscalculation, should fail, he must have well known how much the supreme authority was placed by his own management, or the unfortunate weakness of his titular superior, at his feet. No statesman could have ever been placed in a more unfortunate condition than lord Minto appears to have put himself at this singular crisis; pledged beyond all redemption, as it should seem, to the policy of a subordinate agent, and acting, such is his unbounded confidence, entirely on the suggestion and urgency of another. Hence, he is seen issuing paper after paper, declarative of his complete reliance in the justice and wisdom of the governor of Fort St. George, defen-

sive of every successive act, and expressive of an entire belief of every representation. Hence the army is fancied, by his lordship giving credit to his writings, as having no real grievances, or any other, but trifling imaginary complaints, or idle pretensions, felt or preferred by few, and likely to be abandoned, on the determined tone and demeanour of the government. Thus slumbering over a security of his own encouraging, his lordship would have remained till now at Calcutta, if he had not been alarmed by sudden intelligence from a garrison, not very remote from the seat of the supreme government.

One knows not which to admire most, the excessive confidence of the governor-general, or his extreme ignorance of all that is passing on the coast. To both of these, perhaps, may be imputed his misconception in the first instance, his misrepresentations afterwards, and, ultimately, his false conclusions. Seeing through the dispatches of Sir G. Barlow, he observes nothing but a slight disaffection of the army, from yet slighter causes, and preposterous pretensions, that remain only to be answered with coolness and resolution, to be repelled and laid at rest. The result, unhappily, shows how false a view the governor-general possesses of the discontent, and how little the army, at any time, notwithstanding the statements of the two governments, demanded at their hands. Except at a very remote stage of the revolt, and but at one of the several stations of the army, (Hydrabad) then actually engaged in direct mutiny, did the military body ever prefer a demand, which was not consistent with moderation, and by some it may be thought, with reason and right. But we are not to look to the ultimate acts of the army, when driven to excess, either for its condemnation, or for the excuse of the government.

To the issuing of the orders of the 1st May, when the last and widest act of suspension occurs, when the

\* The more that this shall be taken as an excuse for Sir G. Barlow, the more, it must be contemplated as a charge against the governor-general.

† Vide Page 284 to 292.



arbitrary and most dangerous power of the government is applied to an appalling number, and is threatened by that sad example, which embraces a circle of officers in as high estimation as in the whole range of the Indian army, to be applied without abatement to every rank and every individual at will—What, it may be asked, up to this late period, is the unreasonable and excessive pretension of the army?—What does it ask beyond the boon of enjoying, not a military, but a natural right, included in, and inseparable from, the term of justice, to be heard, wherein it shall be supposed to offend, before it be condemned? Is this too much to be conceded, without a danger to the fabric of government?—Of what materials must the government be formed, that it cannot bear so rude and so mighty a shock? It would be amusing to observe the mock gravity, if the event had not been so dreadful, with which the government of Fort St. George, and of Fort William, speak of the impossibility of conciliation and concession. From their querulous note one might believe that some large and costly privilege, some exemption had been required by the army, against the general interest or safety of the state: when all, in truth, that is asked, is the enjoyment of a common right, that had been arbitrarily interrupted, and a freedom from the excess of punishment, without the form or the pretence of trial. These luxuries in the eastern world, but vital necessities here, might surely have been continued to the military body, without any rational apprehension of shaking the government to its foundation.

The advocates of our Indian rulers may, in imitation of their patrons, enlarge on the impossibility of concession to an armed community; and when they have exhausted their arguments and their strength, a simple question may reduce their laboured enquiry to a very narrow compass. What concession was demanded more than what was tardily granted by the governments themselves? The idea

of all compromise with a military body is not, however, altogether so terrific and unstatesmanlike in our eyes, as the Indian governments would contend, or their abettors would argue, in their behalf. If this, at any time, be an available instrument in the hands of governors, it would seem to be at those seasons when the general body is capable of feeling the sacrifice of the government, for compromise always partakes of this character, to the public sentiment. It will be seen, then, that this should be offered, if at all, at the commencement of irritation, not at the consummation of it, when neither of the parties are in a fit disposition to make the wished-for condescension. What is the end of such a compromise, but the purchase of harmony, at a comparatively trivial price, when a contrary spirit might endanger or ruin the best interests? It is always a submission to a less evil, to avoid a larger one. Now, if this be an allowable policy at all, it must have a general, and not a partial, application, as it is founded on the common ground of human passion and feeling. It need not be asked, whether soldiers are less or more than men; that the principle which is applicable to every other order of mankind, can be supposed inapplicable to them? A degree of shame would attach to the very suggestion of such a question, if it had not been provoked by the arguments of the Indian governments, and their very powerful supporters. If it ever should be required of us to point to the fittest occasion for compromise, we should be induced to say, it would be exactly that wherein these eastern politicians would contend, that compromise will not admit of a place, or be considered as one of the elements of human intercourse; for if it be desirable at any time to call the principle into action, it must be then, surely, where the danger is most imminent, the most formidable in degree, and the least likely to be stayed by the ordinary means of reason, or persuasion. We might go even a little further, and declare, that no season of irritation, however advanced, is



too ripe for the admission of the principle of compromise; so that the party benefiting by it, shall be capable of estimating the value which it receives, and the other shall be sensible of what it gains in return. Here the sacrifice would have been little, indeed, at any time, on one part, while the security obtained on the other would be the most satisfactory and gratifying. What could be coded on the one side, if a cession it could be deemed, would seem nothing more than the forbearance of the exercise of an imaginary right, scarcely endurable in the use; and which, if it had crept imperceptibly, or had been embodied, no matter how, with the legitimate powers of the government, a wise and politic governor would have been the first to renounce, when he perceived that it could not be exercised, without risking the public peace.

But the governments abroad do not appear to have mistaken only the principle of concession, and the season, according to their own notions, when it should be consulted; but they actually have recourse to it, and extend it to a degree, to which it never could be expected by the army that they should carry it, even in the most agitated times. And while they are acting most largely on this scouted and inadmissible principle, it is whimsical to observe the pains that they take to hide their own conduct from themselves, and from those to whom a plain and open avowal, at first, of half the same degree of concession that is afterwards shyly and covertly granted, would have been greedily seized, and happily regarded, as a bounty rather than a due. During the whole process of the dispute between the government and the army, while Sir G. Barlow does not more vaunt of the determined tenor of his policy, than lord Minto express his admiration of the magnificent, unvarying, and unremitting quality of it, the patient and dispassionate observer may behold in the public acts of the Madras government, the various measures of conces-

sion, which it blushes and disdains to own.

It has been again and again shewn, that the first and last cause of the discontent, was the denial of military justice or enquiry, and the arbitrary disposal of the rights of civil and military officers, at the mere caprice of the governor. Now, the very man, who all along has laid claim to the extreme and unquestioned exercise of the power of suspension, on the most trifling occasions, and has put in jeopardy the dearest interests of the community, for maintaining this offensive and suspicious authority, does, unveiled and unmasked, in his manifesto of the 15th of August,\* when the revolt is at its height, and when the seditious practices of the army are emblazoned and deprecated, make a willing surrender of his assumed power, and gives a general pledge to the parties involved in the mutiny, on the bare condition of their obedience, that though under the worst, and most flagrant circumstances of aggravated opposition to the government, they shall have the full benefit of a military trial. Nay, at this very juncture, and notwithstanding his previous conduct, he ventures, strange to relate, on the assertion "that he has never delighted in extremities, but has wished to observe the common course of justice." But to repeat his own words—"it has been the earnest wish, and anxious desire of the governor in council to avoid measures of extremity, to re-establish order by the *course of law*; and to give up to *military trial* the authors of the present seditious proceedings." What has been the difference between the army and the governor? Has Sir G. Barlow received a new light on this fearful subject; or does he think that the known course of the law, from the condition into which parties have been driven by his extravagant usurpation, will enable him to execute a vengeance even more severe upon his victims, than his assumed authority would empower him to inflict? The renunciation of a single suspension, but a few weeks before, would

\* Vide Occurrences for August.



have done and prevented more, than the absolute abandonment of the practice.

But this is not the only sign of conciliation offered to the army, the only sacrifice of the government, to its own fears or desperate policy, that is discovered during the existence of the disaffection. The master-stroke of Sir G. Barlow's talent for government, so much applauded by the governor-general, and so admired by certain authorities at home, exhibits a concession, so simple and so dangerous in its present scope and future consequences, as to endanger the key-stone of military subordination and discipline. This extraordinary submission is made through the orders of the 26th July; by which two-thirds of the commissioned officers of the Madras army, having first their loyalty questioned without any apparent reason, are absolved for a time of their allegiance, and the entire duties of their offices, retaining the emoluments of them during the interval, because they do not feel disposed, as it is conceived, to render those services to the government, that are enjoined by the letter and spirit of their commissions. This is the first time, perhaps, that military duty has been treated by a legitimate government, as a matter of option in the party on whom such duty is imposed; or, that the obedience of the soldier has been rendered separable from his military engagement: the first time, it is presumed, when he has been left to chuse between grateful and displeasing services. When once such election is admitted, there is an end of all duty.

What is the mighty advantage, the proposed object, of such a policy? To relax the obligations of the greater part of the army for ever, in order to reduce a few refractory members of the profession, for the private ranks are excepted from the charge of revolt, to a temporary obedience. But the concession ends not here, it affects not only the leaders of the troops, but pervades the bodies under their command. The dependence of the sepoys on their officers, the grand link of the chain that has kept our armies together, and

has rendered them victorious and irresistible, is destroyed by the same means; that strikes at the root of the duties of their superiors, levelling both together. They are to be delivered over, by this bold experiment, to new masters, to new habits and tempers, to complex and distracting duties, and if not to new obligations, to relations they cannot but imperfectly understand; and are afterwards, before they have time to digest all they have to learn, to be re-assigned to their old commanders, with as confused notions of their obedience, as of the authority intended to be set over them. By the operation of this complicated machinery, is it certain, whatever it may propose, that the government will gain all that their officers must lose, in the duty and respect of the Native soldiery? Such an expectation, it may be imagined, could not have entered even into the heads of those that could have conceived so mad a project.

The complete reduction of a branch of the army, whatever might be the crime attached to it, and, however occasioned, could not justify the means applied, which in reclaiming, if it should reclaim a part, would let loose the great body of the army, dissolving it from an obedient and passive organ, into a self-active and deliberative community.

All these decisive evils are encountered, rather than allow the appearance of concession in matters, most devoutly to be desired, though it is really and substantially shewn in others, and in a dangerous degree, where it is not expected; and where the effect looked for by the government is extremely problematical, or, if gained, must be followed by the most destructive consequences.

The test proposed to the officers, depended, after all, for effect, on their own fidelity, which is confided in, and distrusted at the same instant. Suppose, which is not unnatural, that these officers, like the government, had made the test an expedient of the day, and had signed it in a similar spirit; to what an extremity might that wretched device have exposed the government?



It will not be left for Sir G. Barlow, or his advocates, to draw an argument from the subsequently experienced faith of those, whose reputation is slandered by his device.

In viewing the acts of supposed provocation, that led to the late revolt, and the remedial measures of the government, the one, we are afraid, will be seen to exhibit as little knowledge of human character, and as poor a display of human feeling, as the other of political sagacity, or the more boasted quality of consistency and system.

The only apology that has been offered for Sir G. Barlow, proceeds, so far as we are competent to judge, on misconceived and erroneous premises. He is represented, by his apologists, as the object, not the instrument of assault,—as the strenuous supporter of the established authority of the government—as the firm promoter of its interests—as the assertor of the rights of the civil power against the encroachments of the military—as the bold defender of his own privileges, and the successful inventor of expedients to subdue the most formidable danger, that ever lowered over our Asiatic possessions.

But, it may be said, and we think it has been abundantly explained, that so far from being a passive sufferer, he has been every where the active assailant; that instead of contenting himself with administering the acknowledged authorities in his hands, he has drawn forth doubtful, and the most offensive powers; thereby exasperating the general mind, and endangering the public interests; at no time opposed, until they had been unfortunately blended with the personal conduct of the governor; that he had pushed the civil power to an excess, that might defy military opposition; but that he had not, at the ripest period of revolt, the pretence even of military encroachment; that he had resorted to the most rash and questionable measures, in a most desperate case; produced by his own impolicy, and continued by a temerity and obstinacy almost without a parallel. Of the sufficiency of which measures, to their end, there is no opportunity

of judging, since they never were carried into practical effect; though, in the very preparation for the introduction of them, the life-principle of the Native army, and through it, the great support of our Indian interests, has received a stab, from which it now languishes, and ultimately may die.

If, as it has been contended by the advocates of the cause of Sir George Barlow, he had been more sinned against than sinning, if he had had to encounter a host of bad passions, drawn out in array against him, without any pretence of agitation from without; such a contention would have assured to him the best wishes and aid of every well-ordered mind, for the subjection of such a conspiracy, and the fair triumph resulting from it. But, whatever may be the success of the contest, which is raised by the exercise of an arbitrary, and therefore, in British conception, a most oppressive power, aggravated by the frequency, and the severity of its application; whatever may be the energies, and, in another quarrel, whatever might be the supposed virtues displayed in the progress of the irritation, or in the result of it; these with all lose their respect, if not their character, in consideration of the miserable cause, in which they are exhibited. He would seem to have little of the wisdom of a sound politician, or of the better feelings of man, who can stir a community, by the adoption of, and perseverance in, an obnoxious system, first to madness, and eventually to despair, without manifesting a spark of remorse, a scintillation of mercy or forbearance, to subdue the passions put in motion, and out of their due course, by his own acts; and when they cannot be reduced into order and place, even though the agitated bosoms that conceive them should beat with a correspondent throb, without inducing a chastisement as extreme as the severest punishment attendant on combated and subdued aggression.

It will not be imagined that, in questioning the policy of Sir G. Bar-



low, we are pleading the cause of revolt, or affording an indirect encouragement to insubordination. This is not a season, nor place, for asserting principles, that older and wiser authorities have contended for, and have conceived that they have successfully maintained.

In the proportion of our just admiration of the fidelity, the discipline, the devotion of the Madras army, shewn in how many and how brilliant instances, to the benefit and glory of the state; In that same degree do we feel mortified, that, having displayed so much courage, and so much constancy against a constitutional foe, they should have been betrayed, in an evil hour, and evil temper, into an illegitimate hostility, whatever might have been the motive and whatever the provocation to it. What a reputation might it not have maintained, what accession of glory acquired, if it could have manifested a little, and but a little, more of that endurance, in its own cause, which it had again and again demonstrated in others: if it had not suffered its weakness to be converted into the strength, the only seeming, but unreal, strength of its adversary. But more refined notions should not be entertained of humanity, than its gross and frail composition will readily admit.

The failure and the sufferings have been on the part of the army solely; and if we should, on that account, abstain from observation that might sound like a reproach, our forbearance must be ascribed, not to any blindness to its errors, but sympathy for its sufferings.

The army appears to have been driven from one excess to another, without reflecting on the end to which its acts are hurrying, or the means for

the attainment of it. If it had a precise object at any time in view, the possession of it depended, not as it should seem, on its own power, but on the will and permission of another. It miscalculates, on the force of its appearance and position for the accomplishment of its design, overlooking the obstacles to be encountered in the temper and obstinacy of its opponent. It commits the same fatal error, observable in the conduct of the government, in resorting at once to extremities, leaving no intermediate measure, nor any resource beyond it, which it dares in the worst of times to contemplate.

But whether the error, on the one side or the other, be more unnatural or more abundant, it is the duty of those, who watch over our Indian interests to controul and check its course. If materials are not sufficiently before them, for expressing a mature judgment on the causes and circumstances of the revolt, enough is in their hands, without waiting for further information indicative of the general feeling, and of the impatience of society, under the controul of men, who know not how to blend with the weighty powers of government, moderation in their use, or grace in their application; who have converted, by their ill-displayed severity, cheerful allegiance into a sullen duty, and have rendered themselves incapable of any great or good achievement, for the benefit of the affairs confided to them, - by damping and depressing the ardour, by which alone it can be produced.

Can there be a moment's question of the policy to be pursued? a doubt of the responsibility of those, who shall fail to embrace the first opportunity of solving it by a prompt and decisive act?



## CHAPTER V.

New arrangements proposed and adopted in the military department at the India House—and in the Examiner's office—Institution of a school for the education of cadets, of the artillery and engineer corps—increase of pension voted to Mr. Lacam—and an annuity of 1,000*l.* to Sir J. Macpherson—inquiries into the abuse of the patronage of the court of directors. • •

THE occurrences at home, connected with, or growing out of the administration of our Indian affairs, were not, in the present year, very numerous, but not uninteresting. •

Some improvements were suggested by the directors, and adopted by the proprietors, for giving facility to the dispatch of business, in the military department at the India-house, and in the examiner's office: these consisted in the proposed appointment of a military secretary, and two assistant secretaries in the office last-mentioned. The gentlemen, nominated to fill the new offices, were chosen, contrary to the practice before obtaining, from society at large, and not from among the servants of the company on their establishment in Leadenhall Street. The supersession of the claims of the latter gentlemen excited at first some opposition to the appointments, but it was neither violent nor continued, but withdrawn on an explanation of the peculiar nature of the arrangements, of the qualities requisite for the fulfilment of them, and of the intention of the directors not to convert the present measure into a precedent, so as to bar the prospects of the house-servants to succeed, on a vacancy, to the offices. It may reasonably be expected, that the activity and zeal of the officers, so especially chosen, may not only justify

the deviation from the custom of the service, but sustain the credit of those with whom the measure originated. The public will then have the full benefit of the change, in a prompt and expeditious decision, in the cases of military suitors, who can ill sustain the evils and inconveniences, from awaiting, in protracted hope, the pleasure of the court on the steps of the India house.

An useful institution was also proposed, and favoured by the same authorities, for the education of cadets in the service of the company, in the corps of artillery and engineers. A hint, too, was thrown out, of making the system applicable to the general service, to which some exception might be offered not only on the score of expense, but of the doubt of the advantage of a systematic course of education to the service at large. But it will be time enough to enter on this subject, when the enlarged plan may be submitted.

It will be seen from the proceedings at the India house, that the court of proprietors have voted an increase of pension to Mr. Lacam for preceding services, and an annuity of 1000*l.* per annum to Sir J. Macpherson, formerly governor-general of India. If these marks of attention were merited, of which there can be little doubt, the



acknowledgment would seem to be tardy, and the manner of it ungracious. The annuity to Sir J. Macpherson appears too much in the nature of a bargain, to shew like liberality.

The most important discussion that occupied the attention of the court of directors, and the body of the proprietors, arose out of a report of a committee of the House of Commons, relative to the abuse of patronage in the company's civil and military service; which ended in a resolution of the executive to annul the whole of the appointments obtained by corrupt means.

But when that proceeding came to be publicly considered and reflected upon, it seemed a punishment equally excessive and misapplied. The persons who had received the appointments, were generally, if not universally, unconscious of the means by which they were procured. There was no reason to suppose that they were not persons of as honourable character, and as likely to prove faithful and meritorious servants, as any in the company's employment. To recal them from India, and to send them destitute and stigmatized upon the world, was a measure too cruel to accord with that noble and generous principle of doing justice in mercy, which is so interwoven with the feelings of Britons, that they have made it a part of the sworn duty of their sovereign, and one of the indispensable conditions upon which he holds his crown. To animadvert with such immoderate and implacable severity, upon transactions, which, though certainly prohibited by resolutions repeatedly published in the London Gazette and the daily newspapers, were as certainly known to be daily practised without exciting any of that outrageous virtue, which would cut off, without remorse, all that had been visited by the taint, however slightly, and however unconsciously—this extravagant punishment of what had passed, and had passed by unnoticed, at the time when it was actually done, and that in so wantonly a manner as almost to “smell of heaven,” appeared an unchristian want of charity, and a puritanical perse-

cution striving to satisfy the public by the sacrifice of the humble for the guilt of the great; who it was intended to abstract from the penalties of shame and degradation, that ought to attach to them in a tenfold proportion.

These considerations, and the feelings that gave rise to them, were strengthened, when it was found, that of the two directors whose appointments were made matter of corrupt traffic, the one still connected with the East India house, but now out of the immediate direction by rotation, was recommended to the proprietors of East India stock for re-election on the ground that he was in the opinion of the acting directors *unconscious* of the corrupt traffic made of his nominations by the friend to whom he gave the nomination. “Why,” it was asked, did the directors plead ignorance as an excuse for a brother director, when they refused to admit it as an excuse for a few cadets and writers? Was a man of the experience, and known talents necessary for so high a station to be supposed innocent and unsuspecting, and therefore liable to be imposed upon; while these young men, ignorant of the world, and just then brought from their schools, to be introduced into life by their parents or guardians, could not be supposed unacquainted with the corrupt means by which their appointments had been procured? or, supposing both equally unconscious, was the appointment to be so penally visited upon him who unconsciously received it as to require that he should be turned forth, unprovided for and disgraced, while the other, who gave it, should be held so blameless as to be recommended to fresh marks of the company's confidence, and to a renewal of the highest trust the proprietors had to bestow?

The unequal application of the severity, and the indulgence in these circumstances, appeared to every common understanding to be the very reverse of the justice of the case, as well as of the general practice of our law, which shews lenity to the young, who may have been misled in the offence, and whose tender age is susceptible of re-



...while it gives less indulgence to that settled age which is less prone to influence, and less capable of being recalled from error when it has once fallen into it. The general inclination of the public mind was, therefore, to punish the directors, but to pass an amnesty in favor of the writers and cadets.

The arguments and wishes on behalf of these devoted persons were urged strongly and pertinaciously. The public papers, and public meetings, produced every day the most forcible and pathetic appeals both to the directors themselves, and from them to the proprietors of East India stock, to the parliament, and to the people. The proprietors of East India stock, in a resolution of their general court, adopted on the motion of Mr. Sansom, one of the most eminent, and most respectable merchants of the city of London, recommended to the directors to re-consider the resolution of dismissal which they had originally passed against the young men. But this recommendation of the proprietors, though it led to the re-consideration of the question, did not influence them either to rescind or mitigate that resolution of dismissal. This obstinacy of the directors in enforcing punishment, where the proprietors wished them to shew lenity, operated to confirm the proprietors in their determination to animadvert with severity upon the director whom the court wished to restore. Mr. Theluson was, afterwards, excluded from the direction by a large majority of the proprietors, notwithstanding the effort of the directors in his favour; and James Daniell, Esq. formerly captain of one of the company's ships, was elected in his place; in the same manner that Mr. Devaynes, the other director, now publicly implicated after his death, had on a former occasion been excluded by the general sense of the proprietors.

The case of the young men came again to be considered in the court of proprietors, when the same perseverance was shewn by the directors in maintaining the dismissal. An appeal

was made to the sense of the House of Commons, towards the close of the session, in a motion brought forward by Sir Thomas Turton; but the result was equally unfavourable. Mr. Dundas, president of the board of control, contending that the law was imperative in enjoining dismissal, in which opinion, the sense of the majority of the members present went with him. The perseverance of the advocates of forgiveness and amnesty, among the proprietors, prevailed however, ultimately, thus far with the directors, as to induce them to allow the persons dismissed, with one or two exceptions in the most culpable cases, to be subsequently re-appointed, subject to the pleasure of the court of proprietors, by any directors who might be, severally, so far interested in their behalf, but without any obligation on the court generally to give them appointments. There is reason to think, however, that time and circumstances contributed generally and fully, though silently, to carry into effect the wishes and judgment of the proprietors and the public; for we do not find, that the general dismissal has taken place. Indeed, it would have been attended with extreme inconvenience, as, in some instances, those, who would be immediately affected by it, were among the most promising and meritorious servants of their rank that the company had. Interest, therefore, probably, came in aid of mercy, and drew forth that lenity for which the most pathetic appeals were previously made to no purpose. Every public end was indeed completely answered by the measures of security, adopted on the suggestion of Mr. Randal Jackson, to prevent appointments in the company's service from being made in future through pecuniary considerations or means; and an amnesty could not fail to prove practically the wisest provision with respect to the past.

We are not aware of any other occurrence, in the course of this year, entitled to particular notice in the historical part of this work.















# CHRONICLE.

## BENGAL Occurrences for JANUARY, 1809.

JANUARY 24.—Letters have been received from the suite of the honourable Mr Elphinstone, ambassador to the court of Cabul, dated on the 12th ultimo, from the ancient city of Mooltan, within about six miles of the banks of the Ravee, or Hydaspes. The embassy had quitted Bhawelpore on the 6th, and reached Mooltan after a march of five days. The health of the escort, which had suffered severely during the stay at Beykaneer, and the passage of the desert (an interval altogether of about five weeks) had been entirely re-established, from the time of its entrance into the cultivated country. These accounts bear witness to the marked civility and kindness which the embassy had experienced from all the chieftains, whose territories they had passed, and particularly from the Soubah of Mooltan, at whose capital they expected to remain for about ten days. The novel appearance of a band of Europeans, in that country, naturally excited much curiosity among the Afghans, and the crowd of gazers is said to have been so great on their first arrival, that the gentlemen of the embassy found it difficult to pass from one tent to another. It was afterwards deemed prudent to put a stop to all further intrusion, by surrounding the camp with kanauts.

By the latest accounts from the Court it appears that Sultan-ul Moolk was on his progress to Pashawar. This movement, to which had been ascribed an intention of invading Cashmere, appears now to be imputable to no other motive than a desire of

passing the winter months in a milder climate than is to be found among the mountains of Candahar. The embassy were in daily expectation of receiving an invitation to meet the King at Pashawar, where it was supposed they would arrive about the middle of January.

A report was prevalent at Mooltan, when these accounts came away, that the king of Persia had sent two of his brothers to Cabul, to endeavour to negotiate a peace.

In the course of last week, letters had been received from the gentlemen of Mr. Elphinstone's mission, extending down to the 27th ultimo. At that time they remained encamped near Mises, on the right bank of the Chunaub, or Acesines— which river they had crossed from Rajghaut, a few days before. They were still without any direct advice from the court, nor did they even know any thing certain respecting the situation or movements of the Sultan. While some reports represented him as proceeding on his journey towards Pashawar, according to others, he had returned to Candahar. The embassy, however, was to march again upon the 29th, and expected to cross the Indus about the 2d January. The roads in the direction of Cabul, at the distance of about an hundred miles from the place of encampment, rendered impracticable at that season by the snow, it was hoped that they would find the king at Pashawar. All these letters represent the climate of Mooltan as most delightful. The thermometer at sun-rise had been so low as 24 degrees, and had never



even higher than 76 degrees. European vegetables, and some of the European fruits, were to be had in abundance. The Acesines (which name seems to be given in the letters to the united streams of the three rivers, Ravee, Beva, and Chunaub) is one mile, one furlong, and 185 yards in breadth from bank to bank, at the place where the mission was encamped. The breadth of the stream below the ghaut, at that season, did not exceed 350 yards.

An European deserter from the company's provinces, named John Pensley, had lately come into the camp, who stated that he had been two or three years in the service of the nawaub Moozuffer Khan, and that there were two others of his comrades in the same situation, and a third who was kept in confinement at Minkeree, by Mohammed Khan. They received an allowance of sixty rupees per month, and lived very comfortably with their wives in the fort of Sujabad, about eighteen miles distant from Mooltan. Pensley wore the Hindoostanee dress, and had all the appearance of a native. The gentlemen of the embassy were carefully cherishing their mustachoes; the want of that essential appendage of manhood being considered in a very equivocal light among a people purely Asiatic.

It is said, that the novel appearance of so formidable a body of strangers had at first excited some little uneasiness among the Afghans. The inhabitants of the village on their route had removed into the larger towns, and the nawaub of Mooltan (who, it seems, is not in the good graces of his sovereign) conceived an apprehension that they meant to seize his fort, for the behoof of the king of Candahar. These fears, however, were soon dissipated: and though the nawaub took the precaution of doubling his garrison, and shutting up his towns, he conducted himself towards the embassy with great politeness and hospitality.

JANUARY 25. — This day a viceregal court was held before the

honourable Sir H. Russell, commissary.

Mr. Ferguson appeared on behalf of the crews; and, after briefly recapitulating the principal allegations, prayed for condemnation of the Copenhagen, as a droit of admiralty. Mr. Lewin opened the case in like manner on the part of the captors.

Mr. Stretzell, the king's advocate, observed, after the detailed exposition which he had given on a former day, it would not be necessary for him to enter minutely into the various recorded cases by which he was supported, in praying for the adjudication of this ship to the King, in virtue of his office of lord high admiral. This was the case of a vessel, avowedly Danish, which had entered a British port voluntarily, in ignorance of the war, which at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Denmark; and which, on advice of the war, had there been seized. It was difficult to imagine upon what grounds it could be contended that she was any other than a droit of admiralty. The only question that could come into debate was, whether the rights of the admiral were divested, by the circumstance of the capture having been made by a commissioned ship. The Copenhagen had come into port, not knowing of the war. She was, therefore, precisely in that situation in which, by the positive provisions of the order, the rights of the admiral were received. The phrase indeed of the order was "ships coming into port, not knowing of the war;" but, by the universal consent of lawyers, the word *coming*, in this clause, was received as synonymous with *come*. Such was the interpretation affixed to it by the custom of language, and recognized by Sir William Scott, in his judgment in the case of the Rebecca. If the ship came into port voluntarily, it mattered nothing whether she was seized immediately on her entrance, or not until after an interval had elapsed. No objection, therefore, to the claim of the admiral could be founded on the ob-



circumstance of a period of time having intervened between the arrival of the Copenhagen and her detention. Nor, indeed, could he imagine any possible objection, which could be started on the part of the captors,—unless they were prepared to say, that the order in council was not meant to extend at all to captures made by King's ships. Upon that point, however, the case of the Odin, of which so much had been said on a former day, was in his opinion conclusive. The question in this case, he contended, did not in the smallest degree turn upon the circumstance of the capture having been made by a commissioned or a non-commissioned captor. On the contrary, in the whole course of the argument, not a single observation upon that point had fallen either from the court or from the bar; nor had the name of the governor of St. Helena once been introduced, with a view to his official character, as not holding a commission from the crown. The only subject of debate was, whether the vessel had been taken in port or out of port:—and this when the case was decidedly one of a capture by a commissioned ship. If the rights of the admiral to a prize, taken in harbour, had been divested by the circumstance of the captor's being a commissioned officer, no such discussion could ever have taken place;—the Odin was taken by the King's ship, *Trusty*, and it could not then have been a matter of any consequence, whether she was taken within or without the port of St. Helena. In like manner, in the case of the *Gertrude*, detained by a King's ship at the Cape of Good Hope, soon after the surrender of that colony in the last war, Sir William Scott had entered into a very elaborate argument on the question of *droit* or prize;—yet not a single word had escaped him, as to the capture having been made by a commissioned officer. From the whole, it was to be inferred, that the order in council, of Charles the Second, did not comprehend all the cases to

which the rights of the admiral extended; but that it was perfectly sufficient, if such rights had been vested by prescription. He had no doubt but that, in the present instance, the court would adjudge the Copenhagen to be a *droit*.

Part of the preparatory examinations having first been read by the King's proctor, Mr. Ferguson followed on the same side of the question.

Mr. Smith, on the part of the captors, said, he had no intention whatever of combating the proposition, that an enemy's ship taken in a British port, during the time of hostilities, was a *droit* of admiralty. His argument was founded on the express words of the order in council. To constitute the admiral's right, that instrument required, that the ship should be taken, within some port, creek, or road of the British dominions. Now, he meant to contend, that, at the time of her capture, the Copenhagen was not within any such port, creek, or road. There was more than one reason why the river Hoogley could not be considered as coming under either of these descriptions. In reference to a Danish ship passing to Serampore, the Hoogley was as a common water,—common to the vessels of all nations, who possessed settlements upon its banks. This ship (the Copenhagen) had entered this common water, on a voyage strictly Danish; she had come consigned to the Danish factory at Serampore; and had held no commercial dealings during her stay, except with that factory. She was lying, by mere accident, at Calpee, at the time of her seizure; but, during the whole antecedent period, there had been no communication whatever between her and Calcutta. What were the precise limits of the port of Calcutta, the court might not perhaps be competent, without evidence, to determine;—but, if he was not much mistaken, according to the general sense of the word, it terminated at Diamond harbour. The whole length of a river was not necessarily a port, nor did it necessarily come under the admiral's jurisdiction; and if



this were a fit subject for reasoning at all, he might fairly contend, that the admiral's rights were only co-extensive with his duties. Here Mr. Smith read to the court the definition given by lord Hale, of a port, a creek, and a road, as distinguished from a haven. A haven was the work of nature; it was simply a place of safe riding for ships; while a port had certain civil appurtenances and works attached to it, as franchise, customs, warehouses, quays, wharfs, cranes, &c. A creek was an inlet of salt water into the land, and constituted a sort of subordinate port,—where inferior custom-house officers were stationed, subject to the authority of the officers at the principal port:—such, for example, were the small harbours about the entrance of the river Thames. A roadstead, again, was an open place of anchorage, where vessels were in the use of taking in and discharging their cargoes. Now Culpeo could not be styled a creek,—as there was no inlet there of the salt water into the land. It manifestly was not a roadstead; neither, without evidence, could it be called a port. It might, perhaps, properly enough be styled a haven.—But that did not bring it within the limits of the admiral's commission. The admiral's business was to keep guard and watch over the *costa regni*,—the ports of the realm strictly so called. This was the express purpose of his office; and to this his privileges were attached. Beyond the limits of these ports, his watch did not extend; and the presumption was, that by the same limits, the divisions of the prey between him and the king was regulated. From the definitions of lord Hale, and from his account of the functions of the lord high admiral, it clearly followed, that an enemy's ship captured, while in the act of sailing up the Thames, by a British cruiser, would not be a droit of admiralty; neither, upon the same principle, could the Copenhagen be a droit of admiralty. But, whatever may be the limits of the port of Calcutta, (continued Mr. Smith,) there is another consideration,

which, I conceive, must necessarily preclude the court from pronouncing any place of anchorage in the river Hoogley, a port of the British dominions. There are obvious reasons why I should not think of setting up the argument, that this country belongs to the Great Mogul. Unquestionably, *usucapio* is a sufficient foundation for sovereignty; and by virtue of that right we now hold our territories in India. But although the real dominion has thus passed to us, it has all along been our policy, cautiously to uphold the name and semblance of the native governments, as an useful instrument in our transactions with European powers; and whatever territories have come into our possession, we have received them with a perfect recognition of all rights and privileges, which the courtesy of their former sovereigns may have granted to foreign nations. Our acquiescence in such privileges has been further secured by particular treaties, and they must always be considered as subsisting until such time as the settlements, to which they are attached, fall to us by war. Now, when the Copenhagen was seized, Serampore had not been taken. At the time of her capture, she was passing through that common water, in the right of navigating which she participated equally with ourselves. She was on her homeward bound voyage to Copenhagen,—a voyage exclusively Danish. It is clear, therefore, that, even if the question as to the extent of the port of Calcutta should be decided against us, the capture cannot be said to have been made in a British port.

Mr. Stretton, after complimenting his learned friend on the ingenuity of his argument, proceeded in reply. He was ready to admit, that there was a sort of community between the British nation and foreign states, in the right of navigating the river Hoogley, so long as peace subsisted. But the part which foreign States held in that right, was founded on a grant from the Native powers. Whereas our right had come to us, together with



the sovereignty of the country. The exercise of that sovereignty was, indeed, vested, for a time, in the company; but the company had no title, excepting that which they derived from the king, who was now, of course, the real sovereign of these dominions. The king, it was true, had taken the country as he found it,—saddled with all its existing treaties, usages, and burthens. But what was that to the question? There never had been any sovereignty in these foreign factories; nor, although we had acknowledged their existing privileges by treaty, had we at all enlarged their powers. But this ship, it was said, was going to, or coming from, Serampore. The privilege of a foreign power in a British port could not possibly affect a question between the king and his subject.

Sir Henry Russell. "The question here to be determined, relates to the extent of the admiral's right. No doubt, in every case, that right is to be construed strictly; and the more so, where the exception is so useful and praise-worthy. It cannot however be touched where it has been expressly reserved. In the present case, the ship captured appears to me to be clearly a *droit*, I do not know whether Culpee be a part of the port of Calcutta or not. But I believe, that a deliverance there is pretty nearly equivalent to a deliverance at Calcutta, and that duties are exacted and paid there as well as at Calcutta. But, even though the captors could prove that Culpee is not a part of the port of Calcutta, that would not be sufficient for their case. They must say, that it is not a port at all. I do not see why Culpee should not be called a port; and, if it be a port, I am sure it is a British port, for the land on both sides is the king's. If you will not allow it to be a port, it must at least be the *faucet* of a port, else I know not what the *faucet* of a port mean. If it be neither of these, I say it is a creek; for it is an inlet into the land, and the salt water comes up to it; lastly, if not a creek, beyond all question it is a roadstead;

for it is an anchorage, where ships load and unload. I do not think it necessary here to discuss the question whether the sovereignty exercised over this river by the British government amounts to an exclusive possession, or whether foreign nations have not a right of way through it to their own settlements. At the time the ship in question was seized, she was not using her right of way,—she was using Culpee as a lading port. Beyond the letter of the law, in cases of this description, I never will go. But here I am completely tied down by the express terms of the order in council. The Copenhagen came into a British port voluntarily; after hostilities had commenced, and was there seized. I should order an enquiry into the extent of the port of Calcutta, if I thought the circumstances of the case required it. But, I can see no occasion for it whatever. Whether a part of the port of Calcutta or otherwise, Culpee is unquestionably a port. I adjudge, therefore, the Copenhagen to be condemned as a *droit* of admiralty."

Mr. Smith, on the part of the captors, applied to the court for leave to appeal the case to the high-court of admiralty, which was accordingly granted.

PORT WILLIAM, January 30.—The right honourable the governor-general in council has received the satisfactory intelligence, that a detachment of the subsidiary force of Hyderabad, under the command of lieutenant colonel Doveton, consisting of a corps of horse artillery, two regiments of Native cavalry, and twelve companies of Native infantry, employed in the province of Candahar, in the pursuit of the predatory force, of the chiefs, Mohiput Row Holkar, Wahid Ali Khan, and Daudin Khan, after a forced march of near one hundred miles, having succeeded in surprising the enemy at the fort of Amulnair, on the morning of the 26th ultimo, effected the complete dispersion of their troops, consisting of between four and five thousand



infantry, cavalry and infantry, and captured the whole of their guns, baggage, and camp equipage, and near 8000 horse. The loss on the part of the enemy is stated to have been very great; on the part of the British detachment, between twenty and thirty men killed and wounded.

The governor-general in council deems it proper on this occasion to express, in the most public manner, the high sense which he entertains of the zeal, judgment, and activity, manifested by lieutenant-colonel Doveton, in planning and executing this arduous enterprise, and of the distinguished perseverance, exertion, and gallantry of the officers and troops under his command, in accomplishing a march of nearly one hundred miles in the space of forty-eight hours, and immediately attacking a superior force of the enemy, whose depredations in the province of Candesh, and in the territories of the allies of the British government, had so long disturbed the tranquillity of the Deccan, and had rendered necessary a combined movement of divisions of the subsidiary forces of Poona and Hyderabad, under the general direction of colonel Wallace, commanding the subsidiary force of Poona.

His lordship in council has great satisfaction also in acknowledging, on this occasion, the judgment and professional ability displayed by colonel Wallace in framing the plan of combined operation between the two divisions of the subsidiary forces, which led to the brilliant achievement devised by lieutenant-colonel Doveton, and executed under his personal command with such exemplary success.

N. B. EDMONSTONE,  
Chief Sec. to Gov.

**Jan. 21.**—The picture of Lord Lake, intended for the new town-hall, and painted at the request of the gentlemen of the Upper Provinces, on the occasion of his forced march against Holkar, near Pattachur, is at length completed, and is put up for a time, in the meeting room of the Asiatic Society, at Chourinsee.

## BENGAL

### Occurrences for February.

**CALCUTTA, Feb. 8.**—The governor-general held a levee on Saturday last; which was fully attended.

Don C. de Latreya, Spanish commercial agent, had a long conference with lord Minto.

The friendly intercourse between British India, and the Spanish Asiatic settlements, will be immediately opened. Two vessels are now preparing at this port for Lucena. The tidings of the late glorious revolution in Spain will be no where more welcome than at Manila, and other settlements on the Philippine islands, where the French are held in general abhorrence.

**FEB. 9.**—The fortified hill of Regowley, in Bundelcund, was carried by storm on the 22d ultimo.

The accolade of this pleasing event were received in town on Thursday last. The attack was most judiciously planned, and conducted with equal intrepidity and judgment; every officer and man acquitted himself like a hero. Although all most deeply lament casualties among the brave; yet the loss attending this success, considering the strength of the enemy, and his means of defence, was much less than could have been expected. Three British officers were wounded, two of them severely; 28 rank and file killed, and 126 wounded. Lieutenants Jamieson, Frye, and Speck, are the officers wounded.

The acquisition of Regowley is of importance in facilitating the operations against Adjyghur, from which it is distant ten miles. While Regowley remained in possession of the enemy, the intercourse between the troops before Adjyghur, and the British post at Soopah, was exposed to interruption. The communication is now clear, and we trust that the fall of Adjyghur will soon afford another proof of the gallantry of our army in Bundelcund.

The following copy of the general orders were issued by lieutenant-



colonel Martinell, on the possession of Begowly.

*Head Quarters in Bundelcund, Camp before Adjghur, Jan. 23th, 1809*

DETACHMENT ORDERS BY LIEUT.

**COLONEL MARTINDALL.**—The commanding officer regrets, from the great press of public business, he has so long been detained from performing a most pleasing part of his duty, to return his best thanks, so justly due to the whole of the troops who were employed in the assault of the fortified hill of Begowley, on the 22d instant,—and to express his entire satisfaction at the gallant conduct and zeal displayed by them on that occasion. The promptitude with which the troops proceeded to the attack, the persevering toil with which they encountered opposing obstacles, the intrepidity with which they ascended the hill, under a most galling fire, and the steady courage they displayed in the assault of so strong a position, and so obstinately defended, are circumstances, which call for the most unqualified admiration and praise. To lieutenant-colonel Lawtie, majors Kelly and O'Halloran, and to captains Hare and Midwinter, who conducted the principal columns of attack,—and to lieutenant Baddely, who volunteered with the party of pioneers, the commanding officer feels most deeply indebted for their gallantry and conduct,—and equally so to every officer and soldier employed, for the persevering zeal and bravery they so conspicuously displayed; while the skill with which captain Brook and his officers directed the fire of the artillery, to cover the troops in the assault, claims his highest approbation. To captain Wilson, likewise, who volunteered his services, and attended lieutenant-colonel Lawtie during the action, every praise is due. Although major Nuthall, with the 3d cavalry under his command, could not, from the nature of the assault, with the exception of the gallopers attached to his corps under lieutenant Barlow, be employed any further than as a covering party to the assailants, still the

commanding officer feels very much indebted to him and his corps, for the zeal and alacrity with which every position was taken up, and to lieutenant Barlow and men attached to the gallopers, for his well-directed fire in covering the right attack. It is not without deep regret, the commanding officer, in appreciating the important and successful issue of the assault, laments the loss of the brave men who fell so gloriously in the cause, and in which they so nobly sustained the honour and name of the Bengal army. The commanding officer has already had the pleasure of reporting the meritorious exertions of the troops to his excellency the commander-in-chief, and requests lieutenant-colonel Lawtie, commanding the 18th regiment,—major Kelly, commanding the 4th light infantry battalion,—captain Midwinter, who commanded the detachment of the 2d battalion 1st regiment N. I.—captain Brook, commanding the 3d regiment of native cavalry, and lieutenant Baddely, commanding the pioneers, will explain to their native officers and men, his marked and entire approbation of their conduct."

**FORT WILLIAM, February 11.**—

The right honourable the governor-general in council is pleased to direct that the following extracts from letters from colonel Wallace, commanding the subsidiary force of Poona, containing a report of the proceedings of the detachment under his personal command in the pursuit of the remains of the predatory force, lately attacked and dispersed by the detachments under lieutenant-colonel Doveton, and the satisfactory intelligence of the seizure of the persons of two of the principal leaders of that force, be published for general information, together with the expression of his lordship in council's high approbation, of the zeal and judgment manifested by colonel Wallace, in conducting the pursuit of the remnant of the predatory force under Daudin Khan, and Wauhid Ali Khan Bungab, and in the arrangements which led to the apprehension of these chiefs, and the



final dispersion of their remaining followers, and of the alacrity and perseverance of the officers and men of the detachment in the execution of this important service.

*Extracts from a letter addressed to colonel Barry Close, resident at Poona, by colonel Wallace, dated at Ranipoor, 24 miles N. W. of Coprell, 10th January, 1809.*

On the 2d instant, I left Amulnair with the whole of my detachment, the portion of it, which I had left in the rear, on advancing to that place, having joined me the preceding day. On my arrival on the 3d instant, at Scindkair, I found the report that Bungush had halted there, the whole of the 29th ultimo, the day after his defeat at Amulnair, to be correct, and that he had, before morning, thence collected a party of about 500 horse; I likewise learnt, that from Scindkair, he had made one march to Nunderbar, where he had arrived the 30th in the evening. On the 4th I moved to Dundarcha, which is within one long march of Nunderbar, and hearing the Bungush still continued at the latter place, where he was recruiting and equipping his party by plunder, I had determined to move the same night, with a light detachment, to attack him. Just in time, however, I heard of his having left Nunderbar, and proceeded in the direction of this place, (Ranipore) in consequence, I moved on the 5th instant to Caprell, on the Taptie, and receiving intelligence that Bungush was encamped at Oomrall, about twenty-four miles from me in a N. W. direction, I marched at six o'clock that evening, and at break of day on the 6th, I arrived at the ground of his encampment, when, however, I was disappointed by finding that he had a few hours before quitted, and fled into the Dowdabawa Ghant. There I immediately followed him, and after a short skirmish with a few of his followers, that retired into the Ghaut as we advanced, took up a position at the entrance into it, which pre-

cluded the possibility of his again returning into the plain. In occupying this position, our troops were, for a considerable time, fired upon, from the Jungle at the foot of the Ghaut, by Bungush's followers, but principally by armed men in the employ of Beem Sing, a petty Rajah, who commands this pass, without, however, suffering from its effects.

To this Rajah who is nominally a subject of the Poona state, I had made a communication, on the first report of the probability of Bungush taking refuge with him, but am doubtful whether it reached him before that Sirdar's arrival. I, however, lost no time in again calling upon him to seize and give up to me, the rebels he had received into the hills and strong holds, and in threatening him with the consequences of a non compliance with my desire. This has led to a party between us, which I pretty confidently expect to terminate in the entire destruction of Bungush's remaining force. Daudin Khin and Pelewaun Khan, are with Bungush. Jandeo, a nephew of Myput Rao Holkar, who was with the rebels, has, it is said, received protection from the head man of Telloda, a village close to this. I shall endeavour to ascertain the truth of this report, and to get hold of him. Of Myput Rao Holkar himself, I yet know nothing certain, but from what has reached me, I am led to think that he is concealed in Cadish, near Sonneghar.

The whole of my detachment is now assembled here.

The Ghaut, now in my front, is accessible only to led horses, and possesses such natural strength, that when defended by a few men, a passage through it cannot, I fancy, be forced by any number of troops. All the passes in its vicinity, except the Berwanch, which is said to be passable for carriages, are of the same description, and they are all defended by innumerable bodies of Bhels, and by a few Arabs and other armed men in the pay of the petty chiefs, who



## BENGAL OCCURRENCES FOR FEBRUARY, 1869.

side in the hills, and command the roads through them.

*Extract from a letter from colonel Wallace, to lieutenant-colonel Doveton, dated at Oomral, the 17th of January, 1869.*

Having expected, for these several days past, that I should obtain possession of the persons of Bungnah and Daudin Khan, I delayed writing to you until I could inform you of that event. This I am happy now to have in my power; those two Sirdars having been last night delivered up to me by Beem Sing, the Beel Rajah, whom, in my last letter, I mentioned to you, and who, by representations, was induced, on the 10th instant, to attack their remaining force, which he effected with the completest success. Almost the whole of their party were, with themselves, made prisoners, and deprived of their horses and arms. Pelewajun Khan, however, with about 100 others, escaped, and by swimming the Nerbudda, which was then unfordable, secured a retreat.

Published by order of the right honourable the governor-general in council.

N. B. EDMONSTONE,  
Chief Secy to the Govt.

COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM, Feb. 18.

### PUBLIC DISPUTATION.

The right honourable lord Minto, governor-general and visitor of the college of Fort William, having appointed Saturday, the 15th February, for a public disputation in the Asiatic languages, to be held in conformity with the statutes of the college, the governors, officers, professors, and students of the college, met at ten o'clock at the government-house, where the members of the supreme council, the judges of the supreme court, and many of the civil and military officers at the presidency, with others of the principal European inhabitants of Calcutta, and a few respectable natives, were also assembled.

As soon as the right honourable the visitor had taken his seat, the public exercises commenced in the following order.

### FIRST. PERSIAN. DISPUTATION.

POSITION—"For the acquirement of a critical knowledge in the Persian language the study of rhetoric is required as well as that of grammar."

Respondent, - G. Sotheby,  
First Opponent, W. Forrester,  
Second, Do. - G. Todd,  
Moderator, - M. Lumsden, Esq.

### SECOND. HINDOOSTANEE. DISPUTATION.

POSITION—"The diversity of climate, not any difference in the original constitution of the human understanding, is the cause of a dissimilarity between the productions of European and Oriental genius."

Respondent, H. Sargent,  
First Opponent, J. Furneaux,  
Second Do. R. H. Tulloch,  
Moderator, Capt. J. W. Taylor,

### THIRD. BENGALEE. DISPUTATION.

POSITION—"An accurate knowledge of the manners and genius of the *Hindoo*, is to be acquired by an attentive examination of their written compositions."

Respondent, H. Sargent,  
First Opponent, W. Forrester,  
Second, Do. J. Furneaux,  
Moderator, The Rev. W. Carey.

### FOURTH. ARABIC.

#### DISPUTATION.

POSITION—"The Arabic language stands more in need of the aids to be derived from the art of printing than any other Oriental tongue."

Respondent, G. Sotheby,  
First Opponent, F. Magniac,  
Second, Do. G. Todd,  
Moderator, M. Lumsden, Esq.

### FIFTH. MAHRATTA,

#### DECLAMATION.—H. SARGENT.

"That great utility is to be derived from the study of the *Mahratta* language."

When the disputations and decla-



examinations were concluded, the president of the college council presented to the right honourable the visitor, the several students of the college, who were entitled under statute VIII, to receive degrees of honor, as well as, successively, the whole of the students, who, at the late examination, had been found qualified to enter upon the public service; and had consequently obtained permission from the visitor to quit the college under the rule contained in section II, regulation III, 1807. The president read the certificate granted by the council of the college to each student, in pursuance of the above statute, specifying the proficiency which he had made in the prescribed studies of the college, and also the general tenor of his conduct, with the amount, if any, of the debt contracted by him during the period of his attachment to the college. When the certificates had been read, the visitor presented to each student, entitled to receive a degree of honour, the usual diploma inscribed on vellum, and at the same time expressed the satisfaction which he felt in conferring it.

The students, on whom the right honourable the visitor was pleased to confer a degree of honour on this occasion, and the languages, for their high proficiency in which the degrees of honour were respectively conferred, are as follow:

George Sotheby, Persian, Arabi c, nd Hindoostanee.

James Furneaux, Persian and Hindoostanee.

Henry Sargent, Hindoostanee and Bengalee.

William Forrester, Persian and Hindoostanee.

George Tod, Persian & Hindoostanee.

Robert Henry Tulloh, Persian and Hindoostanee.

The honorary prizes and medals, adjudged at the late public examination, were distributed, by the president of the council, to the following students:

George Sotheby, as per annexed report, and a medal of merit, adjudged in the 2d term of 1808, for proficiency in Arabic.

William Forrester, as per annexed report.

Henry Sargent, ditto, and two medals of merit adjudged in the second term of 1808, for proficiency in Hindoostanee and Bengalee.

George Tod, as per annexed report. Robert Henry Tulloh, ditto, ditto, and a medal of merit adjudged in the 3d term of 1808, for proficiency in Persian.

Charles George Blagrove, as per annexed report,

Charles James Davidson, ditto,

James William Grant, ditto,

James Furneaux, ditto,

Fry Magniac, ditto,

Henry Mortlock, ditto,

Holt Mc Kenzie, ditto,

William Mc Intosh, a medal of merit adjudged in the third term of 1808, for proficiency in Hindoostanee.

# REPORT.—PERSIAN.—First Class.

1, Sotheby, G. books value 500 rupees and medal. 2, Forrester ditto, 250 rupees, and medal. 3, Tod, medal. 4, Furneaux. 5, Tulloh.

## Second Class.

6, Moore. 7, Lyon. 8, Mackenzie. 9, Chamberlain. 10, Barlow. 11, Matfield. 12, Wilder. 13, Magniac. 14, Sotheby, H.

## Third Class.

15, Brown. 16, Robertson. 17, Morrison. 18, Wellesley. 19, Harding. 20, Harrington. 21, Mortlock. 22, Jennings.

## Fourth Class.

23, Fraser, A. C. 24, McIntosh. 25, Hunter. 26, Nisbet. 27, Smeit. 28, Scott.

## ABSENT FROM EXAMINATION.

Blagrove, Fraser, J. J. Fane, Curtis, Melville, Wish, declined examination. Smith, C. Trotter, A. Sargent, Calvera, Drew, sick.

Barwell, C. R. attended, but retired from indisposition after the oral examination.

Sparks attended, but retired after the oral examination.

## ARABIC.

1, Sotheby, G medal. 2, Magniac. 3, Tod. 4, Furneaux.

## HINDOOSTANEE.

### First Class.

1, Sargent, books value 500 rupees, and medal. 2, Sotheby, G ditto 250 rupees, and medal. 3, Tod, medal. 4, Forrester. 5, Furneaux.

### Second Class.

6, Chamberlain. 7, Morrison.



Walker. 2, Moore. 10, Bepow. 11, Mackay. 12, Barlow. 13, Lyon. 14, Robertson. 15, Tucker. 16, Harding.

*Third Class.*

17, H. Sotheby. 18, Davidson. 19, Mackay. 20, Kennedy. 21, Jennings. 22, Harrington. 23, Blagrove. 24, A. C. Barwell. 25, Monckton

*Fourth Class.*

26, Mackenzie. 27, Magniac. 28, Mortlock. 29, Pond. 30, Sparks. 31, J. J. Fraser. 32, Smett. 33, Bird. 34, A. C. Fraser. 35, Wellesley. 36, Calvert.

*Fifth Class.*

37, Tytler. 38, F. C. Smith. 39, E. J. Smith. 40, Fane. 41, Hunter. 42, Curtis. 43, Belli. 44, Innes. 45, Scott. 46, Grant. 47, Russell. 48, Whish.

**ABSENT FROM EXAMINATION.**

Petrie, Lewis, Melville, Nisbet, declined examination, J Trotter, and A. Trotter, Drew, sick? Forde, Barwell attended, but retired after the oral examination.

Mr. Tulloh, who was prevented by sickness from attending on the day of examination, was separately examined on a subsequent day, and found to have made proficiency such as to entitle him to a place in the first class.

**BENGALEE.**

*First Class.*

1, Sargent, books, value 500 rupees, and medal

*Second Class.*

2, Forrester, medal. 3, Monckton. 4, Furneaux

*Third Class.*

5, Tucker. 6, Harding. 7, Pond. 8, Kennedy. 9, Davidson. 10, Belli. 11, Calvert. 12, Forde. 13, J. J. Fraser. 14, Blagrove. 15, A. C. Barwell. 16, E. J. Smith

Mr. Tulloh was prevented by illness from attending the examination, but is stated by the professor to have made proficiency, such as to entitle him to the second class.

**MAHRATTA.**

1, Sargent, medal.

**ABSENT FROM EXAMINATION.**

G. Sotheby. Whish, declined examination.

**PERSIAN WRITING.**

1, Blagrove, N. B. obtained the first prize last year.

2, Tulloh, books, value 200 rupees, and medal.

3, Grant, medal. 4, Barlow. 5, Sotheby, H. 6, Forrester.

**MAGREE WRITING.**

1, Blagrove, books, value 200 rupees, and medal.

2, Davidson, medal. 3, Forrester. 4, Sargent. 5, Pond.

**BENGALEE WRITING.**

1, Davidson, books, value 200 rupees, and medal.

2, Sargent, medal. 3, Blagrove. 4, Tulloh. 5, Kennedy. 6, Barwell. 7, Forrester.

**MAHRATTA WRITING.**

Sargent.

**LAWS AND REGULATIONS.**

Lyon.

Medals of merit are awarded to Messrs. Mackenzie, Magniac, and Mortlock, for their proficiency in the Hindoostanee language, and to Messrs. Tod and Furneaux, for their proficiency in the Arabic.

*Garrison Orders, by the Right Hon the Governor General, February 23.*

In consequence of the lamented decease of major-general Sir George Broughton, bart. by which melancholy event his Majesty has lost a very valuable and zealous officer, it becomes the painful duty of the right honourable the governor-general to direct the last tribute of military honours to be paid to his remains.

The funeral party to be composed of his Majesty's 14th regiment, and the governor-general's body guard, and to be commanded by major-general Sir Ewen Baillie, who will be pleased to give such further instructions as he may judge necessary.

Minute guns to be fired, when the procession commences, until the corpse shall be interred; during which time the garrison flag is to be lowered half mast.—All officers, off duty, are directed to attend.

*Garrison Orders, by Major-General Sir Ewen Baillie.*

His Majesty's 14th foot, to be under arms this evening at four o'clock, and to attend the funeral of the deceased, major-general Sir Geo. B. Broughton, furnished with three rounds of light cartridges, and lieutenant colonel Watson will give the



necessary orders to that effect. The corps to parade in full force, and lieutenant-colonel Watson will receive special instruction for his guidance on the occasion, from major-general sir Ewen Baillie.

The body guard are to attend and become a component part of the funeral escort, attendant on the remains of the late major-general sir George Boughton, of his Majesty's service; and captain Galk will give instructions to that effect, having received especial instructions from major-general sir Ewen Baillie, for his guidance on this occasion.

The reserve in garrison are to be under arms, and drawn up on the artillery parade at four o'clock, where they will receive more particular orders, and the captain of the reserve will give the necessary instructions to this effect.

All officers, off duty, are directed to attend the funeral; the fort-adjutant the brigade-major of his Majesty's service, and the brigade-major of the station, with major-general Sir G. Braitwaite Boughton's staff, will attend on horseback, at half past four o'clock.

The minute-guns to cease upon the discharge of the three volleys at the burying ground, and banner rolls to be placed for that purpose.

#### COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM.

*Speech of the right honourable the governor-general, at the examination of the students at the college.*

#### GENTLEMEN OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM,

The progress of this institution in promoting its important ends, the increase of studious exertion, and the consequent advancement of learning from year to year, are objects connected with so many interesting consequences, that they justly command an anxious and vigilant observation, more especially in those whose station impose upon them both a charge and responsibility in the administration of the college of Fort William.

It would appear, therefore, to be a

equitable, as well as useful practice, to compare at each annual examination the list with the preceding year. If the latter period should have fallen short in diligence or efficiency, the causes of so mortifying a result will be searched for, and the remedies applied, while a sense of present humiliation may become a stimulus to future effort for the recovery of lost credit. On the contrary, if we may claim a progress in the studies of the college, we shall find in the gratifying consciousness of meritorious conduct, and the approbation of the world, the best reward of past, and the best encouragement of future exertion. I should wish, I own, and I am persuaded I do not wish in vain, that the students of each year should feel themselves charged with the honour of the College, and the hopes of the public, during their respective periods of probation; and that they should keep the coming anniversary in view, with a laudable solicitude for their individual credit, heightened by its union with that of the institution, of which they are members, and with the public good.

In conformity with these views, I propose to place the past year in parallel with the preceding; and it is with cordial satisfaction I am enabled to say, that, notwithstanding the high reputation which crowned the studies of 1807, those of the latter period have not only maintained the ground already acquired, but afford to the present year an undoubted title to claim a sensible and essential progress.

I must, however, preface the review, on which I am entering, with an observation on which I may enlarge somewhat more fully in the sequel. The acquisitions made in the present year may not, in all cases, result ostensibly, from a mere numerical comparison of the students, who composed the different classes, into which the several languages were in these two periods respectively divided. Under this mode of comparison, the advantage, which is not uniform on either side, is, in truth, too limited in amount, and too precarious and questionable in its prin-



able, to furnish satisfactory conclusions. It is rather in the scale of proficiency attached to the classes of the respective years, that the superiority of the period now under consideration is evinced, but in that material and decisive point, its existence will be found fully established.

I proceed, however, with the parallel proposed, under the several heads of comparison which were assumed in the discourse I last delivered from this place.

The number of students reported competent to enter on the service was twenty in the last year, and is seventeen in the present. But the college council has been induced by considerations, which appear to me just and judicious, to recommend that two other gentlemen, reported proficient in one language, should be added to those who are to quit college, as being competent to discharge the duties of that branch of the service to which they are destined. I shall think it my duty to state more particularly the grounds of this slight departure from the general rule, which requires a proficiency in two languages to entitle the student to quit college. I mention it at present for the purpose of observing, that this addition gives nineteen competent to enter on the service; and the two years, therefore, may be considered as nearly balanced, shewing only a difference of one, too inconsiderable to furnish any argument of superiority or decline. It must be considered also as a full compensation for the trifling difference in number between the two returns, that at those now reported to be qualified, two are conversant in four languages, of which but one example was furnished in the former year.

I observe with pleasure, that the Persian classes have somewhat gained in the number of students. Twenty-seven presented themselves for examination in 1808: twenty-eight in the present year. I do not mention this small excess as marking any sensible superiority of the latter period, but as proving that, in this point, the ground formerly acquired has been well maintained.

A result entirely satisfactory will be furnished, also, by a comparison of Persian proficiency in the two years.

The first class in Persian consisted, in the former year, of six; the second class of nine. In the latter year five only have been ranked in the first class, and nine in the second. There would appear, therefore, to have been a reduction of one in the number of those who have attained the degree of proficiency required in the two first classes of Persian. But this numerical inequality, so minute that we must account it casual, will by no means afford any solid advantage to the preceding year, if the comparison be allowed to turn rather on the degrees of proficiency, than on the number of proficient: for independent of some considerations to which I shall have occasion hereafter to advert, Mr. Sorheby is, beyond doubt, much more eminently proficient in Persian, and I may add, in Arabic, than any of the students who passed the preceding examination.

The first Hindoostanee class in Jan. 1808, contained 8 students, and the second 6; the first class in the present year comprises six, including Mr. Tulloh, who was separately examined, but eleven have attained the second. The two classes, therefore, give an addition of three proficient scholars in the present year. And in abatement of the advantage which might be claimed for last year of two in the number of highly proficient students, we are entitled to pass to the credit of the present year, the eminence which Mr. Sargent has attained in the knowledge of the Hindoostanee, as well as of the Bengal language, and which, in those two branches of oriental study, places him in a higher rank than any who left the college in 1808.

The first Bengalee class of the former year was confined to one student; the second included six. The first class of the present year is likewise restricted to one; the second comprises four, including Mr. Tulloh, who was not examined from indisposition, but is stated by the professors to be equal to those of the second class. Three



students also of the third class are proficient in the Bengali language, making the entire number of proficient in the present year one more than in the past.

If the degrees of proficiency attained by the corresponding classes of the respective years be compared, superiority acquired since the last examination, will be particularly conspicuous in this language.

I have already adverted, and shall have occasion to do so again, to the eminent degree of knowledge by which Mr. Sargent has distinguished himself in the Bengalee language. I am now to observe that of the second class, which was composed of four, Messrs. Forrester, Munckton, and Tulloh, have without doubt attained a higher scale of proficiency than any of the students who occupied the same nominal class, the year before; and Mr. Furneaux, who stands fourth of the second class, possesses the exclusive credit of having acquired proficiency in the Bengalee in addition to that which he has attained in three other languages.

It must be considered as a remarkable feature of the present examination, and may, perhaps, be thought to form an era in the studies of Fort William, if not in the literature of Asia, that Mr. Sargent has qualified himself to translate four books of Virgil's *Aeneid* into the language of Bengal, and has performed the work in a manner to merit the commendation of those who are competent to judge of it. If it has, indeed, been possible, by the classical execution even of a prose version, to set before the native scholars of these provinces, present or to come, that model of epic genius and Augustan taste; and if, following the footsteps of Mr. Sargent, others should hereafter present yet more largely to the future poets of Bengal, a choice between the chaste and polished composition of the western ancients, and the Asiatic glare of figurative and hyperbolical exaggeration, which seems to be the constitutional blemish of the powerful, but in other respects, often elegant and refined genius of the East, may not something be hoped for the force and charms of truth

frequently contemplated by those to whom she will at length have been unveiled?

Another enterprise, of a similar nature, has distinguished the collegiate exercises of this year. Mr. Munckton has undertaken, and has been able to execute, a translation into Bengalee, of Shakespear's tragedy of the *Tempest*. The difficulty of rendering a work of that peculiar stamp, into the language of a nation, whose idiom and manners have so little affinity either to the genius of the author, or to the times and people for which he wrote, may be easily appreciated. That Mr. Munckton has triumphed over these obstacles, and has achieved his labour, bears sufficient testimony both to his knowledge and command of a language, which he has been able to bend to so arduous a purpose.

Mr. Sotheby and Mr. Tytler were examined in the Mahratta language last year, and the former obtained a medal for his proficiency. Mr. Sargent is the only student, of Mahratta examined this year, and he has attained a higher degree of proficiency. Mr. Sotheby has, in my opinion, very judiciously thought it advisable to profit of the present occasion to cultivate those studies, for the prosecution of which he might not find elsewhere the same facilities; and he has reserved for other opportunities, which his destination in the public service cannot fail of furnishing, the study of the Mahratta language. But if the mind and faculties of Mr. Sotheby be as tenacious of what he once possesses, and I doubt not but they are, as we know they are powerful and rapid in acquiring, I cannot consent to efface his name from our present list of Mahratta scholars.

I speak last of the Arabic studies of the college of Fort William, because I conceive that the principal progress and acquisition of this year have been made in this branch of knowledge.

The number of students has advanced from three to four, and these are all distinguished by a superior degree of proficiency.



Mr. Magniac brought indeed his knowledge of this learned language from Oxford, where his studies were directed by the celebrated orientalist of that university, professor White, and the progress he has made in a tongue, rarely cultivated in England, redounds alike to the honor of the master and the scholar. If rivalry and jealousy, which seem natural attendants on competition, could be banished from any commonwealth, it would be reasonable to expect the absence of those infirmities in the enlarged society of enlightened men and philosophers, which bears the liberal title of the republic of letters. But if its individual citizens cannot always divest themselves of this badge of our general nature, and in the race of honour will sometimes stain their emulation with envy and the lower passions of the vulgar and illiterate world, learned societies, I trust, are, at least, collectively exempt from a weakness so foreign to the nature of their institution, and so destructive of its objects. I shall speak, therefore, the sense of the college of Fort William, of the learned Asiatic society, and generally of those enlightened scholars, who love to cultivate and promote oriental knowledge, when I welcome, with peculiar satisfaction, the proof afforded in the proficiency of Mr. Magniac, and in the amnience of his instructor, that oriental study is not neglected nor declining in the west; and that an European school can send forth samples of oriental acquirement, capable of adorning the colleges of Asia.

Three pupils of the college of Fort William, Mr. Sotheby, Mr. Furneaux and Mr. Tod, have acquired a distinguished proficiency in this difficult tongue, in addition to the proficiency in the Persian and Hindoostanee languages.

The present year is further distinguished by a disputation for the first time, in Arabic, by three students, the public exercise in that language having been hitherto confined to a declamation by a single student.

In order to pursue the parallel through the full course of last year's compa-

radive review of the two periods, then treated of, I should say a few words on the quickness of study in the present year. Such a comparison, if allowance were made, as it ought for extraordinary instances, altogether out of the common course which distinguished the studies of 1807, and which, as exceptions, ought not to be admitted into any general estimate, would not be in any degree disparaging to the present year, but, on the contrary, would afford a satisfactory result, I must, indeed, to the credit of the individuals, and in justice to their application and talents, record the names of Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Magniac, and Mr. Hans Sotheby, as honourable examples of rapid progress in the studies of the present year. The two former, Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Magniac, have been able to place themselves in the second class of Persian by two months application; the latter, Mr. Hans Sotheby, has attained the same proficiency in four.

It would be proper also to observe, under this head, that of twenty, who were reported qualified to quit the college on the former examination, ten only attained that proficiency in a shorter term than two years. Of the seventeen, who have now attained qualifications in truth of a higher standard, nine will appear to have exceeded the period of two years study. But of these, three were admitted in December at the very close of 1806, and may be fairly considered as virtually belonging to the year 1807. There is one, also, distinguished proficient of the present examination, for roll of 1806, the present year is nevertheless exclusively entitled to credit. But I reserve his name and the peculiarity alluded to for another part of my discourse.

I should be entitled also to claim credit for Mr. Tod, who was reported competent at the former examination to quit the college, but is another rare example of a voluntary protraction of his studies. He cannot, therefore, be included amongst those who have, required a longer period than two years to qualify themselves for a release from the college; that proficiency was al-



ready obtained at the examination in January, 1808, and the studies of the succeeding year have been directed to still higher attainments.

If these five names be deducted from the nine, we shall have produced, thirteen students out of seventeen, qualified within two years, and only four, whose term of preparatory study has been longer.

In commending the diligence and capacity of those who afford rare examples of the triumph, which ardent labour will obtain over difficulties, capable of retarding even laudable degrees of application, I am anxious to explain the sense in which I think dispatch in study is to be recommended, lest I should mislead the ambition of the student into an error, which would prove highly detrimental to the cause of learning. I would not be understood, therefore, to esteem a very early retreat from college and from study a desirable, or even creditable object of exertion. That the period of quitting college, and entering on the wider and more captivating scene of active life, must depend upon the proficiency of the student, is, indeed, a law of this institution, and of this government; and I fairly profess this rule to have had in view, not only to secure adequate qualifications in the company's servants before they are invested with public trust, but also to promote and encourage study. This motive is intended to stimulate those whose literary zeal or whose sense of honour and duty may be too feeble to contend with the seductions of sloth, or dissipation, and who might convert that important period of life, assigned to study and acquirement, into a sterile and unprofitable blank. That interval, if its restraints be irksome, will be abridged by reasonable and moderate application; and if application itself be painful, the term of that pain will be prolonged by the indulgence of so unmanly and uncreditable a temper and habit of mind. In praising a rapid progress in study, it is far from intended to encourage any premature termination of that honourable and beneficial pursuit. It is not so much to be desired, that the term of preparatory labour should be unusually

contracted, as that it should be led to the utmost point; and in those who have attained quickly the first step of requisite proficiency, I would point out the higher stages of finished and accomplished study, as the proper goal and termination of their labour. Men of higher views and superior minds do not, indeed, continue their studious vigils for the purpose of breaking the bounds of school a little sooner. Their ambition is not satisfied with superficial competency; excellence is their aim, and in that generous pursuit it is fit that honour should attend their exertions, as fame and fortune will surely crown and reward them.

The praise which is due, and which, from this chair, shall ever be paid to extraordinary and rapid progress in the studies of this college, is to be received, then, not as an invitation to an early retreat from study, but as an exhortation to persevere, and as a cordial to animate a constant as well as vigorous pursuit of excellence.

Nothing is better established than that the acquisitions made in the latter periods of study, surpass by far, in value, its early and elementary attainments. The student is himself strengthened both by the natural advance of intellectual maturity, and by the facilities, which habits of industry, and the frequent exercise of his faculties, will ever add to the proper powers of application and labour. He has now a foundation, too, to build upon. That foundation, desirable, no doubt, in itself, acquires, however, its principal estimation as the basis of a richer and more finished superstructure. The accumulative power of knowledge, like those of other capital, advance in a growing ratio. Not only more is acquired, but the acquisition is of higher standard and value. These observations are confirmed by experience; and in addition to the proofs that might be drawn from every other source, the college of Port William has, in my short acquaintance with it, furnished striking examples of the truth I am now inculcating. Let me recommend it, then, to those students, who are conscious of a liberal taste for



ledge, and who possess those rare  
 badges of superior minds, a love  
 of science, and an ambition to at-  
 tain it; let me recommend to those  
 who recognise in their own characters,  
 these strong features of wisdom and  
 virtue, to extend, I mean within  
 reasonable and moderate bounds, the  
 season of acquirement, rather than to  
 rush forth with the crowd, at the  
 first unbarred of the doors, bearing  
 with them but a pittance for present  
 use, and leaving treasures behind.

It has been shewn that under the  
 several heads of comparison, resting  
 alone on the formal ground of numeri-  
 cal estimation, the two years, with a  
 slight advantage sometimes on one  
 side and sometimes on the other, will  
 remain with balanced scales, and can  
 be placed only on a footing of equality.  
 But in other points of view I am  
 enabled, with much gratification, to  
 state some solid and essential acqui-  
 sitions of the present year.

The first, and perhaps most visible,  
 conquest of that period, has been  
 made in the Arabic language. In that  
 language we possess the extraordinary,  
 and, as I am informed, the unexam-  
 pled proficiency of Mr. Sotheby;  
 unexampled, I mean, in the college  
 of Fort William; and I might em-  
 ploy, I believe, if it were ever dis-  
 creet to do so, expressions of much  
 wider and more comprehensive im-  
 port. Mr. Furneaux and Mr. Tod  
 have also attained a distinguished  
 degree of proficiency in the same lan-  
 guage. The Arabic of Mr. Magniac  
 is indeed not of our own growth, but  
 it now flourishes in our soil, and I  
 will at least claim by anticipation the  
 fruits of our future culture.

That the progress of the present  
 year, in Arabic, is much greater than  
 is shewn by a mere numerical com-  
 parison of the students reported to have  
 attained proficiency in that language  
 during the two periods, cannot be  
 doubted. The students in Arabic of  
 the present year, if tried with the  
 proficiency of the former, must be  
 ranked apart, and would leave the  
 preceding year in a separate and in-  
 ferior form.

I cannot congratulate the college on  
 this interesting and important acqui-  
 sition, without calling to their recollection  
 the eminent and conspicuous merits of  
 the learned professor of Arabic and  
 Persian, Mr. Lumsden, to whose un-  
 daunted labour and talents, not less than  
 to the diligence and capacity of his  
 pupils, the college and the public are  
 indebted for this precious accession to  
 the learning of British India. The  
 value of this improvement will be  
 readily appreciated by those who know  
 that Arabic is to be considered as fun-  
 damental in the principal branches of  
 oriental philology; and that, without  
 resting his studies on that basis, the  
 Persian scholar may possess a popular  
 and superficial, but cannot attain a  
 radical and consummate knowledge of  
 the latter language. The Arabic pos-  
 sesses, of its own, rich stores; both of  
 science and literature; and we cannot  
 forget that when the reviving learning  
 of the west was yet in a sort of new  
 infancy, the Arabic language was not  
 only a vehicle of Eastern knowledge,  
 but was found to have afforded, at  
 least, a partial refuge to the perishing  
 learning of ancient Europe, which it  
 restored to the awakening enquirers  
 and researchers of modern scholars.

Mr. Lumsden's valuable services  
 are discerned in the growing profi-  
 ciency of the college of Fort William,  
 in every branch of study committed to  
 his charge, and not less so in its Per-  
 sian than in its Arabic pursuits. The  
 world is indebted, also, to his learned  
 labours for a variety of works in orien-  
 tal philology and literature, executed,  
 or in progress, which it is not now,  
 however, the moment to enume-  
 rate.

I have placed the progress made in  
 the Arabic studies of the college at the  
 head of those proofs of advancement  
 which the present year has afforded,  
 because the improvement in this  
 branch is made manifest by clear  
 and visible criterion. But it is, per-  
 haps, yet more gratifying and encour-  
 aging to add, as on safe authority I  
 may, that the studious habits of the  
 college have perceptibly increased. If  
 I am well informed, the labour and



constancy displayed in study, during the present year, had never before been equalled. It would seem as if a sudden burst of emulation had broken forth, and not only sharpened application and energy, which had stood the proof before, but roused and awakened faculties, which till then had slumbered under the enervating influence of indolence or dissipation. That the quantity and ardour of study of the present year has been conspicuous, compared with former periods, I am happy to have been informed, and to bear.

The natural consequence has followed. The proficiency of the present year has gained also on the former. It might be collected from the reports of the several professors in the final examination of the year; but it is expressly established by the opinions and suffrages of the professors themselves, and of all those who are qualified to pronounce on the comparative difficulty of the exercises appointed for each year, that the qualifications required for being ranked in the higher classes on the late examination, much exceeded those which would have placed the student in classes of the same denomination at all former periods. This proposition is capable of demonstration from a mere statement of the books read, and the exercises performed, in Arabic, in Persian, in Hindostanee, and in Bengalee; but it shall suffice to say in this place, that this strong criterion of progress is supported by the authority of those whose testimony is proof.

I have much pleasure in saying, that the general conduct of the students, of all ranks and standing, has, with few exceptions, been highly meritorious and exemplary, more especially in regularity of attendance, of which some junior members, whose names, I am confident, will adorn the next discourse that will be delivered from this chair, have furnished very laudable examples.

The progress that has been made in the studies of the college of Fort William, and in the proficiency of its scholars, form the clearest and best-

founded encomium on the professors and officers, who have been the meritorious instruments of this improvement; but I should deprive myself of a great satisfaction, if I omitted to record, on the present anniversary, the conspicuous and continued zeal, assiduity, talents, and erudition, which have ever distinguished the learned instructors, native not less than European, attached in their several capacities to this college.

I have had the satisfaction of presenting degrees of honour, and other badges of merit, to the following gentlemen:

1. Mr. Sotheby,
2. Mr. Furneaux,
3. Mr. Sargent,
4. Mr. Forrester,
5. Mr. Tod,
6. Mr. Tulloh.

Mr. Sotheby, whose name stands at the head of the college roll, was admitted in September, 1807, one year and four months prior to the late examination. He holds the first place in Arabic; the first in Persian; the second in Hindostanee; and is reported proficient in Mahratta. To this may be added an elementary acquaintance with Sanscrit.

In Arabic it is not enough to say that he occupies the first place. His superiority is such as to rank him, in truth, in a separate class of his own; and he has left both his cotemporary competitors, and every student of Arabic since the foundation of the college of Fort William, at a distance. His Arabic studies are, indeed, distinguished by one proof of excellence, which will place him on a level with the majority even of learned Asiatics. He has read the greatest part of the *Mokâmât Hariri*, a work of such difficulty, that few native scholars can master it without previous study. He has also afforded, at the late examination, a difficult, but conclusive proof of Arabic proficiency, by accurate translations from English into that language.

Mr. Sotheby's superiority in Persian is not less conspicuous; and if to these eminent acquirements be added a rank



ness to the highest in Hindoostanee, a proficiency in Mahratu, and an elementary knowledge of Sanskrit, we shall not think the short term of Mr. Sotheby's collegiate life mispent in the acquisition or in the high cultivation of five oriental languages. The rapidity of Mr. Sotheby's acquirements in the four months that preceded the former examination, was a theme of cordial commendation and applause. In my desire, however, to discover progress in the subsequent period, I do not fear to compare Mr. Sotheby even with himself, and to congratulate Mr. Sotheby of the present year on a victory over his junior of the last. Four months was, indeed, a short period for his former acquisitions; but if the conquests of the following year be measured, he will still be found to have maintained his advantage against time; and if the value, as well as the extent, of his acquirements be considered, the sudden fruits of the last short season can stand no comparison with the full and mature harvest of the present.

I confess that I contemplate with more than ordinary satisfaction and interest, the successful termination of Mr. Sotheby's academical labours. He discovered formerly what appeared to me marks, not to be mistaken, of judgment, character, and energy, the steadiness and success of which might with confidence be depended upon. When he resolved to prolong a voluntary restraint, and to labour, not for present and golden advantage, but for the pure love of excellence, I pronounced, as I felt, the eulogy of that virtuous disposition. Had the labour, he then courted, been permitted to relax; had this year of supererogation proved barren, or even less fruitful than the season which it succeeded; Mr. Sotheby would have deceived the hopes he had created, and I should on this day experience the pain of condemning, perhaps, by faint praise, the object of my former encomium. The contrary has happened, as was to be expected; the resolution of last year has not proved to be a flash of momentary enthusiasm, but the steady

result of an ardent, but sober talent, conscious alike of its own country and vigor. I can say nothing better to Mr. Sotheby, nothing more expressive of my own sentiments, and I think, of those of the world, than that he has fulfilled his own fair promise. In the wider field of useful and practical exertions which now claims him, he carries hence my ardent wish, and not less my confident expectation, that qualities so well proved will bring, each year, fresh accessions of benefit to the state, and of honour to himself.

Mr. Furneaux was admitted in August, 1897, and has afforded the most satisfactory proof of steady and vigorous application, by attaining, in so short a period, the high proficiency, which entitles him to rank in the first classes of Persian and Hindoostanee, the second class in Bengalee, and the fourth place in Arabic. Mr. Furneaux possesses the extensive distinction of having stood an examination in four languages, and attained high proficiency in all. In quitting study for business, he carries with him that high and merited reputation in the first stage of life, which will be sustained, I am confident, through every succeeding period, and accompany him, through future exertions, to those honours, which are the just reward of merit.

Mr. Sargent holds the first place in Hindoostanee, the first in Bengalee, and is reported proficient in Mahratu, being the only student who, has presented himself for examination in that language. Mr. Sargent was admitted to college in November, 1896, but, as I am informed, the acquirements which I have now stated are the fruits only of the last year's study. I would not recal the low standard of Mr. Sargent's former acquisitions, both in Persian and Hindoostanee, if the defects of the preceding period did not now redound to the credit of the following. Mr. Sargent is distinguished at this day by very uncommon and remarkable proficiency in Hindoostanee and Bengalee. In the former, he has prevailed against so formidable an opponent as Mr. Sotheby. Of his masterly know-



ledge of the second, independent of class of Persian, the first class of Hindoostanee, and the second class in Bengalee. Both these gentlemen were admitted in Aug. 1807, and have afforded the most honourable proofs of application and talents by the profit to which they have put this moderate period of study, in the acquisition of distinguished proficiency in three languages.

He was prevented, by indisposition, from attending the examination in Persian, and is, therefore, not included in the report of that branch of study, but I believe I may safely add, to his other attainments, a considerable progress in the Persian language. I should fall short, however, of the commendation which is due to this gentleman, if I were contented with a bare enumeration of his various successful studies, and if I did not point with satisfaction to that circumstance in the history of his academical life, which most enhances the merit of his distinguished labours, and which, having once furnished matter of uneasy reflection, has been converted by subsequent exertion into a foundation of reputation and honour. Mr. Sargent has not only accomplished the difficult labours which have been recited, in a much shorter period than his standing denotes, but he has achieved the more arduous task of subduing himself, and breaking through the strong controul of indolent and enervating habit. His character and talents were not formed for a long subjugation to such restraints, and when honour and duty were fairly placed before his view, his mind acknowledged their higher attraction, and the ardour of his pursuit soon regained the ground which the tardiness of its commencement had lost.

I dwell with peculiar pleasure on this topic, not only as honorable in a high degree to Mr. Sargent himself, but as furnishing a powerful invitation and encouragement to those, who may yet be held in the chains which he has broken, to make that manly effort, from which his example has taught them to expect success.

Mr. Forrester has attained the second class in Persian, the second in Bengalee, and he ranks in the first class of Hindoostanee.

Mr. Tulloh is ranked in the first

I have reserved Mr. Tod, who stands third in Arabic, third in Persian, and third in Hindoostanee, as claiming distinguished notice in a point of conduct and character, of which only one other instance has been afforded. Mr. Tod was reported at the examination of last year qualified to quit the College and enter in the public service. Mr. Tod, already entitled to claim emancipation from the restraint and fatigue of study, holding already in his possession the clear sanction of authority for embracing the tempting objects, which the world presented to him, offered a second example, in the same week, of that option, rare and always to be admired, which Mr. Sotheby had already made. Mr. Tod requested and obtained the permission of the college to continue his studies, and to add a yet higher proficiency to that which had suffered to release him from tuition, and usher him into the captivating scenes of active life. I was not soon enough acquainted with Mr. Tod's participation in this merit to give his due share of the applause, which, at the last anniversary, was bestowed upon another, and I am happy on this day to render the justice, to which he was then entitled. The estimation, in which I hold this unusual sacrifice of tastes and desires so natural, and how much I honour this devotion to higher pursuits, has been expressed too fully on a former occasion to admit of my enlarging again even upon a theme so grateful. I must be content to say that the sentiments I have already delivered on that topic are addressed alike, to Mr. Tod, who will, I am sure, reap a rich and full compensation for this period of self denial, in the gratifying reflection which the



memory of that sacrifice will through life afford to himself; and in the esteem which it will ever attach to his name in the world.

I proceed to a less grateful part of my duty, and have now to observe on a passage in the report of this examination; which I cannot contemplate without concern. The college council have judged it proper to submit to me the following resolution:

“Resolved further, that the following students be noticed to the right honorable the visitor, as having been above two years attached to the college, but not included in the above report, in consequence of two of them, Messrs. Monckton and Pond, having attained proficiency in one language only, and the others not appearing proficient in any language.”

The list alluded to consists of seven students, of whom I shall name, however, only the two gentlemen specified in the body of the resolution, who are distinguishable from the remaining five, by proficiency, at least, in one language, and also by natural or other unavoidable disqualifications, which, without the imputation of voluntary neglect, may account for their studies having been confined within the limit.

Mr. Monckton has attained a very distinguished degree of proficiency in the language of Bengal, occupying the third place in that study, and yielding only to competitors as eminent as Mr. Sargent and Mr. Forrester. I have already remarked with satisfaction, on the indisputable proof of Mr. Monckton's intimate knowledge of the Bengalee dialect furnished by his successful execution of a task so difficult as a version into that language of the tragedy of the Tempest. In this language, therefore, Mr. Monckton has attained, not merely the competent knowledge, which would, in respect of that branch in his studies, entitle him to be released from College, but he is distinguished by a high and remarkable proficiency.

Combined with the merit he may justly claim in what he has acquired,

the disadvantage to which he has been subjected by a natural infirmity, in the prosecution of further studies, has been thought worthy of consideration, and has appeared to furnish an adequate justification of his failure in some part of those qualifications usually required for quitting college. It has been considered also that the language, in which he is so well versed, will enable him to discharge, without detriment to the public, the duties of the commercial branch of the service which he has chosen.

Mr. Pond is similarly circumstanced; he has attained a considerable proficiency in the same language, and has been disabled, by a long course of ill health, from acquiring a competent knowledge of any other.

I have been desirous to state the considerations which have governed the resolutions adopted in favour of these gentlemen, for two reasons:

First, because I think myself, and the college council, responsible for an impartial administration of the powers with which we are invested.

Secondly, because the indulgence extended to these gentlemen, if misinterpreted, and if its principle were not clearly explained, might lead to an opinion of latitude, and arbitrary discretion, in the execution of our regulations, which would give birth to hopes of partial relaxation, very adverse to exertion and diligence, and sure to end in the disappointment of that unreasonable expectation, and in regret for having entertained it.

If these two gentlemen had acquired the proficiency which they are reported by the college council to possess, in one language only, but had been subject to no insurmountable obstacle in the acquisition of more, they would not have been permitted to quit college.

So if Mr. Monckton had only the impediment of speech under which he labours, and Mr. Pond had only the infirm health with which he has been afflicted, to plead; but could neither of them have laid claim to the proficiency they have attained in Bengalee,



they would have been detained another year at college.

It is the united influence of these two considerations which has led, in the instance of these individuals, to a decision, in which is has, after all, been necessary, that both justice and indulgence should conspire.

Of the remaining five gentlemen, to whom the resolution of the college council lately read, applies, there is one precisely in the situation which has been described as insufficient to claim the extension of this indulgence. He is retarded in his studies by an impediment of speech; but his study has not been slow and limited alone; it has been wholly unproductive. If it were admitted, as it cannot be, that his infirmity could account, without some defect in diligence, for a total want of all progress in a period of no less than two years and a half, it would not be the less true that he remains unqualified for every branch of the public service. I should certainly lament extremely any mortification, or any detriment to his fortune, which should fall upon his infirmity alone. But, in truth, these regulations are not framed on a penal principle, to chastise the individual who may have failed in the full discharge of his duty. The rule and practice of this college, which require a specified proficiency in some of the Eastern languages, from those, who are candidates for public employment, have two important public objects in view. To provide qualified servants to the company; and to discourage the want of industry in those studies which can alone furnish the qualifications required. A firm and even rigorous adherence to this regulation is deemed, therefore, essential to the interest both of learning and of the public service; and it is my duty to announce to the five gentlemen alluded to, that they are not permitted to leave college.

I very cordially regret, but I should regret yet more deeply, the disappointment of the individuals, against whom a point of discipline is enforced upon a principle of public convenience and benefit, if I were not

persuaded, that the decision, which gives present dissatisfaction, is likely to prove the most beneficial for themselves as well as the public.

If a just impression is made upon the minds of these gentlemen; if this state of temporary discredit should awaken a generous desire to shake it off, and to cover even the memory of it by future honour, an opportunity, ungracious indeed in form, but invaluable, if happily improved, is presented to convert their present regrets into a source of permanent satisfaction and comfort. Examples are furnished in this very year to prove that lost time is not irrecoverable; and that a late commencement of study may soon be compensated by the celerity of future progress. The period of their attendance on college has not yet been extremely long, and if the present disappointment should fortunately, as in some instances, at least, I am happy to be convinced, it will be put to profit in the manner I have described, I will venture to assure those individuals, that the chagrin of the present hour will soon make room for more grateful reflections, and will ultimately be effaced by the consolatory consciousness of desert, confirmed by the esteem and approbation of the world.

I cannot believe that we should have even one amongst us so estranged from the honourable principles, with which he is surrounded, as to pursue deliberately the opposite course, and to stiffen his mind equally against the discipline of authority, and the admonition of kindness, solicitous for his own welfare. Candour and justice, however, required that even to such; a seasonable warning should be given, that they must not be surprized if at the expiration of another year of fruitless attendance on the college of Fort William, the company, to whose favour they aspire, should pronounce on them a sentence of incapacity, and to refuse to entertain unprofitable servants, who have not failed in acquiring, but have indulged a sullen determination not to acquire those qualifications which are essential to render their



services in any degree acceptable or useful.

It has been usual to notice on this occasion, the most esteemed works, either in the languages of the East, or connected with oriental literature, which have appeared in the course of the year. The year which we are now commemorating has not been barren, and enables me to congratulate the learned world on a valuable addition to the stock of Eastern knowledge.

The Moontukhub-ool Loghat, an Arabic lexicon explained in Persian, has been printed by the Native proprietors of the Persian press. It is a work held in great estimation for its acknowledged accuracy and convenient arrangement, and the publication of a collated and corrected edition of this useful work must afford important aid to the students of the Persian as well as of the Arabic language. It may be expected to be followed by other publications, equally conspicuous for accuracy and neatness, through the persevering industry and enterprise of Native printers.

The types which have been employed for the publications, now noticed, are in a great measure logographic, and are adapted to imitate more nearly the written characters than any before attempted. From this successful endeavour to improve the Persian type, further progress may be reasonably anticipated, and it may be hoped, that ultimately the press may be enabled to vie with manuscripts in beauty and cheapness, as it surpasses them in accuracy. The degree of perfection already attained is due to the professor of Arabic and Persian, who gave particular countenance and encouragement to this interesting undertaking. The types were executed under the immediate direction and superintendence of natives attached to the college.

The professor of Arabic and Persian has entered on a more arduous task; that of preparing for the press, with the assistance of learned natives attached to this department, a correct copy of the celebrated *Shanamah*. This poem, the boast and pride of Persia, and certainly a monument of

transcendent genius, will no doubt be restored by their labours to the parity, in which so classic a poem should be exhibited.

Considerable progress has been made by the professor in publishing a correct copy of the *Mukamat-Hafizi*, a classical work in the Arabic language of great merit. By this publication, an essential service will be rendered to the students of that language, and to the learned in Europe as well as in India.

At the recommendation of the council of the college, government has extended its patronage to the *Dubistan-i-Muzahib*, a Persian work of celebrity, containing much curious information on the ancient religions of Persia and of India. It has been revised from the collation of numerous manuscripts by a learned native, Moulavee Nuzur Ashrof, and will be published by the native proprietors of a press, which was established in a former year under particular encouragement afforded to it by the college.

The native proprietors of the Sanscrit press have, with the improved Nagree types, which were noticed on a former occasion, printed several popular works, generally admired by those who cultivate Indian literature. At the recommendation of the council of the college, those publications have received encouragement from government, and the publisher has been able to afford them at so moderate a price, as to furnish a strong confirmation of the hope entertained, that the press may be rendered instrumental to the general diffusion of knowledge among the natives of the country. The songs of *Jnyadeva* and the *Bhagavatagita*, which are known to the English readers by the translations of Sir William Jones and Mr. Wilkins, are among the works already published.

Vocabularies, Persian and Hindoostanee, and Sanscrit and Bengalee, prepared with the view of collecting materials for a comparative vocabulary of the various Indian languages, as mentioned on a former occasion, have been completed, and are in the course of circulation. It is hoped that considerable progress will be early made in



collecting accurate and copious vocabularies of the numerous languages and dialects of India, and of contiguous countries. In the mean time, a comparative vocabulary of twelve principal languages, to the same extent, and in the same order with the Sanscrit dictionary, termed the *Amera Cosha*, has been compiled, by persons employed for that purpose, by Mr. Colebrooke, and a copy of it has been prepared to be deposited in the library of the college. The languages comprised in the compilation, are those of Bengal, Orisia, Tirhoot, Hindoostan, Penjab, Cashmeer, Nepal, Guzrat, Canara, and Telingana, with the Malayatta and Tamul or Malabar.

In prosecution of the design of making an extensive collection of dialects spoken in countries contiguous to India, it is intended to print and distribute a vocabulary of the Malay and Burmah languages, corresponding to the Persian and Sanscrit vocabularies already printed. The numerous original languages of the vast Archipelago in which the Malay language is used, may be obtained through this medium; and the languages of the countries on the continent, between the east of Bengal, and west of China, will be collected through the Burmah language. By means of both, provided the design be seconded by those, who have the opportunity of promoting it, a fund of curious and useful information will be obtained, tending to illustrate, by the comparison of their languages, the connexion and affinity of nations at present but little known. The practical utility of a copious collection of languages and dialects in use in countries, with which an intercourse is maintained, is obvious.

The undertaking has been assisted by the preparation of types of the Burmah character, recently for the mission press; and is the first instance of the application of the art of printing to the characters of a language of the eastern parts of India. It may be expected in time to become the vehicle of making known, not merely its literature of those coun-

tries to the learned of Europe, but even of diffusing in those countries some portion of the light of European science.

The 2d volume of the *Ramayana*, translated under the joint patronage of the college and Asiatic society, has been published from the press of the missionaries at Serampore. The same persons continue to be engaged under the patronage of the college on a translation of a Hindoo system of philosophy, which they intend to publish, like the mythological poem above-mentioned, with the original text.

A Dictionary, Hindostanee and English, which has been several years in the press, has been completed by Dr. Hunter, the secretary of the college, according to the original plan, in two volumes, of which the second has been recently published. This work will no doubt greatly facilitate the acquirement of that useful language. An appendix to this work has been announced by the editor, which promises to be no less useful than the original publication.

Further progress has been made by the professor of the laws and regulations in the preparation of his analysis of the regulations enacted by the government of Bengal. The second part, including the Mohammedan system of criminal law, the modifications of it, and the additions to it, by the regulations of the British government, the rules for the guidance of the courts of criminal jurisdiction, and the provisions for the police, is completed, and the publication of this sequel of a useful and important work may be soon expected.

Connected with the laws of the Mohammedans, which are founded on the Koran, and the traditions of their prophet, is a work undertaken by an officer of the military establishment under this presidency, Captain Mathews. This is a translation from the Arabic language of the *Misheet ul Musabih*, a work of high authority among the Mussulmans, and which may be said to hold among them the same place which the Talmud does among the Jews. It is a voluminous collection



of all traditions deemed authentic. The translation has been some time ready, and the task of printing it has been commenced.

Before I close the enumerations of the valuable gifts made this year to the literature and knowledge of the east, I am induced to speak with the honor which I think is due, of the progress that is making in the vicinity of our college in a field of oriental knowledge, which has been left hitherto to the zeal and resources of individuals. I allude to the little, but respectable Chinese school at Serampore. I had occasion to advert to this institution and its performances, with the approbation that I felt, in my last discourse. On the one hand the interest, which this insulated but commendable undertaking inspires, will not let me be silent on the laudable advancement of Chinese learning and proficiency, which the industry and talents, both of master and scholars, have operated during the past year; on the other hand this subject is not so closely connected with the college of Fort William, or with the proper occupations of this day, as to admit of my enlarging, in as much detail as I should, perhaps, be inclined to do, on the growing improvement of this singular institution. I will not withhold the particulars, how ver, of its labours from those who may think them acceptable, and shall in that view take the liberty of annexing to this discourse a report of the examination, which was held at Serampore in 1st September, and which redounded highly to the honour of Mr. Marshman and his pupils; I will not refrain however, even now, from reading the satisfactory testimony of the learned persons, connected as they are with our own body, before whom the trial of Chinese proficiency were on that occasion exhibited.

After describing the exercises of the young Chinese student, Mr. Marshman, Mr. Job. Carey, and Mr. J. C. Marshman, the report proceeds,

"Specimens of Chinese types, now cutting in wood, were then exhibited, and some of the first sheets of the Lun Gnee, or first book of Confucius,

now in the press, with a large single sheet, containing the whole of the Chinese radicals, or elementary characters, according to which the Chinese characters are arranged in their dictionaries.

"On the whole, we beg leave to express the highest satisfaction with the progress of the seminary, and the acquirements of the Chinese students. We beg leave, likewise, to state, that the manner in which the publication of the works of Confucius is commenced, is entitled to the highest approbation, and of the most obvious utility for communicating to the European world, a knowledge of the Chinese language and literature, to which little more seems to be absolutely necessary than the publication of the five books of Confucius, and the imperial Chinese Dictionary, in a similar manner.

(Signed) "J. H. HARRINGTON,  
"J. LEYDEN."

In closing this discourse, it only remains for me, in addressing the junior part of my audience, to remind them, that in their hands is deposited the honour of the coming year. On their strenuous efforts, on their unabating diligence, hangs the credit of their own period. The season that is gone has bequeathed to them a fair example. I know it will be followed, and that in the race of emulation, the candidates for distinction will neither turn aside, nor faint; that I shall yet have victors to crown with our annual honours, and that the next discourse need not be barren either in acknowledgments to the College of Fort William, or in congratulations to the public on the high and still rising reputation of that useful and important institution.

GENERAL ORDERS, Feb. 23. — The detachment of the honourable company's European regiment, and the corps of Native volunteers, which proceeded to Macao, under the command of Major Weguelin, having returned to the presidency, the right honorable the governor-general in council, deems it



tion of his sentiments regarding the meritorious conduct of Major Weguelin, and of the officers and men under his command, during the period of their employment in China.

Numerous are the occasions on which the British government has discharged the satisfactory duty of publicly expressing its admiration of the distinguished zeal and gallantry of the European and Native troops, serving in India, in the most arduous contests of the field; of their perseverance in surmounting accumulated difficulties, and of their patience under the severest hardships and privations of a state of war. But it is only on the occasion of the late service in China that British troops have been required, by the peculiar circumstances of their situation, to practice the less brilliant but severer military virtues of patient forbearance, rigid discipline, and exact subordination, under the repeated provocations to which they were exposed by the characteristic jealousy, and by the mistaken prejudices, of the government and people of China.

The highest praise is due to major Weguelin, for the judgment and ability manifested by him in the precautionary measures which he adopted to prevent the evil consequences of irritation, so justly excited among the European and Native troops under his command, by the unfriendly and often injurious conduct of the native inhabitants; for his uniform vigilance, attention, and exertion, to which is materially ascribed the preservation of tranquillity at Macao, for his indefatigable endeavours to promote the comfort, and relieve the wants of the troops, in a situation in which they were exposed to all the inconveniences of restraint and privation, and for the professional skill which he displayed in the defensive arrangements, which it was judged necessary to adopt.

The governor-general in council also deems it his duty to express his acknowledgments to captain Muller, commanding the volunteer battalion, captain Nixon, commanding the coast artillery, captain Beaumont, of the regiment of his Majesty's 30th re-

giment, and captain Blakenhagen, in charge of the companies of the Bengal European regiment, and to the officers under their respective command, for their zeal and alacrity in promoting the object of the public service, and in regulating their conduct by those maxims of prudence, which the circumstances of their situation so peculiarly required.

The governor-general in council has great pleasure in expressing the just sense which he entertains of the merits of captain-lieutenant Stuart, of the European regiment in the department of supplies, the duties of which, under the pressure of extraordinary difficulty, he conducted with equal credit and success.

The governor-general in council also discharges a satisfactory obligation of his public duty in acknowledging the services of captain Robertson, of the Bengal engineers, not only in the command of the first division of troops, which devolved upon him by the death of Major Wright, and imposed on him the duty of conducting their disembarkation at Macao, but also in the support and assistance which he afforded to Major Weguelin, when relieved from his command by the arrival of that Officer at Macao.

The governor-general in council further desires to convey to the whole of the European and Native non-commissioned officers and privates of the detachment under major Weguelin's command, the expression of his lordship in council's high approbation of their meritorious conduct, in fulfilling, under very trying circumstances, and in a manner so exemplary, the essential duties of good order and forbearance, enjoined to them alike by the rules of discipline, and the interests of the public service.

## BENGAL

### *Occurrences for March.*

CALCUTTA, MARCH 2. — A letter from a gentleman attached to the embassy to Cabul, contains a short account of their progress to the camp proper to direct a public communica-



near Dorta Ismael Khan, whence the letter is dated on the 18th January.

"We left Dablee on the 12th of October, and in a few days quitted the company's provinces.

"The country is almost a desert from the frontiers to the Gharrah, which river we reached on the 26th of November. The town of Bikaner is in the middle of the desert, and about the time of our arrival there we lost forty people from the effects of fatigue and the badness of the water. We remained at Bikaner for ten days, during which time the town was surrounded, and almost completely blockaded, by the army of the Rajah of Jounpoor and his allies. Having left that place, we marched to Bhawalpoor, a town near the Gharrah, and found this by far the worst part of the desert. We had made every possible arrangement for the carriage of water, and were greatly assisted by Bhawal Khan, the prince of the country, between Bikaner and Moultan. He sent some hundred camels laden with water to meet us in the desert, under the escort of a party of troops, also mounted on camels, forming a fine-looking, and they say, an efficient sort of cavalry. Camels are here much more commonly used than horses, and I often rode them for many miles.

"We remained on the banks of the Gharrah for near a fortnight, and from thence reached Moultan in four or five marches. The town is large, walled, and possessed of a citadel. The governor, who is a Suddoo Zye, (the name of the king of Cabul's tribe) exchanged visits with us, but as he did not seem to relish our being encamped so close to his walls, we moved on in a few days to the Chenaub, or Asecines, on the banks of which we remained several days. We at last reached the Indus on the 5th of this month, (January) and crossed at the Ghaut (here called Puttan) of Keyheeree. We marched up to the right bank, and arrived at this place on the 11th instant.

"We are now waiting for the king's commands respecting our advance, which we expect hourly to receive. We shall meet him at Peshawur, where he has just arrived, and where he generally spends the winter, which is less severe there than at Cabul."

*Fort William, March 6.*—The right hon. the governor-general in council having received the official advice of the final accomplishment of the object of the detachment lately employed in Bundelcund, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Martindell, by the surrender of the fortress of Adjyghur, deems it proper to direct the publication of the following copies of letters from the governor-general's agent in Bundelcund, and from lieutenant-colonel Martindell, to the address of the adjutant-general, containing reports of the operations of the detachment, and at the same time to express the sentiments of approbation and applause, with which his lordship in council contemplates the professional skill, judgment, and ability displayed by lieutenant-colonel Martindell, in regulating the operations of the detachment, and of the zeal and exertion, which have distinguished the conduct of the officers and men under his command.

To N. B. EDMONSTONE, Esq. *Secretary to Government in the Secret and Political Department, Fort William.*

SIR—My dispatch of the 21st instant stated, that it was lieutenant-colonel Martindell's intention to move forward to within about a coss of Adjyghur, the next day, there to determine upon, and take up the most expedient position for the commencement of the siege.

2.—Lieutenant colonel Martindell was induced to alter his determination, in my judgment very properly, from finding that a very strong post on a hill near a small village, called Regowly, about two miles in front of our camp, and a little to the right, on our way to Adjyghur, which was occupied by Sirdar Sing, Kass Kullam, and Adjodeo Purshaud, a near relation to Latch-



man Dowah, and some of his chosen troops, had been greatly strengthened, and amounted to the number of 800 men, and upwards; commanded by the above-mentioned Sirdars, estimated by Lutchmun, as amongst the most attached and bravest of his adherents.

3.—Lieutenant-colonel Martindell, having certain intelligence of the above, which all my information corroborated; and being aware of the danger of leaving these active and attached partizans, in our rear, to issue from their strong hold at pleasure, for the purpose of cutting off our supplies, or plundering the villages in the internal territories of government.

4.—For the above reasons, and to strike terror by a determined and decisive attack, colonel Martindell determined on halting that day, and dislodging the enemy previous to the detachment's advancing, in which determination, as a military precaution rendered necessary by circumstances, I agreed with lieutenant-colonel Martindell in opinion.—Colonel Martindell, in pursuance of his determination, proceeded himself with his staff, brigade-major Grant, a little after noon, with the troops destined for the enterprize.

5.—Not having accompanied colonel Martindell, and not having been an eyewitness of the attack, I beg leave to refer the right honourable the governor-general in council, to No. 1, lieutenant-colonel Martindell's report of the attack, to the adjutant-general, of which lieutenant-colonel Martindell has favored me with a copy. No. 2, is a list of the casualties.

6.—The gallantry of the attack, and the perseverance with which it was kept up under a determined resistance, excited by despair, and rendered insurmountable by natural obstacles, could not possibly be exceeded, either in officers or men. The casualties, much as they are to be lamented, are by no means what might have been expected from the resistance, the nature of the obstacles, or the persevering continuance of a close attack, upon an enemy sheltered behind rocks and breast-works.

The loss of the rebels has been

great; 60 are ascertained to have been killed, and their bodies found among the killed; it has been ascertained beyond a doubt, the Sirdar Adjodeo Purshaud is one. This Sirdar was Lutchmun Dowah's near relation, and a man on which he placed great dependence, and whose loss will, by all accounts, much embarrass his affairs. At a moderate estimation nearly treble the number of wounded, compared to the slain, may be reckoned; indeed, my intelligence from Adjyghur states, that the report made to Lutchmun Dowah, was between 60 or 70 (including Adjodeo Purshaud) killed; and 150 or 160 wounded.

8.—The above intelligence, in which I have faith, makes the number of this body considerably greater than mentioned in the foregoing part of this letter, and states that the intention, with which they were posted in this uncommonly strong hold, was from considering the post invulnerable; that this body, who were all chosen troops, should sally out in our rear, when we advanced, cut off our supplies, and spread devastation and plunder amongst our internal territories, to the interruption and loss of our revenues.

9.—The consequence of this gallant, and, in my judgment, necessary attack, it will be obvious to the right honourable the governor-general in council, to have been highly beneficial, and will, I am confident, ultimately tend to accelerate the fall of Adjyghur.

10.—It would be presumption in me to mention individuals, or to point out particular instances of extraordinary merit, where the zeal and intrepidity of all were eminently conspicuous. On the professional merit, and unexampled exertions of the gallant parties concerned, both officers and men, in this brave attack, the testimony of the commanding officer is conclusive.

11.—I take the liberty of adding, before I conclude this letter, that I am convinced the storm of Adjyghur, or almost any fortress, could not present the difficulties that were encountered, and, in many instances, surmounted in the attack of the hill yesterday;



## BENGAL OCCURRENCES FOR MARCH, 1909.

and I am perfectly confident, that under colonel Martindell's military skill and experience, his assiduous and unremitting zeal, and the gallantry of the brave troops, under his command, the capture of Adjyghur will not prove a very difficult achievement, or be long protracted.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. RICHARDSON, A.G.G.

*Camp at Rogowly,*

January 23, 1909.

P. S. I am extremely sorry to state, that lieutenant Fry had his left arm amputated this morning, and that lieutenant Jameison is so severely wounded, through both thighs, as to occasion great doubt of his recovery.

(Signed) J. R. A. G. G.

No. 1.

*Lieutenant-colonel Worsley, Adjutant-general, Bengal army.*

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of his excellency the commander in chief, that yesterday, at noon, I directed four companies of the 4th light battalion, with a six-pounder, to take a sweep to the north-east of some hills situated in my front, and occupied by a body of Bondilabs, under a chief named Adjudah Pursaud, uncle to Lutchmun Sing, in number about 500, in flank, whilst two six-pounders and a howitzer under captain Brooke, protected by the 1st battalion 18th regiment, marched down by the high road to attack them in front, and four companies 2d battalion, 1st and grenadiers 1st battalion 18th, moved at the same time to attack them on the right.

These hills are of great height, and can only be ascended by narrow pathways, running in a kind of traverse or zigzag, and at every 20 yards were strong posts behind large rocks, each sufficient to contain 20 men, and as these posts commanded the paths, from behind which the enemy could severely fire on our men as they advanced, his excellency will, I trust, bestow his approbation on those gallant fellows, who forced these posts successively, and drove the enemy to the top of the hills, where they had erected parapet walls,

which they ascended by ladders, drawing them up after them, and behind which they made a steady resistance, hurling large stones down upon the assailants, and directing a heavy fire of matchlocks.

As it was impossible to carry ladders up such a stupendous, rugged height, the men almost exhausted from fatigue, and want of water, and evening approaching, after an action of three hours and a half, during which time every foot of ground was disputed, I deemed it prudent to recall the men, with an intention of renewing the attack this morning, and for which purpose I moved my camp in the evening to this ground.

The enemy, however, fled at two o'clock this morning, leaving their chief, Adjudah Pursaud, with about 60 killed, amongst whom were nearly 21 Sirdars, and a number wounded.

The attack was directed by lieutenant-colonel Lawtie, under my orders, and I have no hesitation in declaring that, in the course of my service, I never saw men behave with more cool and determined resolution than the officers and men employed in this arduous service, under as close and heavy a fire as I ever witnessed, which his excellency will perceive by the enclosed return of killed and wounded.

I deem it my duty, Sir, to recommend to the particular notice of his excellency lieutenant-colonel Lawtie, who commanded the attack; captain Brooke, of the artillery, under whose judicious and well-directed fire our men advanced to the storm; major Kelly, of the 4th light battalion; captain Milwinter, 2d of the 1st; and lieutenant Baddely, who volunteered his service with a party of pioneers, and in short every officer and man, whose exertions and gallantry may be equalled, but could not be surpassed.

In detailing the meritorious exertions of the officers employed in this arduous service, it would be an injustice to my personal staff, brigade-major Grant, did I not acquaint his excellency, that I feel much indebted to this officer, for the zeal and gallantry he evinced on



this, and indeed on every other occasion, since the command in this province has devolved on me.

It was my intention to have taken up my ground before Aduyghur to-day, but want of conveyance for the wounded, has obliged me to halt till to-morrow.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) G. MARTINDELL,

*Lieut.-col. comg. the detachment.*

*Camp at Regowley, January 23, 1899.*

P. S. In speaking of individual merit, I omitted to mention that of captain Wilson, 2d battalion 26th, who, although no part of his corps was ordered to the assault, volunteered his services, and accompanied lieu.-col. Lawrie as his staff, in which situation he distinguished himself with much zeal and gallantry.

(True copy.)

(Signed) P. GRANT, M. B.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) J. R. A. G. G.

*Return of the killed and wounded, in the assault of the fortified hill of Regowley, Jan. 22, 1899.*

Four companies 4th light battalion.—Killed, 10 sepoy. —Wounded, 2 subalterns, 1 subadar, 1 havildar, 2 naicks, and 21 sepoy.

Four companies 2d battalion 1st Native infantry.—Killed, 1 havildar, 3 sepoy. —Wounded, 1 subaltern, 2 jemadars, 1 havildar, and 18 sepoy.

First battalion 18th regiment Native infantry.—Killed, 3 naicks, 10 sepoy. —Wounded, 1 subadar, 1 jemadar, 2 havildars, 3 naicks, 2 dhesticies, and 53 sepoy.

Pioneers. — Killed, 1 sepoy. — Wounded, 4 sepoy.

Total.—Killed, 28.—Wounded 115.

Officers Wounded, (severely).—Lieutenants Jamieson and Fry, 4th light battalion. Ensign Speck, 2d battalion 1st regiment.

(Signed) P. GRANT, *major of brigade.*

(A true copy.)

(Signed) J. RICHARDSON, *A. G. G.*

*Extract from a letter from the agent*

*to the governor-general at Simla, dated, to the secretary to the government, under date the 7th February, 1899.*

1.—I have much pleasure in reporting, that last night the hill to the north-west angle of the fort, which commands the gateway and the works that defend it, and on the top of which the rebels had a party stationed in a sort of redoubt, was taken possession of; together with the town of Neebober, below the fort, and situated to the southward of the hill in question, without any loss, not a man was either killed or wounded.

2.—Colonel Martindell had intended to assault the hill on the night of the 6th, but on a shot being directed against the redoubt, it was the opinion of captain Brooke, the artillery officer, that the place was considerably stronger than was imagined, and colonel Martindell very prudently determined to postpone the assault, till the effect of a little battering was tried; accordingly, the redoubt was briskly battered from the two-pounders, about an hour yesterday, and completely breached.

3.—The attack was made just as the moon rose, after a smart cannonade to alarm them, from the batteries on the plain, and the party fled without resistance; unless the random and harmless discharge of a few matchlocks, can be termed resistance. I consider the fortress half taken by the possession of this hill and the town. All communications with the country is now completely cut off, on the side of the town, and that on the eastern side, by the Terivan Durwajah, the only other outlet; is stopped up by the arrangement I have made with the Ground chiefs, as reported in my address of the 4th instant.

4.—We have now the choice of two certain ways of breaching the work, and the gateways at the north-west angle, the only assailable point, namely, we may either get our guns upon the hill, (which will be a work certainly of great labour,) or we can advance our former batteries on the plain, four if not five hundred yards, which could not be done while the party remained in possession of the



hill, as there was no possibility of protecting the men and battery from their shot.

To the honourable J. E. Elliot, military secretary to the right honourable the governor-general.

Camp, Adjyghur, Feb. 15, 1869.

SIR,—The enclosed copies of my express of the evening of the 12th, and my letter of the 13th, both to the address of the adjutant-general, I request you will do me the honour to submit to the right honourable the governor-general.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. MARTINDALE,  
Lieut.-col. comg. Bundelcund.

Lieutenant-colonel Worsley adjutant-general.

Camp Adjyghur, 8. P. M. Feb. 13.

SIR,—I am happy to congratulate his excellency the commander-in-chief on the surrender of the important and formidable fortress of Adjyghur, the particulars I shall have the honour to detail to-morrow. I am just returned from the fort, in which I left a garrison of six hundred men, under the command of lieutenant-colonel de Auvergne, of the 26th regiment.

I am, &c.

(Signed) G. MARTINDALE,  
Lieut.-col. comg. Bundelcund.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Martindale to lieutenant-colonel Worsley, under date the 14th February.

My letter of the 12th instant will have informed his excellency of the occurrences of the siege, to the afternoon of that date.

By sun-set, three of the gates, with their defences, were laid in ruins; and yesterday morning the fire was directed against the upper gate and defences, and there was every prospect that these would be brought down in the course of the day, but as the road up was extremely steep, describing an angle of seventy degrees, it would have required another day's battering to render the breach practicable.

At ten o'clock in the forenoon, Mr.

Richardson communicated to me an overture he received from Lutchmun Dowah, offering to surrender the fort on the terms held out to him on the 9th instant. Taking into consideration the great difficulties the storming party would have to encounter in ascending the breach, added to the desperate resistance we might expect, for all his women and those of his principal Sirdars were in the fort, I agreed in opinion with the governor-general's agent, that at the present juncture, it would be advisable to grant him the terms he solicited, as the services of the detachment might be required in another quarter. At three P. M. Lutchmun withdrew his garrison, and at five we occupied the fort of Adjyghur.

On a careful and minute examination of this stupendous fortress, and the means that presented themselves of defence, that still remained to the Bondelhas, added to many natural obstacles, in the propriety of the opinion, I was confirmed, gave to Mr. Richardson, with respect to allowing Lutchmun Dowah terms, and I am convinced that it has been the means of saving many hundred valuable lives.

Before I conclude, I deem it an incumbent duty to request his excellency's particular attention to the merits and services of the troops under my command; the cheerfulness with which they underwent severe toil and hard duty, their perseverance in working in the trenches and making roads up the hill of Bihoutah for the guns to be drawn up, and the alacrity they shewed in dragging them up a most difficult and steep ascent, entitles them to every praise in my power to bestow.

To captain Brooke of the artillery, to his officers and men, I feel the greatest obligation, the unremitting exertions he made, and the skill and science he displayed during the siege, entitles this valuable officer, to my warmest approbation and applause.

The governor-general in council discharges a satisfactory obligation of his



public duty in recording the high sense which he entertains of the judgment of lieutenant-colonel Martindell in arranging the attack of the fortified heights of Regowly, and of the distinguished spirit of gallantry and persevering courage manifested by lieutenant-colonel Lawtie, and the officers and men employed under his personal command on that occasion. The governor-general in council duly considers the extraordinary difficulties opposed to the exertion of vigorous enterprise by the strength of the enemy's position, and by the advantages which it afforded of determined resistance to the efforts of the British troops, and contemplates with sentiments of the highest applause the undaunted zeal and gallant exertions of the brave officers and men of the detachment, which finally succeeded in compelling the enemy to abandon his fortified posts with heavy loss; and the governor-general in council desires to convey his thanks to lieutenant-colonel Lawtie, and the officers who are stated by lieutenant-colonel Martindell to have particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion, as well as to the other officers and to the men of the detachment employed in the execution of this arduous service.

His lordship in council deeply laments the loss sustained by the British troops in the attack, but is happy to reflect, that the casualties have been less extended than might have been expected from the nature of the obstacles which opposed the exertion of the troops.

The governor-general in council has received, with extreme concern, the information of the decease of lieutenant Jamieson, who was severely wounded in the gallant discharge of his duty. To the surviving wounded officers, lieutenant Fry and ensign Speck, the governor-general in council desires that his approbation of their animated courage and exertions may be especially conveyed.

The judicious dispositions, which regulated the successful attack on the fortified hill in the vicinity of Adjyghur, and the town of Noshob, are recorded by the governor-general in

council to be highly creditable to lieutenant-colonel Martindell's professional abilities, and the energy and exertions of the officers and men, which secured the success of that operation, establish an additional claim to public approbation.

To the able arrangements formed by lieutenant-colonel Martindell, and to the zeal, irresistible bravery, and laborious exertions of the officers and men, in carrying them into effect, and especially to the distinguished example of military ardour and persevering courage afforded at the attack of Regowly, the surrender of the fortress of Adjyghur is principally to be attributed; and although the governor-general in council is satisfied that the same success would have attended the arduous operation of a storm, his lordship in council is happy to be enabled to express the sentiments of his cordial satisfaction and applause on the complete accomplishment of the object of the late expedition, unaccompanied by the feelings of regret, at the additional loss, which the gallant troops would probably have sustained in the assault of a fortress so strongly fortified by nature and by art as that of Adjyghur.

The governor-general in council, therefore, records, on this occasion, his public thanks generally to the officers and men employed during the late campaign in Bundelcund, and especially to lieutenant-colonel Martindell, whose judgment and military skill, seconded by the courage and exertions of the gallant detachment, which he commanded, have happily accomplished an undertaking not less arduous in its nature than important in its effects, to the interest of the public service.

The governor-general in council deems it an obligation of justice to take this opportunity of expressing the high sense which he entertains of the essential aid afforded to the operations of the detachment, by the zeal, activity, and vigilance manifested by Mr. Richardson, the governor-general's agent in Bundelcund, who accompanied the troops, and employed his



personal exertions, and his local influence and authority in a manner materially conducive to the accomplishment of the object of the expedition. Mr. Richardson's exertions were beneficially directed to the important purpose of procuring supplies for the troops, and his judgment and activity were eminently conspicuous in the measures and arrangements by which the besieged were deprived of the resources of the surrounding country, and of the means of external succour, and in the terms of surrender, which he proposed to the killidar of Adjyghur, and which by firmness and decision he ultimately secured.

Published by order of the right honourable the governor-general in council.

N. B. EDMONDSTONE,  
Chief Sec. to Govt.

*Detachment orders by lieutenant-colonel Martindell, commanding in Bundelcund camp, Adjyghur, 24th February, 1809.*

The commanding officer observes with regret, that owing to the pressure of business, which occurred after the surrender of Adjyghur, he forgot to mention the name of lieutenant Robertson, of engineers, in his order of thanks to the troops on the 15th instant.

He has now much pleasure in rectifying that omission, and requests lieutenant Robertson will accept his most cordial thanks, for the zeal and exertion he evinced in the batteries, during the siege, and for the promptitude and ability with which he discharged his duty as an engineer.

(Signed) P. GRANT, M. B.

*Particulars respecting the siege of Adjyghur, with some account of that fortress, communicated by an officer on the spot.*

"After Bihontah hill was carried by assault with amazing labour and exertion, the guns were drawn up and lodged in batteries, constructed on two shoulders of the hill. On the summit, a six-pounder was placed, at the distance, of 350 yards from the gates, to scour the defences with grape. On the

upper shoulder was a battery for two 18-pounders, lower down, on the other shoulder, was a battery for two 12's; and at the foot of the hill, in the Shubun Punah, was a third for two 18-pounders and 2 howitzers.

"The whole was ready on the night of the 11th February, and opened at day-light the following morning; and so heavy and destructive was the fire, that the enemy could not shew a man, and only fired in the intervals, whilst our guns were cooling. By sun-set, two of their guns were dismounted, and three of the gates, with their defences, laid in ruins;—immense masses of stone and masonry were brought down.

"Next morning the batteries played on the upper gate and defences, with powerful effect, and at noon the enemy displayed a white flag. At four they evacuated the fort; and at five we occupied it.

"The Boondelahs, from the state of the breach, were apprehensive that we should storm on the night of the 13th; but the breach required two days more battering to render it more practicable. From the lower bastion breached to the upper gate the measurement was 80 yards, describing an angle of 75 degrees. Had the enemy defended the breach as gallantly as they fought at Regowly, a great effusion of blood must inevitably have taken place, as almost every part within was defensible; but in losing the brave Adjudia Persaud, the uncle of Lutchmun Dowah, at Regowly, with 80 men killed, 25 sirdars, and 185 of the finest soldiers wounded, the spirit of Lutchmun was broken, and his people were appalled. In fact, Adjyghur was taken on the fortified hills of Regowly. A more obstinate defence than was there made, I never witnessed.

"In the fort are three larger reservoirs, cut into the solid rock, of very fine fresh water; and the ruins of three of the most magnificent Hindoo temples I ever beheld. The whole of the stones composing the buildings are laid without cement; but most nicely fitted to each other; and the sculpture, both inside and without, is of chaste design,



and exquisite workmanship. The time of building these temples is lost in antiquity. From appearances they must have been erected long before the fort. The fort itself was built by an ancient rajah, named Ajy Gôpaul; and the fortress was called after him, Adjyghur, or the invincible fortress.

"At what period Ajy Gopaul flourished is also unknown; for I could not learn whether there are any records respecting him; but he is represented to have reigned ages ago, and is said to have been a great magician.

"As one of the large temples, and on the outside of another, are two large tables of stone, covered with inscriptions, but these are so effaced that it could not be ascertained in what language they were written, or rather indeed raised on the face of the stone. I could not procure a man who could copy them.

"After a siege of 10 months, Aleeb Behander took Adjyghur by famine, and, close to the town, he and Himmat Behander gave the Boondelabs a great defeat, and slew their chief, Lui Arjun Sing, a famous warrior, who is the theme of their national songs. Shumshere Behander confined his cousin Gunnee Behander in this fort, and after we defeated him at Ropsah, on the 12th of October, 1803, he ordered the Mahratta Killidar to poison his prisoner.

"This Killidar sold the fort to Lutchmun Dowah for 15,000 rupees, but it is suspected, as Lutchmun had possession of a most valuable diamond necklace, that had belonged to Gunnee Behander, that after the Mahrattas marched out, he attacked their property, and took, not the necklace alone, but despoiled the Mahrattas of all they had.

"On the north side of the mountain, and within the defences of the lowest of the gates, of which there were five, issues from a spring, a fine stream of water, the source, as the Biraggies maintain, of the Jumna and Ganges; but this honor is keenly disputed by the Biraggies of a neighbouring stupendous hill, called Dev Gong. Adjyghur is about five miles from the foot of the Rannah Ghauts, and 14 from Callinger.

"The whole of the Ghauts, and almost every hill in this quarter, is a table land, and the country is perhaps the strongest in the world; for every hill is in fact a fortress, and from their great height and steepness, most difficult to be carried. The face of the country presents a heavy, close jungle; the soil is rich and fine, bearing a number of teak trees, which appear to be of a bastard kind—they are of no great height, except some in the fort, which are of the size of a moderate mowrah, or mango tree."

MARCH 23. — In letters from Cabul of the 9th ultimo, it is stated, that Mr. Elphinstone and his suite, after a stay of some weeks at Derah Ismael Khan, finally quitted that place on the 8th, and proceeded on their journey towards Peshawar. On their first day's march, they were met by a party of horse, who had been sent forward by Sujah ul Moolk, to reinforce their escort. The commander of the detachment was also the bearer of a complimentary letter from his Sovereign to the British envoy, expressing, in the most cordial terms, the high satisfaction with which he had heard of his approach. The letter was accompanied with a magnificent *khelaut*, consisting of a garment of gold cloth, and some shawls of the richest description, together with several mules laden with every variety of fruit, which the country produces. This pledge of the royal favour was received with suitable respect by the embassy. A tent was pitched on the occasion, to which Mr. Elphinstone proceeded in state, accompanied by all the gentlemen of his retinue, and escorted by a company of infantry. He was there invested with the *khelaut*, under a *feu de joie* from the detachment.

The intelligence, received from the British vakeel, who some time before had been sent on to Peshawar in charge of a dispatch to the King, was most satisfactory and pleasing. The Vakeel himself had experienced the utmost attention and hospitality; apartments had been prepared, by command of the Shah, for the accommodation of the embassy; and a third party of horse,



amounting to 500, had left Paishawar, and might be expected to arrive in camp about the 12th. Every thing in short continued to hold out the most favourable prospects to the mission.

At the date of these accounts, the embassy was encamped at the entrance of a pass near the small town of Putteeana, three marches distant from Derah Ismael Khan. The scenery in that neighbourhood is described as remarkably picturesque and magnificent. To the north-east and south the landscape is bounded by a stupendous ridge of mountains, while a beautiful valley extends from 60 or 70 miles towards the west, as far as the high and snowy heights of Sooliman. In their next march, the embassy expected to cross another desert, and had accordingly provided a sufficient supply of water and provisions for the whole party. On the 11th, they hoped to reach Isah Khyh, and in two days more to arrive at Kalah Baugh. There they proposed to halt for several days, after which they would go on to Paishawar, where they expected to bring their tedious journey to a close, about the 28th.

Soojah-ul-Moolk had sent on his army to Attock, were they were ordered to cross the Indus, for the purpose of chastising the rebellious Sonbahdar of Cashmere. It had been the king's intention to accompany his forces in person, as far as Attock; but, on hearing of the approach of the British embassy, he had altered his purpose, and determined to wait their arrival at Paishawar.

MARCH 20.—Some days ago, a case of seduction and elopement occurred in a Hindoo family, in Calcutta, which, though not uncommon in the brilliant and more enlightened society of Europe, is rather of unusual occurrence in the dull, insipid routine of Asiatic life, where the fair sex are regarded with inferior consideration, and secluded from the intercourse of general society. Sunkeree, a blooming young woman, the wife of Ishan Daus, being missed from home early in the morning, and the domestics of the family being unable to give any satis-

factory account of the lady, apprehensions were, in consequence, entertained for her safety. The fond, unsuspecting husband, readily supposed that she might have been drowned in the Hooghley, that she might have fallen into a well, or been devoured by an alligator. A sentiment of jealousy had never, for a moment, harboured in his bosom, and the whisper of suspicion, which had occasionally reached his ear, through the officiousness of friends, served only to increase his love and his confidence; and now, when the beloved object was unaccountably absent, his affection still continued to repress every suspicion of her infidelity.

The wife had no sooner been missed from home, than it was discovered that all her jewels, and the valuable ornaments of her person, were also gone. An inquiry was immediately set on foot; and it was ascertained that early in the morning she had been seen going towards the house of a female confidant. Thither the husband, with a party of friends, proceeded with all possible dispatch; but they came too late,—the fair fugitive, borne on the wings of love, had escaped some time before their arrival; and no certain information could be obtained respecting her movements. During the two following days, no account was received respecting her route, or the place of her concealment; and the husband was left to lament his loss under the aggravation of uncertainty and suspense. At length, some information was communicated by a young girl of the neighbourhood, who undertook to conduct the husband to the house where his wife was concealed. The party, as may be supposed, was ready in an instant to accompany the girl, who led them to the house of a Mussulman, where, according to her information, the wife was secreted. It did not appear however, that she was at that time concealed there, as on searching the house she could not be found; but as the Mussulman, on the first appearance of the husband, ran off, and some other circumstances strengthening the



suspicion of his being concerned in the elopement, Ishan Dauss applied to the Tannah, where, on an examination of the suspected parties, it was clearly ascertained, that three women of the neighbourhood, the above Mussulman, and a wealthy Hindoo Sircar, were accessories to the seduction and elopement. Three of the parties have been apprehended and confined. No information has yet transpired to lead to the place where the woman is concealed, a discovery that now, as her elopement was a voluntary act, could answer no other purpose than to recover the jewels and ornaments that she carried off. Sunkeree is represented as a perfect beauty, according to the Hindoo taste. It is conjectured that some native, of more weight and opulence than any of those who have yet appeared as parties in the case, was the prime instigator of the seduction and elopement.

This instance of conjugal infidelity has been made much more public than usual among the Hindoos. Whether similar cases among them are so uncommon, as some are disposed to believe, we much doubt; but if their occurrence is not rare, the knowledge of them is, in general, very prudently concealed as much as possible. The propensity of giving currency to the scandal, or of seeking redress in courts of law for such domestic calamities, is utterly repugnant to the practice of the Hindoos.— (*vide Occurrences for April, page 47.*)

MARCH 22.—A young man of the name of Robert Bruce Keith Stuart, a convict from New South Wales, was brought on shore from the Phaeton frigate, and lodged in gaol, by an order from government. This young man had been convicted of an offence in England, for which he was transported to New South Wales, from whence, in concert with several other convicts, he carried off, in May last, the brig Harrington, and made the best of his way for Marilla. On the passage thither, when off the coast of Leuconia, the Dedaigneuse frigate fell in with the Harrington, and sent a party of men on board to take possession,

and transhipping the party above-named to the frigate, brought him to Prince of Wales's Island, where he was transferred to the Phaeton, on which frigate he was brought on to this port.

Upon being received on board the Dedaigneuse, her commander, captain Dawson, affected by the gentleman-like appearance of his prisoner, allowed him every reasonable indulgence, and forebore to place him under personal restraint, but having made an attempt to escape, and in which he had nearly succeeded, captain Dawson judged it necessary to place him in close confinement. This unfortunate youth was formerly a lieutenant in the navy, and had the benefit of a liberal education, and is respectably connected.

The Harrington, after being boarded by a party of British seamen from the Dedaigneuse frigate, ran aground, and was lost on the coast of Leuconia, when all the convict pirates, who were on board, effected their escape.

MARCH 24.—A melancholy case of hydrophobia occurred a few days ago. A native boy, about five or six years of age, was bitten in the cheek by a dog, on the 30th of January last. On the same day, almost immediately, indeed, after the accident, he was carried to the Native hospital, where he received all the assistance that the case could admit. The depth, and unfavorable situation of the wound, prevented recourse to incision. The parts, however, were cauterized very carefully. The child, as almost invariably happens, appeared to do well, and continued in that way till the beginning of this month, when the usual train of symptoms ensued, and quickly terminated in death.

This instance of hydrophobia, the most formidable and deadly of all diseases, is more noticeable, from the accident that produced it, occurring in the colder part of the season. It has been by some alleged, that this disease is incident to dogs during the hotter months only. This, however, is a vulgar error. It is, indeed, less frequent in seasons of low temperature; but the above case, with others that



have occurred, both here and in the colder countries of Europe, leave no doubt that the disease may originate, and be propagated, at any season or in any climate.

MARCH 25.—All the objects, which were contemplated in the formation of the late formidable army in Sirhind, being happily and satisfactorily obtained, the public interests in that quarter are established on an equitable, and more secure and permanent, foundation than heretofore. Runjeit Sing, consulting his individual interest, and the general welfare of his people, has wisely preferred peace and friendship with the British government, to an hostility, as just in its end, as it must have proved irresistible in its means.

A few days after the adjustment of all the lately-subsisting differences with Runjeit Sing, the pleasing intelligence of the destruction of the French armies in Spain, of the capture of Junot, the liberation of Portugal, &c. were received in the British camp, on the banks of the Sutledge. A royal salute, as might naturally be expected, was fired on the receipt of such joyful news. As soon as the cause of the salute was made known to Runjeit Sing, he ordered a salute to be fired from all the guns in his camp, in testimony of his participation in the sentiments of joy, on the defeat of the enemy of the English nation.

Whether the Seiks were fully aware of the high importance of the events, which were thus commemorated;—whether they meant their salute as any thing more than a mere matter of compliment to the English, may be doubted; but still it is pleasing to observe, a native chieftain at the head of his vassals, uniting with a British army, in the centre of Asia, in their salutations on the defeat of Buonaparte. Under either decision of the question it is almost equally satisfactory:—if it arose from a just estimate of the important consequences of the defeat of French ambition, it shews more political sagacity and information than they were supposed to possess; if it had no other foundation than a motive of mere compliment, it is one

that is gratifying in itself, and displays a courteous respect to their British allies.

CALCUTTA, March 26.—At the date of the latest advices from the Upper Provinces, the armies there continued still in the same position, and the definitive arrangement of our differences with the Seiks remained in suspense. Runjeit Sing's army, in considerable force, was posted on the Sutledge, opposite to Ludehaunah. Letters of the 10th current, however, still continue to express the most confident expectations, of such an adjustment being immediately concluded, as would permit the army to break up about the 16th.

The position, occupied by general St. Leger's army ever since the 11th ult. is about 18 miles to the south east of Ludehaunah, where colonel Ochterlony's brigade is posted.

The force under colonel Ochterlony's command, is composed of the 4th regiment of Native cavalry, the 1st battalion of the 10th, 1st battalion of the 23d, and 1st battalion of the 27th Native infantry. And the grand army, under general St. Leger, consists of his majesty's 24th light dragoons, and 17th regiment of foot; the 6th and 8th regiments of Native cavalry; the 2d and 3d light infantry battalions; and a strong detachment, both of heavy and light artillery.

*Extract of a letter from major-general St. Leger's army, 7th March, 1809.*

You have no doubt heard of the awkward dispute between the sepoys of Mr. Metcalfe's escort and the Seiks; but, as you may not perhaps have heard correct particulars, I will give them to you.—You must know that Imrutsir (the place where our envoy and Runjeit Sing at present are,) is considered by the Seiks as most holy; their prophet Nanock Shah being there buried,—and that they hold all Mussulmans in the utmost abhorrence. Mr. Metcalfe's guard consists of two companies of infantry under captain Popham: and, the Mussulmans of the detachment were, according to annual custom, celebrating the Mohurram.



The Seik fanatics could not brook this, and resolved to put them all to death. Luckily, however, captain Popham and Mr. Metcalfe had intelligence of their intention. At this time, they were at some distance from Runjeit Sing's camp, and the sepoys were drawn up on parade; when, all of a sudden, the gates of the town were thrown open, and out came about 4 or 500 armed men, with drums beating and colours flying, and took post behind a small bank a little in front of the sepoys, whence they commenced an irregular fire. Popham did not stir until one of his men and lieutenant Ferguson were wounded, he then ordered his party to advance, and, on getting near, to fire a volley and charge, — which they did, and pursued the Seiks to the ditch of the town; when Runjeit himself came down and behaved very well, took our party away, and sent a force to protect them. They say, that he is totally blameless in the business, and behaved most handsomely. Our loss was 17 wounded, and that of the Seiks 3 killed and 25 wounded.

### BENGAL

#### *Occurrences for April.*

CALCUTTA, April 1.—The honourable Mr. Elphinstone and his suite arrived at Paishawar, on the 25th of February. The intelligence of this event has been received through the medium of private letters, which reached town on Tuesday last. They are dated on the 4th ult. and were transmitted by the route of Lahore. At the date of these accounts, it was expected, that the king would give audience to the embassy, in a day or two. Some time had been occupied, in arranging the ceremonials of their introduction; but every thing had been adjusted, and was likely to proceed in the most satisfactory manner. The march of the embassy from Calcutta to Paishawar, had been delightful. The country, through which they passed, was extremely

beautiful; and the Indus, in that part of its course, is described as a deep, clear stream, flowing between two ridges of rocks, through a channel little more than 300 yards in breadth. Its banks produce alum and salt in extraordinary abundance.

It was at Calcutta that the party first entered the tract of country, which is inhabited by the real Afghans. In their journey from thence to Paishawar, they passed through a great number and variety of tribe. Throughout the whole length of their tedious journey, they had every where been received with the same uniform respect and attention. And at the date of these accounts, all the gentlemen of the mission were in the best health and spirits.

A part of the Shah's army had proceeded to Cashmeer, where they were employed in reducing the rebellious Soubahdar of that province.

Considerable difficulty had been experienced, in the attempt to establish a regular hawk, between the embassy and the company's provinces; and, in spite of every precaution, several packets had actually been lost.—This circumstance sufficiently accounts for the irregularity lately experienced in the correspondence from that quarter.—The following extract is taken from a letter written 13 days previous to the arrival of the party at Paishawar. It still, however, bears a more recent date, than any account previously received; and details various circumstances, which may be interesting to the reader.

*Camp at the village of Cogulwala, left bank of the Koorm, about two miles from the Indus, 12th February, 1809.*

From Poharpore we marched to the village of Pooneealee, which is situated in the mouth of a valley, leading through some low hills towards Esakhel and Qurrah Baugh. Our march to Pooneealee was mostly over a high and dry sandy plain, which forms an acute angle with the base of the hills. The village itself is a pretty looking



place, embosomed in a grove of date-trees, and situated at the extremity of that ridge, which constitutes the south-eastern boundary of the valley. A very fine and clear stream runs past it, from which the inhabitants (who are Shekhs and Balloches) irrigate their fields of rice and other grain. Several of our party climbed the steep eminence, which forms the south-western promontory of the ridge, and, from its summit, had a most extensive view of all that immense plain, through which the Indus flows, and which is bounded to the west by a prodigious range of hills, forming the natural and almost impenetrable barrier of Hindostan. The most prominent of the whole was Solomon's throne,—so called from a traditionary report, which is prevalent here, that Solomon once sat on its pinnacle, and viewed from thence all the countries east of the Indus. It is more particularly remarkable, however, as the place on which, according to the belief generally entertained here, Noah's Ark, rested after the deluge. Our march of to-day is the first that has been attended with the smallest peril; and we have fortunately got over it, without seeing a single fierce countenance. Our road has been through a rugged valley, between 4 and 4½ miles in breadth,—over ground, frequently intersected by the broad and sandy bed of the torrents, which flow through it during the rainy season. With the exception of a few miserable trees and shrubs, and some thin, coarse grass, nothing verdant was to be seen for the space of 4 or 5 miles. On the road from Pooneealee, we passed several krawls of wandering Afghans, of the tribe of Moorwar, who live at present in this valley, in consequence of the dearth of water and rigour of the season in their native hills. They inhabit the most wretched hovels, constructed with a few branches of the pagh bush, arranged in a circle, with grass thrown over them as a slight defence against the wind. A very few had a black or brown blanket, stretched over their fence. The men were tall, well-made, and healthy; and some of the women

handsome, but in general too coarse in their figure and feature. The complexions of the men were by no means so fair as I should have expected,—few being even so much so as the fairer portion of the natives of Bengal; but they were characterized by brownish beards, brown and grey eyes, and frequently light brown eye-brows. They were dressed in very loose trowsers, and upper garments like other Musulmans,—with a small piece of linen cloth wrapped round their heads, in which they universally preserve their hair. These people generally subsist on the milk and produce of their camels. They purchase whatever grain they use. We have to-day been obliged to carry with us our supply of water for the ensuing night, as none is procurable near our present encamping ground.

We march to-morrow to Eesakhel, where we procure every thing necessary, and thence we make three marches, I believe, to Qurrah Baugh, where we shall probably halt two or three days. Qurrah Baugh and Eesakhel are both situated on the banks of the Indus, which are generally poor in point of scenery. The former place, however, I believe, is a part of the Indus, where the hills run down to its edge; and it is otherwise interesting from having some alum-works, salt hills, &c. &c. in its neighbourhood. This was to have gone yesterday, but in consequence of the unsettled state of this part of the country, from bands of thieves, and the predatory disposition of its inhabitants, no dawk was dispatched. To day, we made a long march of twenty-one miles, through a valley, at the extremity of which we found the river Koorm, on the left bank of which we are at present encamped. The bed is about three furlongs wide, from bank to bank; but the water is at present shallow and muddy, and the stream divided. At this place, or a little below, it enters the Indus, from the bank of which we are at present about two miles distant. The hills now approach upon all sides; but they are by no means picturesque or



beautiful. In appearance, they are in general rugged and craggy; but some are composed only of sand hardened into a mass, which crumbles under the foot, and is washed into ravines by the rains. They are destitute of trees and verdure, and have no attraction, except their novelty, height, and barbarous, inhospitable ruggedness. We now are in the district of that tribe of Afghans, called the Eesakhel. Our three succeeding marches will be along the banks of the Indus, to Qurrah Baugh. For the first time, since leaving Delhi, we have had to day a slight visit from robbers on the road, who plundered two or three of the party, who were loitering in the rear. One of the gentlemen lost part of his clothes, and a bullock; but no person was hurt. The day was exceedingly hot, and the march very fatiguing.

We hear there are 350 horse, and 150 foot, of the king's army, waiting for us at Qurrah Baugh. The man, who had been dispatched as our avant courier, returned to day, and brings, I believe, good accounts of the preparations for our reception.

APRIL 2.—By letters received direct from general St. Leger's camp, at Lunchanna, dated the 17th ult. we are informed, that all matters with the Seiks were then amicably and finally settled. The two forts on the left bank of the Sutledge, namely, Keire and Feride Khote, which were demanded from Runjeit Sing, were given up, and are now possessed by British troops. In consequence of this pacific arrangement, the corps of the army were, at the date of these letters, preparing to fall back to their respective cantonments. Colonel Ochterlony, with a well-appointed force, amounting to about 8000 men, will remain encamped in Ludelhanna.

The country in which Keire and Feride Khote are situated, is a barren, sandy waste, without vegetation. Colonel Ochterlony's position is about five miles distant from the ghaat of the

page.

head-quarters were expected to be

removed from Kernaul to Mérut, about the end of March.

#### SUPREME COURT, APRIL 6.

*Ramanund Ghose, versus Gopey Mohun Tackoor.*

This arose out of a bill, filed on the equity side of the supreme court, to redeem an estate, mortgaged by the complainant to the defendant, and seized under a writ of *fiery facias*, on a judgment entered on a bond and warrant of attorney, given as a collateral security to the mortgagee.

Gopey Mohun Tackoor, the defendant, a Hindoo of great wealth, had advanced, as it appeared, to the complainant, who is a Talookdar, the sum of eleven thousand rupees, which being insufficient for his purpose, he proposed to borrow a much larger amount, to which Gopey Mohun agreed. A deed was accordingly drawn up, and executed by the complainant and defendant, by which Gopey Mohun undertook to advance to the complainant money to the extent of 65,000 rupees, for which sum, at the time of signing the agreement, he took a mortgage on certain Talooks, the property of the complainant, fully sufficient to cover the amount of 65,000 rupees, which he had engaged to advance on loan, taking at the same time the complainant's bond and warrant of attorney for the amount, in the usual manner, as if it had been paid. Soon afterwards the difficulties of the complainant increased; a part of his lands were seized by government, and sold on account of arrears of rent. Gopey Mohun, at the same time, seized the remaining lands, which were mortgaged to him; and, by virtue of the judgment entered upon the bond and warrant of attorney, took the lands in execution, and proceeded to bring them to a sale by the sheriff, although it appeared that he had not paid one rupee, on account of the complainant, since the signing of the deed, by which he engaged to lend him 65,000 rupees; the sum of 11,000 rupees, the whole amount that he had advanced, having been paid previously to the execution of that instrument.



This case, which; after a hearing of three days, was decided in court on Thursday last, appears to be of considerable importance, as affecting any supposed right of a mortgagee to sell the mortgaged estate absolutely, under such an execution, and was argued at great length, and with great ability, by the counsel on both sides.

The counsel for the complainant ably contended: first, on the merits of the case, that sufficient appeared, from the admissions and proofs, to induce the court, to comply with the prayer of the bill. They urged the smallness of the sum advanced, in comparison with the real value of the premises, the rapidity of taking out execution against the property, purchase of the estate by the mortgagee himself, with a variety of other topics of unconscionable advantage, exercised by an opulent mortgagee over the necessitous wants of an indigent mortgagor. But, admitting the court to be of opinion that no such advantage had been taken, it was contended, on the law of the case, that the mortgagor, having an equity of redemption in the estate, such equitable interest could not be taken in execution under a *feri facias*; and a variety of authorities were cited in support of this doctrine.

The counsel for the defendant contended, on the other hand, that as a lapse of seven years had taken place since the execution, it was highly unreasonable for the complainant to come forward, after so long an acquiescence in the defendant's right, to obtain a reconveyance; that, so far from their client deserving the imputation of having acted unreasonably, they insisted that the complainant had practised great fraud and duplicity in the transaction; that, independent of the deed of mortgage, he had subsequently executed a *khutcoulah*, an instrument by which he had assigned all right, interest, or title to the premises, which ought to be a bar to his present application, amounting to a release of his equity of redemption. As to the law, they admitted that, in England, an equity of redemption could not be

taken in execution; and, with great ingenuity, endeavoured to draw a distinction, arising from the provisions of the charter of the supreme court, which renders many things liable in this country to be taken in execution, which could not be taken in England; that the sheriff might be commanded to take, *inter alia*, houses, lands, debts, and effects;—and the term effects was sufficiently comprehensive to embrace such an interest as the present; that the charter, being made in favour of creditors, ought to receive a liberal construction, as it appears to render every species of property, that a man can possess, responsible for his debts.

The court did not think the lapse of five years, which was all the time that had elapsed from the execution to the filing of the bill, was sufficient to bar the application of the complainant, and thought the bond given as a collateral security to the Mortgagee, ought not to have been used for the purpose of destroying it; that the Mortgagee himself purchasing under the execution, was not to be encouraged in a court of equity, as such a proceeding had the effect of making a man his own chancellor, selling the estate himself, purchasing it himself, and thereby defeating one of the most salutary jurisdictions of a court of equity. Besides, in the inconsistency of the sheriff's seizing land, which in law belonged to the plaintiff, in an execution against the defendant, when the *Khutcoulah* was executed the complainant had no estate to convey; and as to the meaning of the word effects, they must imply something of a corporeal nature which the sheriff could seize.

The court were unanimously of opinion that the Complainant ought to be let in to redeem.

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APRIL 8.—On Monday last the Danish brig, *Frega*, and her cargo, prize to his Majesty's ship *Modeste*, captain the honourable George Elliot, captured in the river Hoogley, on the receipt of intelligence of hostilities between Great Britain and Denmark, were condemned in the court of vice admi-



relty, at Fort William; the brig as prize to the Captors, and her cargo as a *droit* of admiralty.

CALCUTTA, April 12th.—Advices have been received from Peshour, the 10th of March.

Mr. Elphinstone and the gentlemen of his suite have been introduced to the King. The third of March was the day appointed for the ceremony; but, in consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather, it was deferred, and did not actually take place until the morning of the 5th.

Pishawar is described as a low, damp, unpleasant town; surrounded on every side by a miry country, and containing no very comfortable accommodations for Europeans.

Sultan-ul-Moolk, it was supposed, would shortly return towards Candahar; his enemy, the prince Shah Abbas, having excited some commotions in the western provinces, and made himself master of Herat. In that case, the conduct of the war in Cashmere will be left to an inferior officer.

*Private account of the progress of the embassy.*

DHODA, a village eight miles south of Koba.—Feb. 1.—We left Qurrah Baugh the day before yesterday.

From Turrugun, our road lay through a rich and fertile tract of ground, subject to inundation from the overflow of the Indus, which, by the quantity of mud which it yearly deposits, gives new vigour and substance to the soil. On our left, at the distance of some miles, was a high range of barren hills, composed of a soft, friable sand-stone,—their tops pointed, craggy, and irregular,—and their sides ravined by the torrents, and, within a certain distance from their basis, descending by a moderate slope towards the plain. The intermediate space between these hills and our route, was an uneven track of country; bearing a wide and scattered bush-jungle, with a little grass.—On the right was to be seen the bed of the Indus, of a great extent, and the stream separated many channels by numberless, of various sizes —most of them

bearing grass, but some laid down in corn. Beyond this, and terminating the landscape, appeared the opposite bank of the river, low, and with a cluster or row of trees here and there checquering the horizon, and a ridge of barren hills, in the back-ground, which where neither pleasing from their beauty, nor striking from their magnitude or grandeur. It appeared to me, that the extreme distance from the east bank of the Indus to the base of these hills might be about 18 or 20 miles. The distance gradually increases, as you approach to Kala Baugh. All the hills we have yet seen on the Indus, or near it, are perfectly bare of verdure, with the exception only of a few miserable, thorny bushes, and the scattered tufts of grass on their sloping sides. Their substance is either a dark grey sand-stone, or the same sand-stone mixed with flaky strata of clay and coarse gravel. One side is usually precipitous and craggy, distinctly shewing the materials of which they are composed; while the other has generally a sloping and practicable, though steep ascent, covered with a thin layer of earth, pebbles and sand mingled together, and bearing such scant shrubs and grasses as the soil affords.

One of our stages was at Khoodoo-zacc, on the banks of the Indus. The appearance of the river there is grander and more cheering, than in any other part of its course which I had before seen. The west bank, on which we encamped, was high and steep, and composed of a firm, calcareous earth, much broken and intersected by the descending torrents. The water was beautifully clear, of a light greenish hue, apparently very deep, and flowing over a bed of stones and pebbles, without rocks. The opposite shore was a gently shelving sand-bank, with here and there an island, covered in general with long yellow grass, but in some particular parts with corn. The stream seemed to be from 2 to 300 yards wide, and the current remarkably swift.

From Khoodoo-zacc we marched to Qurrah Baugh (a short distance of about



10 miles) over ground broken and uneven, but in some places pretty fertile. Our route was constantly interrupted, by the broad, stony, and sandy beds of torrents, which run down from the hills. The road gradually approaches the mountains until it reaches Qurrah Baugh, which is a small town, built at the foot of a high, steep, and precipitous hill, overhanging the river. Between the base of this eminence and the stream, but a narrow space is left; and that is very steep and rugged, from the fragments of sand-stone and rock, which have fallen from above. A road, or path-way, is here cut for the convenience of travellers, sufficient to admit the passage of loaded mules, bullocks, or asses. But, unless the people attending us on the part of the King had caused it to be repaired and enlarged, it would not have been practicable for our camels and elephants. Carriages of no sort can pass; but there are excellent flat-bottomed boats, by which any articles may be transported round the point. In passing along, several of our camels lost their footing and rolled into the river: but as boats were ready at all the dangerous points, the articles were saved, and the camels escaped with few bruises and knocks.

Qurrah Baugh is remarkable in several particulars, but chiefly as the point at which the Indus is first confined to one stream, between banks which it cannot possibly overflow. It is also remarkable for possessing an inexhaustible store of the finest rock salt, supplied by the same hill, whose base is skirted by the difficult pass above-mentioned. Thirdly, it is enriched by very considerable alum works. And in the last place, it is an object of curiosity, from the peculiar manner in which the houses are built on the almost perpendicular front of the activity. The salt is here sold at 25 maunds per rupee, and transported on camels and bullocks, to the Punjab, Moultaim, Sind, and the lower parts of the Cabul dominions; alum also is bartered in trade: and by means of these exports the inhabitants are supported in great ease and comfort. The houses seem to be built

on platforms, cut out of the declivity of the hill. They have an odd appearance; rising irregularly one above another, like large square or oblong blocks of masonry, or stratified rocks. Some they are obliged to support by buttresses, and sloping stone ramparts, as the substance of the hill itself is so easily destroyed by water. The inhabitants are a tribe of Afghans, called Awans, the chief man of the clan living in Qurrah-Baugh. The stream of the Indus here, between the two nearest points of the opposite hills, I should conjecture to be from 3 to 400 yards wide. An arrow shot across the stream fell short of the opposite bank, by about one-third of the distance. Just at Qurrah-Baugh, the current of the river is very slow; and the large flat-bottomed boats, with two heavy oars (each requiring two men to pull them,) were able to row up against the stream. The velocity of its current cannot here exceed a mile and a half in the hour,—if, indeed, it be so much. It flows without noise or impetuosity, and at the edges of the water is almost stagnant. The hills on either side are perfectly bare, and generally steep, craggy, and precipitous to the water's edge, leaving only, when the river is swollen, a sufficient space between their basis and the margin of the stream for a narrow path-way. The brink itself is composed of a soft, rich mud, which sinks so easily under the foot, that it is not in every part that animals can approach the water. In some places, the rocks project into the stream,—and there the water is exceedingly deep to their very edge. The adjoining hills are remarkable, I think, only for their frequently fantastic shape. The rain, melting down their substance, leaves to the last the highest and hardest parts, which often are seen standing on basis much smaller than their summits, in pinnacles, nodding projections, over-hanging craggs, and glacier-like forms. The view up the river from Kala-Baugh is suddenly interrupted by a quick turn to the north, the stream here resuming its usual direction, after an irregular winding in its course towards the town,



which it approaches nearly from the south east. It cannot be said to flow in a valley, as the opening between the hills here is equal only to the breadth of its channel. The general effect is dark and gloomy, from the barrenness and melancholy colour of the hills. These indeed are neither exceedingly high nor peculiarly grand. And although the appearance altogether of the landscape about Kala-Baugh is interesting, that interest is created chiefly by the novelty of the scene, and the association of ideas.

Opposite to Kala-Baugh is a hill with a Hindoo temple and devotee on the top. And a little further up the river, on the Panjaub side, there is situated a village, belonging to Runjeit Sing, the Seik chief, and built in a similar manner to Kala-Baugh. The people of the two towns are, in consequence of the enmity existing between their respective states, also at war with one another, and we were advised not to proceed far up the river, least, knowing us to be under the protection of the Cabul king, they might fire on us.

At Kala-Baugh we left the Indus, and proceeded in the bed of a hill stream, which in rainy weather flows down through the valley. The bed was stony and of various breadths, but never exceeding half a mile. At length, we began to ascend a steep and difficult pass, which was in many parts so narrow, that we were obliged to chip the sand rock with hatchets, to enable the loaded camels to pass. The ascent likewise was exceedingly arduous, being continued up the rocky bed of a torrent, for 5 or 6 miles. When we reached the summit, it began to rain heavily, and the prospect all around became most dismally grand. The whole of our descent was rendered tedious and difficult, by the state of the weather. Many camels were lost, and a few stragglers were plundered. We did not reach our ground until four in the evening, and came in all completely wet. We pitched in a low hollow, which was already almost soaked, and apparently likely to become a bog before morning. One

half of our baggage did not effect their descent until twelve at night, and many of our followers remained in the pass all night under a heavy rain, which was probably, indeed, their best defence against the robbers, who were seen sitting on the tops of the hills and hovering about our line. All yesterday it continued to rain so heavily and incessantly, that we were obliged to move from the low spot, where we were encamped, to ground further down the water course. But when we began to load the camels, most of those, who had heavy burthens, were either unable to rise, or, having risen, again fell. We, however, proceeded, at the imminent risk of having all our valuables precipitated down the steep declivity, which we had to descend; and, though travelling only a few miles, we did not get to our ground until dark. All the time there was a soaking rain; and so severe was the cold, and so dark the night, that our servants were almost disabled; neither firewood nor forage, nor provision could be obtained, and it was with the greatest difficulty that we could get a tent pitched. Most of the people remained out all night in this dismal situation, and two of our party suffered among the rest. One of them arrived without his baggage, &c. which he had been constrained to leave on the road, the tents being so completely soaked, that the camels were unable to carry them on. The other having lost his way on a jutting point that overhung the valley, and being fearful to proceed further in the dark, was obliged to remain all night in that unpleasant situation, without fire or companion. Fortunately, we have halted to day; but it still continues to rain, and our march to-morrow will probably be a chain of disasters. We are, however, but six marches from the king, and our troubles will there end. We are, however, all perfectly well.

We have not yet got to the bottom of this pass through the hills; and I almost fear to write, lest the post should be rifled, and my letters destroyed.



It was on a rainy dismal day that I wrote the first part of this letter. Thank God, we are now not only cheered by fine weather, and the prospect of a speedy meeting with the king, but are buoyed up with the glorious news lately received from Europe. At present I cannot say more. To-morrow we shall be at Kpbat, and in three days more at Peshour. The king is very anxious for our arrival, being on the wing for Attock, to which place, I think it most probable we shall follow, or perhaps accompany him.

CALCUTTA, April 25.—The embassy continued to experience the most courteous hospitality and respect. On the 13th of March, Mr. Elphinstone had a private audience of his majesty, at which he was received with much politeness, and was repeatedly urged by the king, to accompany him on his intended journey to Cabul.

If reliance can be placed on the authority of a native newspaper, Soojah-ul-Moolk was likely to be immediately called away from Peshour, by an insurrection in the neighbourhood of Herat, which has recently assumed a very formidable aspect. It appears, indeed, that the danger was considerably nearer than expected. Mahmood Shah, half-brother to his majesty, and a rival candidate for the musnud, having collected a very powerful rebel force in the north, had actually made himself master of Candahar, and, at the date of the last accounts, was understood to be in full march against the capital. The news had excited very great consternation at court; and it was the general opinion, that the most energetic measures would be necessary, and that, in all likelihood, the Shah might yet have to fight another battle for his crown.

This Mahmood is the same prince, by whom, about seven years ago, Zemaun Shah (the king then reigning,) was dethroned, and deprived of his sight. On that event Soojah-ul-Moolk (the younger full brother of Zemaun;) effected his escape to the mountain, and lived for some time among the Khyburs, a race of rob-

bers, by whom these regions are infested. Of these banditti he collected a formidable force, with which he marched against Mahmood, defeated him, and ascended the throne. The first measure of his reign was an act of generosity, not very usual in Asiatic monarchies. He granted a free pardon to the usurper, set his person at large, and settled on him a handsome salary for his maintenance. The same kindness and liberality he extended also to Zemaun Shah, who is still alive, and in the enjoyment of every comfort.

Soojah-ul-Moolk is said to be very generally esteemed and beloved by his subjects at Peshour. There were still, however, mutinous spirits in many parts of his kingdom, ready for any change which held out the hopes of plunder, whose aid the ungrateful Mahmood had but too successfully courted, for the purpose of kindling anew the flames of civil commotion.

The only circumstance which was likely to retard the journey of the king towards Cabul, was the war in Cashmere, which, it was hoped, would terminate in the entire subjugation of the Soohbahdar, within the space of about a month. The army, which had been sent against that province, under the command of the vizier, is stated, in a letter of the 14th of March, from Peshour, to have arrived (at the date of the latest advices then received) within three marches of its destination. Still, however, the most difficult defiles remained to be passed. In the letter of the 16th, again, it is added, that the Cashmerian army had nearly effected their purpose, and that the vizier was expected speedily to return, with his whole force, to aid in the expedition against the rebels in Candahar.

A diplomatic mission from the Seiks, consisting of fifteen persons, arrived at Attock, at the latter end of February, charged with some communication to the court of Cabul. Four of the number had actually reached Peshour.

The city of Peshour is situated in  $34^{\circ} 5' 38''$  of north latitude. About the middle of March, the heat began



to be unpleasant, and in the course of a month more all accounts gave reason to expect that it would be extremely oppressive.

**APRIL 19.**—A barbarous and unprovoked murder was lately committed at Sealdah, in the district of the 24 Pargannahs, and within a few hundred yards of Calcutta, by a Hindoo Sootie, named Jogomohun, and who, some time ago, had become a convert to christianity; on which occasion he was baptized by the name of John Gomes. The person murdered was his wife.

A Malayan woman, named Tomasa, married one serjeant Forbes, a Scotchman, with whom she lived happily till his decease. On the death of Forbes, the widow found herself possessed of considerable property. Jogomohun was at that time in her service, and rendered himself so acceptable in the sight of his mistress, that the only obstacle to their conjugal union was Jogomohun not being a Christian. Such, however, was the love and affection of this Hindoo, that the prejudices of his native religion gave way; he became a convert to christianity, and received, as the first fruits of his new faith, the hand of his mistress. The late Hindoo Jogomohun, now became the Christian John Gomes, was married in due form and solemnity to Mrs. Tomasa Forbes.

Mr. Gomes, finding himself thus invested with the rights and authority of a Christian husband, and secure in the possession of his wife's property, determined to dash off with spirit. He accordingly caused his wife to draw, at different periods, the whole of her money, amounting to 16 or 18,000 rupees, from the management of the house of agency, in which it had been placed. The greater part of this money, thus easily acquired, was quickly dissipated by Mr. Gomes; with a part of it, however, he bought some land; the pottahs of which were made out in his own name, or those of his Hindoo relations.

About 10 or 12 weeks ago, he went on what he called a trading visit to Dacca, taking with him all the ready money that remained, an excellent

gold watch, and whatever portable property they possessed. On the 3d inst. he returned from Dacca, bringing with him a few pieces of muslin. Immediately on his return, he either received, or pretended to have received, some information impeaching the fidelity of his wife, during his absence. He taxed her with the charge, and without waiting her answer, beat the unfortunate woman with great severity, and drove her across the road, to a house which belonged to them, and in which she was at last murdered. The assault just mentioned was made about 10 o'clock in the morning. At about half-past three, on the same day, he recommenced his attack, and beat her more violently than in the morning; using for this purpose a heavy sugar-cane, and the branch of a cocoanut tree. The helpless woman screamed aloud; but no relief was near, and she at length sunk senseless on the ground. The husband believing that her insensibility was only feigned, or that she would soon recover, retired to take his afternoon nap. A servant of the house was the first who discovered the dead body of his mistress lying on the ground. On acquainting his master, it was determined to keep the murder secret, and to give out that his wife died a natural death. To that end it was reported throughout the neighbourhood, in the course of the evening, that Mrs. Gomes had been taken suddenly and alarmingly ill with a pain in her stomach, and was not expected to live for five minutes.

The murder would probably, in this way, have been concealed, had not the servant of a gentleman, who lives in the vicinity, informed his master, on the following morning, of the sudden death of their neighbour. The gentleman recollecting to have seen the woman in her usual health, the evening preceding her death, and having frequently heard her complain of the cruelty of her husband, was led to suspect that he had been accessory to her death; and on those suspicions he gave notice to the adjacent Thana, and had the husband taken into custody.

On the following day, a *secret* had,



or inquest, was held, at which the gentleman, just mentioned, attended, and heard most of the circumstances above related confirmed by the depositions of four or five witnesses. Further proof was obtained on examination of the body of the deceased, which exhibited, in various parts, the marks of such violence as left no doubt as to the cause of her death. Besides the marks of many severe blows, the whole of the trunk was bruised and discoloured. The depositions of the witnesses were afterwards taken before the magistrates of the 24 Purgunnahs, and the prisoner stands committed to take his trial before the court of circuit, for the division of Calcutta.

APRIL 25.—At length, after much longer delay than had been foreseen, arising from various unimportant objections, on the part of Runjeit Sing, all the conditions prescribed to that chieftain have been punctually fulfilled. The stipulated ground and the forts have been formally delivered up to the British troops, and which, with some additional works that are to be constructed, will be held as British posts in Sirhind, a measure which, at the same time that it extends security and protection to the people on the left bank of the Sutledge, must have a powerful effect in maintaining tranquillity on that frontier.

The arrangements with Runjeit Sing having been thus satisfactory fulfilled, General St. Leger's army broke ground from Laudehanuah, on the 4th current, and made one march; but halted on the 5th.—In the course of a day or two the corps were expected to continue their march for the different frontier stations.

APRIL 26.—Robert Bruce Keith Stewart underwent an examination before the magistrates of Calcutta. This unfortunate person was an officer in the navy, and for some time acted as commander of one of his majesty's sloops of war, in which situation he acquitted himself with honor.—Some time afterwards he became enamoured of a Miss Wilkinson, a young heiress of respectable connections: their passion was mutual, but the friends of the

young lady opposed their intended union. The lovers therefore eloped, and were married at Gretna Green. Sir—Seal, a friend of the young lady, having broken into their apartments, and the husband apprehensive that his bride would be carried off, fired a pistol at the baronet, which wounded him in the arm. This offence having been made capital by an act, commonly called Lord Ellenborough's act, the party was indicted for the offence, on that act, convicted, and finally transported to New South Wales. During his confinement for several months in England, after being sentenced to transportation, he was never deserted for a moment by his wife, whose affection for her husband seemed to increase with the misery of his lot. She never quitted his cell till she was carried out for interment, having breathed her last in child-bed.

After the examination of the prisoner by the magistrates, he was remanded to the guard-house, to await the further orders of government. The unfortunate case of this individual excited a general feeling in his favour.

APRIL 29.—On Friday last, Sun-keree, the Hindoo lady who eloped some weeks ago from her husband, most unexpectedly made her appearance at the Police office, and endeavoured to turn the tables against her husband: she laid a petition before the magistrates, complaining of his cruelty and inconstancy. She alleged, that her elopement was occasioned by a dread of the severity of her husband's treatment; and denied, in a tone and manner that bespeak her high indignation, every charge of infidelity or incorrectness, which the malevolence of her husband had brought forward against her. In the mean time, she has been committed, until some further inquiries are made into the case.

APRIL 30.—About a fortnight ago, a party of gentlemen went out from Kishenagur to hunt the wild boar, but not meeting with any sport, one of the number, (Mr. Kelso,) quitted his companions, and set out on his return home. He had proceeded but a short distance, when a boar was started,



and finding himself attacked by the hunters, took his course across the very road by which Mr. Kelso was returning. Mr. Kelso immediately galloped up to the boar, with the intention of spearing him; but, just as he came within reach, his horse tripped and unfortunately fell. The shaft of his spear, at the same time, took the ground, while the point entered his side between the ribs and the haunch bone, and, by the violence of the fall, was driven completely through his body,—the entire blade and part of the shaft issuing from the loin of the same side. At the same critical instant, he was charged by the boar, who ripped up the flesh of one of his arms (which he instinctively stretched out, with a view to ward him off) from the finger to the elbow, and would unquestionably have put him to death, had not his attention been diverted by another of the gentlemen, who providentially came up at the moment, and threw his spear a little way short of the spot, where Mr. Kelso lay. To add to the horrid circumstances of this accident, it was found impracticable to extract the weapon in any other way than by drawing its whole length through the wound. This was accordingly done, and Mr. Kelso was conveyed to Kishenagur. Notwithstanding the formidable appearance and dangerous course of the wound, it fortunately had not passed through any vital part, and the great flow of blood effectually contributed to prevent inflammation, without proceeding to such a height as to be itself a source of danger. Contrary to the apprehensions at first entertained, Mr. Kelso is considered to be in a fair way of recovery.

### BENGAL

#### *Occurrences for May.*

MAY 3d.—Some evenings ago, the rev. Dr. Ward and his family, on their passage down the river from Cawnpore, when opposite Neyserai, were overtaken by a severe squall from the N. E. by which the boat was capsized, and himself, Dr. Ward

escaped with the utmost difficulty. The approach of the squall was observed, but it set in so suddenly, that before the manjee could gain the shelter of the opposite bank, the boat was upset. Dr. Ward was thrown overboard, but by swimming he was fortunately enabled to reach the rudder, by which he held fast, till boats came off to their assistance, and carried the party on shore. Mrs. Ward, it is understood, was much bruised by the rolling of the trunks and baggage in the cabin.

Having reached the shore, they experienced the most kind and hospitable reception from the natives of the village of Neyserai.

MAY 4th.—It is proper to state, that the ground and forts surrendered by the rajah of Lahore, were never intended to be occupied by the British troops. They had been usurped by their late possessor, and are now re-possessed by their rightful owners, without having been retained for a moment by our troops. The station, now occupied by the British detachment, under colonel Ochierlony, was not in the occupation of the rajah of Lahore.

General St. Leger's army broke ground on the 4th ultimo. They halted on the 5th, and have since continued their march towards their respective cantonments.

His Majesty's 24th dragoons, and 17th regiment of infantry, march towards Muttra and Secundra.

His majesty's 6th light dragoons, were ordered from Koondoh Ghaut, on the 1st ult. to Saharunpore, where they halted two days, and received orders to march to Cawnpore. On the 15th they reached Meerut; where the officers of the regiment were entertained at head-quarters.

The following is a view of the disposition of the corps lately in the field.

H. M. 8th dragoons,	Cawnpore,
H. M. 24th ditto,	Secundra,
Horse artillery,	Nomulah,
Fifth cavalry,	Saharunpore,
Sixth ditto,	Meerut,
Eighth ditto,	Muttra,
H. M. 17th infantry,	Ditto.

The 2d light battalion, ditto, commanded by lieutenant-colonel



pel-Hardymen, were to be disbanded, and the companies to march to the stations of their respective corps, on their arrival at Delhi, about the 25th ultimo.

MAY 5.—On Sunday last, about half past 11 o'clock in the forenoon, a Badgerow set out from the shore, opposite the Mint, intending to cross the river, but the boat had got only a few yards from the shore, when she ran against one of the mooring buoys, and instantly overset. The bore was still running, and being aided by a strong southerly wind, the boat quickly drifted up the river, with the bottom uppermost, till she came opposite the premises of Messrs. Harvey, Weatherall, and Co. where she brought up, across the stern moorings of the ship. Providence, captain Hugh Reed. It fortunately happened, that captain Reed was, at that moment, standing on the shore, a spectator of the passing event. He stepped into a dingy, and hurried off to give what assistance he could. Reaching the stern of his ship, he was surprized to find a man float up to the surface, from beneath the boat—the chief and second officers, gunners, and some other from the ship, had, by this time, got down by the stern, and laid hold of the man, who had just floated up. As soon as he had recovered his breath, and could speak, he gave notice that two ladies, and three or four servants were still below, in the Budgerow; upon which captain Reed and his officers instantly broke in the venetians of the boat, and the gunner thrust himself through the window, as far as he could reach, when one of the servants got hold of his legs and was drawn out. The gunner made a second attempt, in the same manner, but could discover nothing in the cabin, though his feet took a considerable range under water. He then, at the hazard of his life, dived, and entered through a window into the cabin, where he soon found one of the ladies, and brought her out. He again went down, and entered in the same manner; and after remaining such a length of time, that the bye-standers began to despair of his return, he appeared with the second lady, and brought her safely to the surface. The delay in his

return, arose from the lady having clung so firmly to one of the staunchions, in the cabin, that it required his utmost exertion, and some time, to effect her disengagement. The whole of the servants had been got out in the interval. Two gentlemen, who were on board the Budgerow, at the time she overset, had contrived to find their way out of the boat, and were picked up, without having sustained any material injury; and the Manjee and Dandies had made their way to the shore. Nothing, perhaps, but the circumstance of the boat having thwarted against the moorings of the Providence, with the prompt and decisive exertions by the officers of that ship, in their favour, could have rescued either the ladies, or the servants, from death; captain Reed, and his officer, deserve every praise, for their zeal and alacrity; and they must feel a lively satisfaction, in having been thus made, in the hands of Divine Providence, the immediate instruments of preserving several of their fellow-creatures from an untimely death. Mr. Peter Johnson, the gunner, who volunteered his services, at such imminent hazard of his life, is entitled to particular acknowledgment.

MAY 8th.—The vice-admiralty court, after a few motions, relative to cases then pending, proceeded to the causes of "the King against the ship, Thetis.

The pleadings being closed, Sir Henry Russell proceeded to deliver judgment, in terms nearly to the following effect:

This is a suit, instituted by the commander of a king's ship, to obtain condemnation of a ship, formerly British property, which had been taken by a French cruiser, and carried into the Mauritius—there sold, under a sentence of condemnation, to a Danish subject; afterwards carried, under Danish colours, to Tranquebar—and finally transferred there, on the day of her arrival, to a British subject, the existence of hostilities, between Britain and Denmark, being then known in India. That the ship in question was regularly condemned at the Mauritius, there is sufficiently clear evidence. An attempt, however, has been made, by the counsel for the original British un-



derwriters of the ship, to draw a distinction between her subsequent transfer to a Dane, and the common cases of transference to a neutral, as affecting the right of *postliminium*. In the circumstances, of the transaction at the Isle of France, there are, indeed, very strong grounds of suspicion. But the consequences to which they point, are of so very serious a nature, that I should not think myself warranted, upon those grounds merely, in adopting the inference, which they suggest. But I conceive myself fully warranted in expressing the doubts, which they have raised in my mind, and in warning captain Richardson to abstain from practices, which might lead to an issue, much more serious than any loss of property—from practices, which, if proved against a man, who swears himself to be a British subject, would constitute the crime of a traitor. The question, started by the counsel for the underwriters, is, I believe, new in a court of law; it is not, however, new

my mind; for it presented itself very early in the course of my enquiries into these subjects. From what I have heard, I see no reason to alter the opinion which I originally formed. I think the sale of a prize-ship by one enemy to another, is a transfer equally complete towards divesting the title of the British owner, as a sale to a neutral, because, the word "retaking," according to every interpretation, refers exclusively to the same enemy. It is unnecessary that I should enter at length into the arguments suggested on behalf of the claimants: for my opinion is confined expressly to this—that a recapture can only be made from the enemy who captures. The law, in regard to the restitution of captured property, had been gradually amended in favor of the British owner. Originally, the claim could not be set up, if the ship had been twenty-four hours in possession of the enemy. Then the arrival of the prize in port was made the boundary of the right of *postliminium*: and lastly, her condemnation and sale. But it never before pretended, that after condemnation, a recapture could be made,

and restitution demanded. I am of opinion, therefore, that the *Thetis* is Danish property, and a good prize. With respect to the claim of captain Richardson again, I not only disallow, but reprobate it. It is clear that such purchase, by a man swearing himself a British subject, was illegal and fraudulent. Am I, then, to be called upon to relieve a man from the charges, which he has incurred, in consequence of such a transaction? But, it is said that the captain of the ship was ignorant of all this, and that his claim, therefore, is equally good as if the vessel had been legally purchased. Even supposing that I could believe this (which, considering that the captain of the ship is the brother and confidential agent of the owner, would not be very easy), I could not give him money to pay the crew of a Danish ship. The sale to Richardson, under the circumstances in which it was made, was not only a nullity, but a fraud. I dismiss, therefore, both claims, and adjudge the *Thetis* to the captors.

On an application from the bar, the honorable the commissary further adjudged costs to the captors against captain Richardson, but refused to allow them against the other claimants.

MAY 9.—It is somewhat remarkable that two of the most distinguished native princes of Hindoostan, namely Runjeit Sing and Holkar, have each lost an eye. Some other coincidences, also, distinguish these chieftains. Both are rather under the middle age of life, of bold, enterprising spirit, and possessing great personal bravery. Holkar met with the accident, which deprived him of his eye, in early life. Runjeit Sing, lost his eye by the small pox; a disease which has been remarked to be attended with great fatality in the Punjab.

One advantage, which probably had not been foreseen, has arisen from the late march of the British army to the banks of the Sutledge, namely, the introduction of the practice of vaccination to the Punjab. The Singhs, the Sikhs, and the different people of that country, whose religious prejudices are far less inveterate, than in other parts



of Hindoostan, received the vaccine most gladly, gave every facility to its propagation, and have taken such precautions, as are likely to ensure the continuance, and extension, of this mild disease. From its favourable reception in the Punjab, we may soon expect to hear of its being introduced to Cashmere, and the adjoining countries.

MAY 12th.—The latest accounts from the Cabul embassy came down to the 22d of March. At that date, the event of the war, in Cashmere, was still in suspense, and, consequently, the movements of the court remained also uncertain. The news, of the success of the rebels in Candahar, had been confirmed.

It is stated in the Hindoostan newspapers, that the royal army had arrived in Cashmere, and had taken up a position near to one of the principal forts occupied by the rebels. Both armies, it is added, were ready to engage; but Soojah-ul-Moolk had made some conciliatory proposals to Mohammed Khan, the refractory Soobahdar, and had directed the vizier to refrain, in the mean time from hostilities. Mohammed's answer, at the date of these accounts, had not been received. It is said, from the same source, that many of the inhabitants of the invaded country of Candahar, had deserted their fields, on the approach of the insurgents, and had sought the protection of Ekhwan Khan, a chieftain attached to the interests of the reigning family. The king of Persia, it is added, had declined to interfere, for the present, in the convulsions of Cabul.

MAY 15th.—By late letters, from the West of India, it is said that his highness, the Peishwa, was at Gopurgaum, early in the present month, and proposed to proceed from thence, in the course of the ensuing week, on a visit to the celebrated caves of Ellora, in the Nizam's dominions; after which he would return to his capital. He was attended by colonel Close, and one or two of the other gentlemen attached to the residency. Gopergaum is situated at the distance of about 110 miles from Poonah, and, being the place of his highness's nativity,

is regarded by him with peculiar partiality. Every thing was tranquil in that quarter of India.

MAY 22.—Accounts from Cabul come down to so late a date as the 1st of April, at which period the British embassy still remained with the court, at Peshour; and all the gentlemen attached to it were in the best health.

The operations of the royal army, which marched some time ago against the rebels in Cashmere, had been generally successful; and it was supposed that the war, in that country, would speedily be brought to a conclusion. The Hindoostan newspapers state, that the vizier had defeated Mohammed Khan's party, and possessed himself of the fortress of Baramoollah, situated in the pass, through the mountains, on the great road leading from Cabul to Cashmere. Letters from Peshour, of the 27th of March, add, that the vizier had approached within one march of the enemy's capital. Terms of accommodation had been offered; and little doubt was entertained of ultimate success. The whole Afghan army, sent against Cashmere, is estimated at about 12,000 men.

Some hints thrown out in the Achbars, lately received from the Upper Provinces, would induce a belief, that a secret correspondence was suspected between the commander of the king's troops, and the rebellious soobahdar, and that, in consequence, the former officer was about to be removed. Direct advices, however, give no countenance whatever to any such suggestion.

The rebels in Candahar had made little further progress, since the date of former accounts. It was supposed that, as soon as the Cashmerian army should return, the king would proceed with them in person to his western dominions; when the embassy would, in all likelihood, have an opportunity of visiting Cabul. If nothing untoward occurred, it was hoped that their departure would not be delayed beyond the beginning of May. On this head, however, every thing was uncertain.

The governor of Jelaulabad, a place



of strength and importance, commanding the road from Peshour to Cabul; had, according to these advices, betrayed marks of disaffection; and it was even apprehended that he might impede the progress of the court towards that capital.

The late letters, from the embassy, complain grievously of the extreme dullness and uniformity of their life at Reshour, and of the increasing heat of the weather. On the Kohat hills, and the mountains to the south and west, the snow had entirely disappeared; but the distant ridges to the north still wore their white livery, as in the midst of winter. "In the vallies," says a letter of the 17th of March, "the country is assuming a more pleasing aspect: the mulberry-trees, planes, and willows, are getting their summer coats; every village is an arbour; the corn, which had been cut down, is springing up anew, and much of the barley is in ear.

On the 27th of March, Mr. Elphinstone, and the gentlemen of his suite, were entertained by Mollah Jafur, (the first mehmaun-iar, who received them on the road to Peshour) at a breakfast and tiffin, in the garden of Zimoor Shah.

MAY 30.—The Cabul embassy is now understood to be on its return from Peshour to the British territories, after the complete attainment of all the objects of its mission. Considerable apprehensions, however, are entertained concerning the fate of the present Afghan monarch, Suja-ul-Mulk, whose competitor, Mahmud, was, by the last accounts, advancing from Candahar, of which he had gained possession, against the capital, Cabul, with a force which is understood to be vastly superior to any that the present monarch can muster to oppose it, even if joined by the army of Cashmere, which is also suspected to be in a state of disaffection.

It may be proper here to remark, for the information of a part of our readers, that Mahmud, the competitor of the present monarch, is the son of Timur Shah, and half-brother to the present monarch, Suja-ul-Mulk. Their

father, Timur Shah, died after a reign of nineteen years, leaving nineteen sons. To the eldest, Humaioon, he gave the sovereignty of Herat and Candahar; to his favorite, Zemaun Shah, half-brother of Humaioon, he gave the sovereignty of Cabul, and the rest of his Afghan possessions, as well as Cashmere and Multan. Now the rebel Mahmud is the full brother of Humaioon, king of Herat, who was dethroned by his brother, Zemaun Shah, and deprived of his sight. On the overthrow of Humaioon, Mahmud assumed the government of Herat, and after defeating Zemaun Shah, took him prisoner, and blinded him in his turn. The present monarch, Suja-ul-Mulk, the full brother of Zemaun Shah, and half-brother of Mahmud and Humaioon, not only recovered Cabul from Mahmud, but also expelled him from his own kingdom of Herat and Candahar. Of this latter he has again contrived to regain possession, and is hastening to Cabul; to contest with his opponent the sovereignty of all the Afghan dominions.

Zemaun Shah, whose name was so celebrated, both in Hindoostan and in Europe, about nine or ten years ago, and whose forces the British army, then under sir James Craig, endeavoured to bring to battle, is now living at Peshour, in close confinement, and deprived of his eyes, through the cruelty of his half-brother, by whom he was deposed, some years ago, as above stated.

The honourable Mr. Elphinstone returns, from Cabul to Calcutta, previously to his proceeding to Nagpore.

MAY 31.—The news of the defeat of the royal army in Cashmere, by the forces of the rebellious soobahdar, Attah Mohammed Khan, was brought to Jaypore, by a messenger from the court, early in the present month. They had been discomfited, it is said, in several successive actions; and, in the end, had been completely routed, and driven behind the boundaries of the province. They were pursued by Mohammed Azeem, the commander of the soobahdar's army, to



within four miles of Mozufferabad, a city on the road to Attock, situated nearly half way between Cashmere and the Indus. There, it is said, the scattered remains of the padshah's forces had, at length, taken refuge, and their pursuers, arrested in their progress, had fallen back again towards their own frontier. In the course of these engagements, Mohammed Houssein Khan, one of the principal sirdars of Suja-ul-Mulk, had fallen; and two others, Rahim Khan Dooranee and Molaun Akreem, being taken alive on the second day, had been immediately put to death by the enemy.

On the 4th of May, a person is said to have arrived at Umrut-Sir from Peshour, bearing a letter to a merchant of the former city, which stated, that Mahmud Shah, the new pretender to the throne, had arrived at Cabul from Candahar. He was accompanied by his sons and by Futteh Khan, and supported by a considerable armed force. He had already, it is added, obtained possession of the Balahissor at Cabul, a castle of some strength, where the younger princes of the royal blood are usually confined. Goolistan Khan, the representative of the reigning sovereign in that quarter, according to some accounts, had fled to the mountains; but, according to others of a more recent date, had taken post in the principal fort adjoining to the capital, within which the royal palace is situated, and had prepared to defend it against the assault of the besieging army.

The two rebellious chieftains above-mentioned (Mahmud Shah and Attah Mohammed Khan) are represented, by late letters from the upper provinces, as having entered into a correspondence with each other, and formed a common plan for the subversion of the throne. In the event of Mahmud's success, his coadjutor was to retain, by stipulation, the sovereignty of Cashmere.

So quick a series of disastrous events had, as might be expected, excited no little disquiet and dismay at the court of Peshour. Sujah-ul-Mulk found himself left there almost alone, with an exhausted treasury, and a force too inconsiderable even for the defence of his

person, and totally unequal to oppose the formidable armies of his rivals. On the first receipt of the news from Cashmere, he appears to have formed the resolution of marching thither in person immediately, with all the troops at his command;—and the small force, which he had assembled against the rebels in the west, is accordingly said to have taken, forthwith, the road to Attock. The intelligence from Cabul, however, is supposed to have altered his purpose, or at least to have produced some degree of hesitation and delay. Meanwhile, he had summoned all his sirdars and dependants to attend him, with what forces they could muster. Akreem Khan, the prime minister, is said to have set out for Cabul.

#### *British Envoy at Lahore.*

A definitive treaty of friendship and alliance has been concluded with Rajah Runjeit Sing, by Mr. Metcalf, the British envoy, at Lahore, under an engagement that, within two months from the period of signature, a copy ratified by the supreme government shall be delivered to the Seik chieftain.

The ultimate object of Mr. Metcalf's mission being thus accomplished, he took his departure from Umrut-Sir, about the 3d current, on his return to Dehlee. Two days previous to his departure, he received a visit of state from Runjeit Sing, which he returned on the following day. He passed the whole of the 2d at the palace, and took leave of his highness on the following morning. The presents interchanged, on these occasions, consisted, on either side, of an elephant, a horse, a quantity of pearls, some pieces of raiment, and other articles of inferior value. Khelaats were, also, distributed among the attendants of the rajah, and of the British envoy.

#### BENGAL

#### *Occurrences for June.*

*To N. B. Edmonstone, Esq. chief secretary to government.*

SIR,—It is with the most acute and painful emotions of sorrow and



concern, that I acquaint you, for the information of the right honourable the governor-general in council, of the loss of the H. C. ship, Asia, late under my command, on the Gillingham Sand.

On Thursday, the 1st instant, about half past nine, A. M. when nearly abreast of Mud Point, standing up under the topsails, with a fine moderate breeze from the southward; and the pilot schooner a-head, waving (as I was informed) four fathoms, the ship suddenly shoaled her water to a half three, when the helm was immediately put to port, and the yards braced up with the larboard braces; the pilot (Mr. Nash,) conceiving there was deeper water to the eastward; but she immediately shoaled to a small quarter three, and, before the head yards could be backed, took the ground. The starboard bower anchor was instantly let go, and in a short time she swung off, and rode to the tide; and the sails were all clewed up and handed.

At a quarter past eleven, after waiting till there was four fathoms along side, we hove short; and while the cable was biting with the intention of kedding in to the eastward, as the pilot informed me, the ship drove, and almost immediately took the ground a second time; the cable was veered away as fast as possible, but to no purpose, as a very strong flood tide had set the ship directly on the sand before the anchor held. The topsails, courses, jibs, and stay-sails were directly set, for the purpose of shooting her to the eastward; and as soon as they were trimmed, the cable was cut; but she had then too strong hold of the ground; and the tide, which before was setting strong out from channel creek, now began to ebb, without the sails having had any effect in altering her position; they were, therefore, clewed up and handed, the top-gallant yards and masts sent down on deck; and the pilot schooner ordered to lay an anchor out a-head. A boat, with an officer, was dispatched to Culpee and Diamond harbour, for the purpose of sending down an anchor boat, and empty sloops and bhurs, to receive the guns, and

what cargo it would be found necessary to discharge, in order to lighten her; and, also, for what men that could be procured from the ships at those places, by which time it was near four o'clock, and as the ship was laying, apparently very easy, and the water in the well had not increased more than two inches from the time it had been founded (at in the morning;) the ship's company were ordered to dinner, as they had not time to breakfast before the ship was got under weigh in the morning, and had not tasted any thing from the day before.

About half past four, while we were all at dinner, three of the beams in the hold, before the main-hatchway, gave way; and the upper deck and gunwale appeared to be rising on the larboard side. The booms and long-boat were then ordered to be got out; the water to be started; and a party, under the third officer, ordered to attend at the pumps. At half-past five, the water in the well, which had been gradually increasing from the time the beams gave way, was now reported to be three feet: a strong party, however, at the pumps, kept it for some time from gaining on us; but the number of men, which were necessary for that purpose, and for sending the booms and long-boat over the side, fully employed every individual of the ship's company, and the few lascars, which were spared, on my application, from the two pilot schooners, (the Hooghly having returned to us immediately after Mr. Humphreys had seen the Walthamstow safe at Diamond harbour,) and it was found impracticable to spare any men to take on board the end of the cable, which was fast to the anchor that the schooner had laid out to the eastward, before the flood had made too strong to effect it.

About eight o'clock the booms were all overboard, and it was then found that four of the iron knees in the main hold had broke, and the ship began to fill very fast. The orlop deck hatches were ordered to be caulked down, and well secured; and every one sent to the pumps, where every



possible exertion was made, by every individual of the ship's company, and the greatest order and cheerfulness prevailed amongst them to the last. At nine o'clock the water had forced its way through the after hatches, (which had been caulked down,) and in less than half an hour afterwards, it appeared on the gun deck. The people were then ordered up from the pumps, the boats to be lowered, and (the flood having made strong) to prepare to cut away the main mast; which was carried into execution at ten o'clock, the mizen topmast falling with it. The main top mast sticking in the sand, the heel of the lower mast lay over the larboard Gunwale, and the rigging on the quarter-deck and poop. At eleven, the wreck of the mast and the rigging were cleared of the deck; by which time the upper deck was nearly under water; when we assembled; almost every person on the poop, some few remaining on the fore-castle,) with what few articles of clothes that could be secured; and anxiously waited till high water:—the sea occasionally breaking over us, and so high, that the starboard boat, although hoisted up, and the only one then remaining of any service to us, (the long-boat and large cutter having been stove alongside,) was frequently endangered. At half past two, on the morning of the 2d, as soon as the tide broke, the John Bebb, pilot schooner, (attending the ship) sent her boat, in which the sick, the most helpless, and as many others as he could take, were conveyed to that vessel; and, with the assistance of the Hooghly's boat, and the ships, I suppose every person was out of her by half past three; when, after examining every accessible part of the ship, the officers and myself quitted her; and I had the heartfelt satisfaction to find, when I mustered the ship's company, immediately on my getting on board this schooner, that every one was saved from the ship.

I trust, when the circumstances, attending the unfortunate loss of this valuable and excellent ship, are investigated, (which I most respectfully request may be done with as little de-

lay as possible) it will appear, that every exertion to preserve her, and the valuable property on board, which it was possible for men to use, circumstanced as we were, was made, by every officer and individual belonging to and on board her; and of their uniform, steady, sober, and orderly conduct at all times, and on this trying and melancholy occasion in particular, I cannot sufficiently express my approbation and thanks.

The officers and men are distributed on board this vessel and a sloop, which was proceeding to Hidgellee, on government service, for salt; which I have detained for the purpose of taking such articles of clothes and stores, as can be saved from the gun and upper-decks, which we have been hitherto employed about, when the tide would permit boats to lay alongside the wreck: but I am sorry to add, that one man, yesterday, contrived to get so intoxicated (the only instance which has occurred of that kind) that neither persuasion nor threats could prevail on him to quit the ship, on the flood making; but he was observed, about half flood, to get on one of the rafts, which had been made the night before, and cut it adrift; and I hope he will land in safety.

The ship was completely covered at high water yesterday, and I much fear there is no possibility of recovering any part of the valuable cargo, stores, and private property, below the gun deck; which has been half full at low water every tide since we left her. I, however, purpose remaining here till every thing is secured, that can be saved; and I respectfully request that the right hon. the governor-general in council will be pleased to order, (and also arrange with the captains of his majesty's navy,) that the Asia's crew may be distributed among the honourable company's ships now in the river? and that his lordship in council will further be pleased to allot a house, or quarters of some kind, for the principal and warrant officers.

I cannot conclude this letter without mentioning the great assistance, which captain Marshall, lieutenant



Stock, and ensign Pool, of the Madras establishment, Cornet Thorne, of his majesty's 25th regiment of dragoons, and Mr. William Gordon, of Madras, passengers, have afforded, in working the ship up the river, and in their subsequent endeavours to save every thing from the wreck, which they could. I must not fail to acknowledge the ready assistance, which captain Jones, of the honourable company's ship, *Walthamstow*, sent to us immediately his ship was placed in safety at Diamond Harbour: and I also beg leave to express my entire approbation of the conduct and exertions of Mr. Adair, his second officer, commanding the party, and the officers under him. To Mr. Humphreys, of the *Houghly* schooner, I am much obliged for the zeal and inclination he has shewn to render every assistance in his power; and for the attention, kindness, and hospitality, with which myself, officers, passengers, and ship's company, have been received and treated by Mr. Nash, I feel myself very much indebted and extremely grateful.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. P. TREMENHERE.

*The John Bebb, pilot schooner,  
off Channel Creek, June 3, 1809.*

A court of enquiry assembled at the office of the marine board, on the 12th instant, for the purpose of investigating the circumstances of the above case.

After a full investigation of the case, the court reported as their opinion, "That captain Tremenhère, his officers, and ship's company, used every possible exertion to save the ship, both before and after she finally took the ground, and that no blame whatever is imputable to captain Tremenhère, his officers, or his ship's company. They have been, therefore, honourably acquitted by the court."

The right honourable the governor in council, having been pleased to appoint, captain Tremenhère to the frigate, lately built at Penang, by order of the honourable company, captain Tremenhère was yesterday introduced into the command, and, with

his officers, and ship's company, will proceed to that island in the *Venus*, expected to sail in a few days.

JUNE 7.—The honourable company's ship, *Asia*, is totally lost on the sand-bank, between Kedgeres and Diamond Harbour, upon which she struck on the first current, in her passage up the *Houghly*. Fortunately, no lives have been lost by this accident. A small part of the ship's stores have been saved; but the stormy weather, which prevailed the latter end of last week, defeated the exertions that were made to recover a part of her cargo from the wreck, which, it is now supposed, must be entirely lost. The cargo of the *Asia* consisted chiefly of English woollens, belonging to the honourable company, a number of bales of coast piece-goods, some remaining parts of the private investments of the captain and officers, and a considerable quantity of Madeira wine.

The *Asia* is the first instance of the loss of any of the company's ships by getting aground in the river *Houghly*, for the last twenty-two years. The *Hinchinbrooke* was lost off the *Baraboola* sand, in 1787, since which time, till the wreck of the *Asia*, a similar accident has not happened.

It having been resolved some time since, by government, that Meerat shall be one of the principal military stations under the presidency of Fort William, arrangements to that effect have been directed accordingly; and major-general Fuller proceeds to take the command of that station.

Aetocke, the princess of New Zealand, was presented, on Monday morning, at the government-house, to the right honourable the governor-general. She was introduced by Commodore Hayes, and was most courteously received. The princess appeared slightly embarrassed at the first moment of introduction; but she soon recovered her usual ease and affability of manner. She has made such progress in English that she clearly comprehends



whatever she hears in that language; and gives a distinct, intelligible answer in the same tongue. The dress of the princess had a striking and shewy effect. It was formed of fibbons and other materials, so as to resemble, as nearly as possible, the dresses of fine flaxen mat, and ornamental feathers of the ladies of the highest quality in New Zealand.

After a short audience, the princess took leave of lord Minto, highly gratified with the reception she had experienced.

**BUNDLECORD, June 9.**—A few nights ago, Lutchmun Dowah, late chieftain of Adjyghur, without any prior intimation to any one, betook himself to flight, and has not since been heard of. On the first intimation of the circumstances, the governor-general's agent dispatched an express to Adjyghur, with directions to major Cuppage, commanding that garrison, to secure his (Lutchmun's) family, who lived in the village of Tirawaney, just below the fort. A suitable escort, under an European officer, was accordingly ordered on this duty, and they succeeded in apprehending a few males of the family, whom they sent up to the fort. The father-in-law of Lutchmun alone was left behind: he was deputed to prepare the women for their removal in the fort, and to assure them that they should receive kind treatment, and that their confinement should continue only until Lutchmun should again appear. The old man, however, not returning from the female apartments so soon as it was thought he might, a person was directed to call at the door.—He did so, but receiving no answer, they then proceeded to knock, and all being still silent, they attempted to force the door open. Failing in this also, they had recourse to the expedient of stripping off the tile, by which means a man, at length, got in, and opened the door for the rest of the party. No sooner had they entered, than their eyes were encountered by the horrid spectacle of the whole family of Lutchmun weltering in their blood. The old man had first cut the throats of all the

women, and afterwards his own. The number, I understand, who shared in this catastrophe, amounted, in all, to six or eight women and children. It is worthy of remark, how peaceably they must all have submitted to their fate; for the persons, who stood at the door, anxiously awaiting the return of the old man, never heard the smallest noise from within the apartment. It has been imagined that this deed was perpetrated by the express order of Lutchmun, who suspecting that, on his flight, his family might be placed under restraint, had given directions that they should all be put to death, rather than (according to their ideas) his women should be contaminated by falling into the hands of Europeans.

A young man, a nephew of Lutchmun, who was brought into the fort, has also attempted suicide. The execution of his purpose, however, was fortunately prevented, though not before he had inflicted on himself a severe wound. He, as well as the other few members of this unfortunate family, who were in confinement, has since been released.

Lutchmun Dowah, ever since the surrender of Adjyghur, had resided under the protection of the British government at Bandah, where he received a liberal maintenance, and was only detained until a convenient jagheer could be allotted him, in lieu of his former possessions. The tulwar, with which the deed was accomplished, is supposed to have been concealed within the Zenana for the purpose, by his own orders, as the old man was not armed when he went in; nor was there any possibility of his receiving the weapon from without, except through the door at which he entered, and there the guards, with palankeens for the women, were waiting his return.

A subsequent account adds, that Lutchmun Dowah, late chieftain of Adjyghur, whose family was so barbarously butchered, a short time ago, by the hand of his father-in-law, has arrived, at the presidency. Conceiving himself aggrieved by the measures adopted against him, it appears



that he made his escape from Bandah, with the intention of proceeding hither, and laying his complaint before the supreme government. There is reason to believe that, down to the period of his arrival in Calcutta, he was wholly ignorant of the fatal catastrophe, which his flight from Bundelcund had occasioned.

**JUNE 12.**—This day John Kennedy, an artilleryman in the service of the honourable company, was brought to the bar, to answer an indictment for the wilful murder of a native, named Bassoo, on the 29th of January last, at the village of Russolpore, in the district of Allabad :

The prisoner pleaded "Not Guilty."

Mr. Simpson opened the case for the prosecution, by a re-capitulation of the principal heads of the indictment ; and was followed by the advocate-general.

May it please your lordships, and gentlemen of the jury,—The prisoner at the bar, stands before you on an indictment for murder. He is a matross of artillery, in the service of the company ; and, when the murder was committed, was on duty at Chaundmarch, at no great distance from Allabad. The deceased was an old, infirm man, the inhabitant of a small village in that neighbourhood. It will be proved to you, by witnesses, who were present during the whole transaction, that, on the night of the 29th of January, the prisoner, John Kennedy, came into the village. The hour was late, it was the cold season ; and the villagers were sitting round their fires. The prisoner first entered the house of a man, named Ram Bux, and asked for a chillum. Ram Bux replied, that he would give him a chillum, or any thing that he wanted, but begged of him not to come into the house among his women. Upon this, Kennedy gave him abusive language, and began to beat him. The poor man ran away, and the prisoner, after striking a blow at another man, named Joykissen, who inhabited the adjoining hut, went next to the dwelling of the deceased. There he was first met by a young man, the son of Bas-

soo ; who, seeing an European coming towards him in so violent a manner, took to flight. Kennedy entered the compound, where Bassoo was sitting by the fire ; the poor old man was disabled in his limbs, and could not even attempt to escape ; Kennedy instantly snatched up a bamboo staff, which the deceased used to assist him in walking, struck him with it several times in the most barbarous manner, and then pushed him into the fire. The son, Poorun, (who before had fled,) seeing his father thus assaulted, immediately ran up, with the impulse natural on such an occasion, and laid hold of the assailant. In doing this, he too received a blow from the stick ; but, in the mean time, having called his neighbours to his assistance, three or four others came in, and succeeded in securing the prisoner. Poorun then turned to his father, and found him lying senseless on the floor, with a severe confusion on his head, and the bones of his right leg and arm fractured. Such are the circumstances, which will be stated to you, by the people of the village, who appear as witnesses on the present occasion. It so happened that, about this time, a comrade of the prisoner, named Massey, was passing by the village,—when, hearing an extraordinary noise and uproar, he turned aside to enquire the cause of it, and was informed that an European had nearly killed a man. Massey, thereupon, accompanied his informers to Bassoo's hut ; where (as himself will tell you,) he saw, and immediately recognised the prisoner. He asked him how he came there ? to which Kennedy replied, that he did not know, but that he had done no harm to any one. The people asked Massey what they were to do ; and he very properly directed them to carry the prisoner to the commanding officer of the detachment,—which they accordingly did. The old man, at the same time, was placed on a cot, and carried also to the lines. There he was inspected by Mr. Lewis, a surgeon doing duty with the detachment. Every thing was done for his preservation, which the circumstances of



the case would admit,—but in vain. The man died in the course of the night, and Mr. Lewis will tell you, in the most positive manner, that he has no doubt whatever as to the cause of his death."

These facts being proved in evidence, the prisoner was found guilty.

The Lord Chief Justice then immediately proceeded to pass the following sentence :

John Kennedy;

You stand here, a lamentable and awful instance of the fatal consequences of drunkenness—for I am disposed (humanely, I hope,) to believe, that drunkenness was the cause of your crime. But that crime was *murder*, and murder of the most aggravated description,—committed on an old man,—in a manner the most brutal,—and with a weapon, which one almost trembles to look at. To add to the cruelty of your conduct,—after inflicting his death-wound on this poor man, you pushed him into the fire.—It is impossible, indeed, for words to aggravate the act; or for human laws to pardon it.—It is our duty to remember, that to protect the innocent is an object of at least as much importance to society, as to show mercy to the guilty. The law, therefore, must take its course, and that within a very short time. Forty-eight hours is the utmost term allowed to men convicted of a crime like your's. I hope you will pass that interval in the manner best fitting your situation. Though it is not in human jurisdiction to forgive your offences, you may yet look up for pardon to that Supreme Being, who best knows, whether your former life has been such, as it is described to have been. To that tribunal I commit you.—The sentence of the law is, that you be taken to the place from whence you came, and from thence, on Wednesday next, to the place of execution,—there to be hanged by the neck until you are dead. May the Lord have mercy on your soul !"

The prisoner was a fine-looking young man, apparently about 24 or 25 years of age.

JUNE 13.—The governor-general in council is pleased to direct, that the following extract from the proceedings of his lordship in council, in the political department, under date the 3d instant, shall be published in general orders.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received, with sentiments of extreme regret, the melancholy intelligence of the decease of colonel William Wallace, of his majesty's 80th regiment of foot, lately commanding the subsidiary force of British troops, stationed with his highness the Peishwa. The eminent character, professional abilities, and important services of the late colonel Wallace, have long been considered by the governor-general in council to place him in the rank of those distinguished officers, whose virtues, talents, and exertions, have engaged the respect and esteem of the British governments in India; and the tribute of merited applause, which public justice pays to the memory of colonel Wallace, is necessarily combined with a deep sense of the loss, which his majesty's and the honourable company's services have sustained, in the death of that valuable and lamented officer."

JUNE 14.—Letters from colonel Ochterloney's detachment, at Luddeannah, of the 24th ultimo, represent affairs in Sirhind as completely tranquil. The rajah of Lahore had reduced his troops to nearly the usual peace establishment; and he had himself retired to his capital, where it was understood that he would remain for some months.

Two gentlemen, lately attached to the honourable Mr. Elphinstone's embassy to Peshour, were preparing, at the date of late letters, to embark on one of the streams of the Indus, and to proceed down that river to its embouchure in the gulph of Scind. These gentlemen are probably the first Europeans, since the days of Nearchus, who have navigated on the Attock.

Mr. Elphinstone proposed to remain for some time on the frontier of Runjeit Sing's territory,—probably until



the contest for the sovereignty of Cabul is decided.

Letters from Bundelcund, of the 25th ultimo, notice, that the late extremely hot, dry weather had been succeeded by several plentiful showers of rain, which had rendered the temperature of the atmosphere much more comfortable than before. This early fall of rain is considered as unusual in Bundelcund.

JUNE 16.—Yesterday forenoon, at 11 o'clock, the first stone, in the foundation of a Roman Catholic chapel, was laid at the site, selected for the building, near the cross road at the Boytaconnah. This house of divine worship is intended to be built by Mrs. Grace Elizabeth, at her own private expense, for the service of the Roman Catholics at this presidency, whose present church is considered as insufficient for their due accommodation; and is at so great a distance from the eastern parts, and suburbs of Calcutta, as to render attendance, to persons residing in that quarter, very inconvenient.

JUNE 17.—An affair of honour took place on Wednesday last, near Neelgunge, between two gentlemen of the military profession, attached to stations in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. At the second round, one of the gentlemen shot his antagonist through the heart;—when the latter fell, and instantly expired.

### BENGAL

#### Occurrences for July.

JULY 9.—In consequence of the conclusion of a treaty between Runjeit Sing and the British government, a proclamation has been addressed by the commanding officer of the brigade on duty at Lodeannah, to the neighbouring chieftains, acquainting them with the terms of the said settlement, and the views, on the part of the British government, with which it was framed.

*Copy of a proclamation, issued under the great seal and signature of Nussah and Dowlah, &c. &c. Colonel*

*David Ochterlony, according to the orders of the supreme government of Calcutta; dated on the 6th of May, 1809, corresponding with the 20th of Eubbeeroolawul, of the year 1224 of the Hijeree.*

“It is clearer than the sun, and plainer than yesterday, that the English battalions, now stationed on this side of the Sittledge, have been placed there for the protection of the country, merely from motives of benevolence on the part of the British government, and according to the desire, and at the especial request, of the different sirdars. Now, whereas a treaty was concluded on the 25th day of April, in this same year, between the honourable company on the one part, and Maharajah Runjeit Sing Behauder on the other, through the agency of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe Buhauder, with the view of tranquilizing the minds of the chieftains of Shuhrund and Malwa; the substance of the said treaty is, in conformity with the orders of the supreme government, hereby detailed, in seven articles.

“Article 1. The provinces, subject to the chiefs of Shuhrund and Malwa, having been ceded, by Maharajah Runjeit Sing, to the English company, the said Maharajah, according to the terms of the treaty, has no further authority over the aforesaid chieftains.

“Article 2.—No paishcush or nazeranah is, in future, to be exacted from any of the Sirdars, whose country, as before-mentioned, has come into the possession of the English company.

“Article 3. The independent authority of the respective chiefs of Shuhrund and Malwa, shall be preserved on the same footing, as before the interference of the British government.

“Article 4. Whenever the public interests shall require the English army to march through the territories of the said chieftains, each chief, in his own territory, respectively, is bound to exert himself, for the purpose of obtaining grain, and other necessaries, for the use of the troops.



" Article 5. If the country shall be invaded by any hostile power, loyalty and fidelity require, that all the chiefs, with their respective followers, shall join the English forces, to assist them in repelling the enemy, and shall, moreover, punctually observe the duties of obedience and allegiance.

" Article 6. In case any merchants from the western countries shall bring merchandize for the use of the army, none of the Tannahdars, or collectors of sayer, in the territories afore-mentioned, shall exact from them any duties, but shall permit them to pass, unmolested, through their respective districts.

" Article 7. Whenever any horses may be purchased for the purpose of completing the regiments of cavalry, either in Shuhrund, or elsewhere, the conductors of such horses, on producing passes under the seal of the resident at Delhi, or of the officer commanding the troops at Shuhrund, shall be held exempt from all duties in the territories of the said chieftains."

JULY 11.—Letters from Taheeran, of a late date, state, that the influence, which the French have been so long labouring to establish in the court of Persia, is now entirely extinguished. General Gardanne and his retinue had been removed, by command of the king, to a certain distance from the capital; and, it was understood, would, in a short time, take his departure entirely from the Persian dominions. The dissolute and profligate abuse of the means, which, by their short-lived predominance in the royal councils, were placed at the disposal of the French embassy, is said to have excited universal disgust among the inhabitants of every rank at Taheeran.

JULY 12th.—According to advices received at Bombay, by the Eliza, the Arran, captain Wilson, of this port, in her passage down the gulph, has been stranded, under very unfavourable circumstances, near the island at Karak. When communication was last held with her, she was making water very fast; and strong winds pre-

vailing at the time, little or no hopes of her preservation were entertained, captain Wilson had prevailed, however, on the inhabitants of Karak, by liberal offers of compensation, to assist him in getting out the cargo, consisting of horses, copper, drugs, and treasure, to a very large amount. The whole of the treasure had thus been saved, and it was expected that the entire remainder of the cargo would also be recovered from the wreck. The honourable company's cruiser, Nautilus, which had sailed from Bussorah in company with the Arran, remained by her after she struck, to assist in preserving her cargo and ship's company.

FORT WILLIAM, July 20.—The right Honourable the governor-general in council has received private, but authentic, advices, that orders having been issued by major-general Gowdie, the officer commanding in chief on the coast, to lieutenant-colonel Innes, commanding at Masulipatam, directing the embarkation of one or more detachments of the Madras European regiment on board of his Majesty's ships, for the purpose of serving as marines, the officers of the station were induced to entertain the erroneous supposition, that the object of those orders was, to separate, and finally disperse that regiment,—a design, which the government of fort St. George has formally disavowed; and, under the influence of this misapprehension, declared their resolution to resist the execution of them; that lieutenant-colonel Innes, having manifested a determination to enforce them, the officers of the garrison proceeded to the barracks, and, by personal representation, succeeded in seducing the troops from their duty, and in obtaining from them a promise of support; that major Storey, the next in command, who was then in the cantonments, proceeded to the garrison, and having endeavoured, without success, to induce lieutenant-colonel Innes to depart from the obligation of his public duty, by abandoning his resolution to carry into effect the orders



which he had received, adopted the extreme measure of placing that officer in arrest under the charge of European sentries.

The governor-general in council has deemed it necessary to apprize the army of Bengal of an event so deeply-interesting to the feelings of every loyal subject, and especially of those who have the honour to bear a military commission. The governor-general in council has received, with sentiments of the deepest affliction, the intelligence of the excesses, into which the officers of the station of Masulipatam have thus been gradually led, by the effects of the late prevailing agitation in the army of the coast. He trusts, however, that this unhappy event will afford a serious, but salutary, warning of the danger, to which the combined interest of the public, and the army, must ever be exposed, by the first and slightest departure from the established principles of military discipline on the one hand, and on the other, of a just subordination to the laws of their country, and to the legitimate authority of the state.

The occurrence of this afflicting event, combined with the agitation, which unhappily prevails among the officers of the army of fort St. George, renders it the duty of the governor-general to proceed, without delay, to that presidency, in the hope of being enabled successfully to appeal to those sentiments of loyalty and attachment to their king and their country, which his lordship in council yet confidently ascribes to the general body of the officers of the coast army, whose zeal, fidelity, and professional achievements, have, hitherto, been the theme of just and unqualified applause, and, by an accurate knowledge of all circumstances, which have attended the late agitation, to devise such means as may best tend to avert the impending dangers of anarchy and insubordination, and re-establish the foundations of public security and national prosperity in this important branch of the British empire.

N. B. EDMONSTONE,  
Chief Sec. to the Govt.

## BENGAL *Occurrences for August.*

CALCUTTA, August 5. — Captain Greig, commander of the ship, *Lord Minto*, has reached town, with accounts of the safe return to this river of that vessel from Timor; she touched at Malacca, and sailed from thence on the 10th ultimo.

It will be recollected, that the *Minto* conveyed from hence a valuable present of cannon and ammunition from this government for the Sultaun of Timor;—during the absence of the *Minto* from that island, the inhabitants had held out bravely against the repeated attacks of the Dutch; but were reduced to the greatest extremity of distress at the time the *Lord Minto* arrived with the very welcome supplies above-mentioned.

The *Minto* has brought here from Malacca, to be tried for piracy, an English seaman, and several natives, charged with running away with a small vessel belonging to Malacca, which was seized by two Malay prows, and by these delivered up to the *Lord Minto*.

General orders, by the commander-in-chief in India. Head-quarters, Meerut cantonment, 8th of August, 1809.

The commander-in-chief has received, with no less concern than surprise, the information of an event, communicated in the general orders by the right honourable the governor-general in council, under date the 20th ultimo. The channel, prescribed for the more speedy circulation of general orders by government, during the absence of the commander-in-chief from the presidency, precluded his excellency from expressing, at the same time, the participation he sincerely feels in the sentiments of affliction, with which his lordship in council was impressed on the occasion.

In this delay, however, the commander-in-chief has nothing to regret, being most perfectly satisfied that any observations by him, in reference to such events, could only be an anticipa-



tion of those sentiments of unfeigned sorrow, with which the officers of this army will contemplate the conduct alluded to, convinced, as his excellency is, that it must be equally deprecated and deplored by all.

The proceeding stated to have taken place at Masulipatam, as it surpasses all example, so is it beyond all comment. The commander-in-chief, nevertheless, feels confident hopes and reliance, that the misguided opinions, and erroneous feelings of an unguarded moment, have long since yielded to a returning sense of patriotic feeling and public duty, and have ere now been superseded by principles of just and honourable conduct, consistent with that character of loyalty, discipline, and professional fidelity, which has, hitherto, so eminently distinguished the officers of the establishment of fort St. George.

AUGUST 9.—This morning, a numerous and respectable company assembled at the government-house to breakfast, on the occasion of the departure of the right honourable the governor-general for Madras.—Breakfast being over, his lordship, about six o'clock, accompanied by the honourable Sir Henry Russell, chief justice, the honourable the members of council, major-general Sir Ewen Bailie, with the principal officers, civil and military, who were present, proceeded to Chandpaul Ghaut. The street was lined by a detachment from the body guard, by the corps of Calcutta Native militia, by his majesty's 14th regiment, and by the artillery; in all 1800 men under arms.

On arriving at Chandpaul Ghaut, his lordship was received by commodore Hayes, and immediately embarked on one of the accommodation boats, and went on board the *Phoenix*. A salute of nineteen guns was fired from the fort, on his lordship's leaving the Ghaut; the different vessels of marine, with manned yards, gave three cheers.

In the afternoon, the honourable J. Lumsden took his place at the supreme board, as vice-president in council, and deputy-governor of Fort William, under a salute of seventeen guns.

AUGUST 16.—During the last seven or eight days, Calcutta, and the neighbouring country, has been deluged with rain. The river Hooghly rose upwards of a foot higher than in any of the spring tides last year.

*To lieutenant-colonel Gillespie, his majesty's 8th light dragoons, King's royal Irish.*

SIR,—We, the non-commissioned officers and private men of his majesty's 8th light dragoons, cannot take leave of an officer, so justly and eminently distinguished, so highly endeared to the whole corps, by his public and private virtues, without acknowledging the farewell, which was transmitted to us.

Uncertain if our request may meet your concurrence, yet, relying on that condescension which has ever distinguished you, we beg your acceptance of a sword, valued at two hundred pounds sterling, as a small testimony of the sense which the whole corps entertain of your goodness.

Be assured, Sir, that whenever your services may be required, you will be attended by the most earnest wishes of the royal Irish dragoons for your welfare, and by their prayers that you will return to them.

We are well aware, that under the command by colonel Wood, (who for some years past has commanded the corps, to the perfect satisfaction of every individual), we can have nothing but your absence to regret—under him the 8th dragoons have ever felt the highest happiness; yet, as duties of a higher station may shortly call him from us, what a satisfactory consideration would it be that his command would be succeeded by that of lieutenant-colonel Gillespie.

Accept, Sir, these, the effusions of grateful, though not polished, minds. We acknowledge our presumption in addressing one so highly our superior; yet your goodness induces us to hope we shall be excused.

(Signed) K. Delany, serjeant-major; W. Cockburne, serjeant; George Askworth, do.; T. Draper, do.; J.



Rosse, do.; M. Wrenn, do.; J. Anderson, do.; R. Tudd, do.; A. Melone, do.; T. Hopkins, corporal; W. Nelson, do.; G. Allaly, do.; W. Kerney, do.; James Whitehead, do.; J. Maudsly, do.; J. McDonald, do.; J. Hamilton, do.; A. Wilson, private; J. Rogers, do.; J. Kirkham, do.; J. Rickaby, do.; J. Dutton, do.; J. Royden, do.; Charles Mooney, T. M'Adams.

*Cawnpore, 19th August, 1890.*

*To the non-commissioned officers and privates of his majesty's 8th light dragoons, (King's royal Irish).*

I have received, brother soldiers, your address with sentiments of satisfaction that are not easily described. If I were formerly a soldier, proud of his profession, and conscious of having always acted uprightly in the exercise of its duties, I now feel amply repaid in having gained the good opinion of so numerous and respectable a corps as his majesty's royal Irish, or 8th light dragoons.

Accept then, comrades, my grateful thanks for the good wishes you express; and as it appears, we are about to be separated, I have to lament that I may not be with you, when your services are required. A day, whenever it arrives, I prognosticate, will cover you with glory. I know the exertions you are capable of, and that they are such as will do honour to yourselves, and gain the approbation of your glorious king and country.

The sword you offer is a tribute of too great value,—let it be less so,—and without any ornament, but an inscription “the gift of the royal Irish,” (which will make it more valuable to me, than were it covered with gold). I shall receive it with gratitude; and, when I draw it in defence of my country, I shall remember you.

Once more, comrades, I bid you farewell, and I do it now with a less heavy heart, as I am conscious I leave you under the command of an officer, who knows how to appreciate your

worth, and do justice to your merits.—  
Adieu!

R. R. GILLESPIE,  
Lt. Col. 8th Lt. Dr. (K. R. I.)  
*Cawnpore, 20th Aug. 1890.*

Letter addressed to his royal highness the late commander-in-chief, by the officers of his majesty's 8th light dragoons, on the occasion of lieutenant-colonel Gillespie's being removed from that corps.

*To his royal highness Frederick, duke of York, commander-in-chief, &c.*

SIR,—We, the officers of his majesty's 8th (or King's royal Irish) light dragoons, impressed with sentiments of the most dutiful respect, beg leave to approach your Royal Highness, to express the general and sincere regret with which we contemplate the loss we are about to experience in the removal of lieutenant-colonel Gillespie to another regiment.

We cannot help indulging the persuasion, that your Royal Highness will enter into our feelings on this occasion, when we assure you, that his acknowledged military reputation, joined to his highly-polished and liberal manners, since we have been placed under his command, have so endeared him to the regt. that sensations of the most lively concern have been excited in all ranks by his approaching separation from it.—To an attachment thus founded on motives alike honourable, we trust, to both parties, your royal highness, we presume to hope, will not refuse the sanction of your approbation; and we beg leave to add, that if, at any future opportunity, which may appear to your royal highness favourable for the purpose, it shall please you to restore lieutenant-colonel Gillespie to the wishes of the 8th dragoons, it would be an exercise of your royal highness's authority which, we are authorised to say, would be highly gratifying to his feelings, individually, as well as to those of the regiment. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, your royal highness's  
most respectful, and  
devoted humble servants,  
(Signed) H. Westerna, major,—W.



Masters, captain,—G. R. Deare, captain,—J. Canning, captain,—N. Bruton, captain,—W. Locker, captain,—H. W. Slade, captain,—G. W. Walker, captain,—J. G. Baumgardt, lieutenant,—A. Dickson, lieutenant,—J. Williams, lieutenant,—Y. Johnson, lieutenant,—S. T. Edwards, lieutenant,—T. D. Burrows, lieutenant,—A. Van Cortland, lieutenant,—A. Creagh, lieutenant,—T. Paterson, lieutenant,—S. M. Andrews, lieutenant,—T. Brett, lieutenant,—T. Price, lieutenant,—J. Mayer, lieutenant,—J. R. Taylor, lieutenant,—H. Hayman, lieutenant,—J. D. Fearon, cornet,—J. S. Darby, paymaster,—William Bean, surgeon,—J. F. Smet, assistant-surgeon,—G. M. Callow, assistant-surgeon.

*August 22.—G. O. by the honourable the vice-president in council.*

The honourable the vice-president in council has been furnished with copies of the letters, addressed to his excellency the commander-in-chief by the officers of the several corps quartered at Muttra, Kurnaul, and Agra, and to the general officer commanding at Chunar, by the officers of the different corps quartered in the province of Benares, expressive of their loyalty and attachment to their king and country; of their allegiance to the government established by the constitution in this country; and of their entire disapprobation of the spirit of sedition and revolt, by which a part of the army, of the presidency at Fort St. George, is at present actuated. The vice-president in council has received these declarations of the sentiments of the officers of the army of Bengal, on this interesting occasion, with peculiar gratification, and he considers it an act of justice to declare, in the most public manner, the confidence, which the government has uniformly reposed in the unshaken zeal and loyalty of the officers of this army, and its firm persuasion that no circumstance can ever induce them to swerve from their public duty.

The vice-president in council has

received private, but authentic, information that the same honourable sentiments are entertained by the officers of all the other military stations, under the presidency of Fort-William.

G. DOWDESWELL,  
Acting chief sec. to govt.

## BENGAL

### Occurrences for September.

SEPTEMBER 5.—The latest ukhars, contain no intelligence on the subject of the politics of Cabul. Private advices, however, of a late date, fully confirm the statement which we formerly published, of the discomfiture of Soojah-ul-Moolk's army, and the flight of his family towards the Punjab. According to the most recent accounts, the unfortunate king had not (as was at first given out) taken shelter among the mountains, but had directed his course towards Candahar, where he had still hopes of raising a party in his favour. He had been deserted, however, by most of his chieftains of influence and authority; and his fortunes altogether were considered as in a very desperate condition. Zemaun Shah, with the haram, remained at Rawul Hindée, under the protection of a Seik chieftain.

Various communications have been received relative to the progress of Mr. Elphinstone's embassy, on their return to the company's provinces. The latest is dated on the 9th of August, within one march of the banks of the Rauvce.—The gentlemen of the party were in the best health and spirits; and the proportion of sick, among the sepoys of the escort and the camp followers, was very inconsiderable. They expected to cross the Rauvce on the following day, and would proceed thence, by the route of Umrutsir, to Loodfaunah, which place they hoped to reach by the 1st of September. They might be expected, therefore, at Delhee early in October. So far their marches had been easy and pleasant, much beyond expectation. And,



notwithstanding the advanced period of the seasons, the badness of the roads, the inundation of the country, and the breadth and rapidity of the rivers, they had experienced no very material obstruction or delay.

With the exception of an affray, which took place on the 19th of July, at a pass near the river Thylum, they had met with no molestation from the people of the country, who, on the contrary, received and treated them, in general, with great civility. Mr. Elphinstone was attended by a vakeel on the part of Runjeit Sing, whose son was expected to meet the embassy on their arrival at Umruksir.

Some letters mention an unpleasant accident which had befallen Mr. Alexander, (one of the assistants to the embassy,) and which had nearly been attended with most fatal consequences. On the 13th of July, while swimming his horse across the Koosak river, Mr. Alexander inadvertently tightened the curb, on which the animal made an attempt to rear, and then immediately sunk; the rider with great difficulty disentangled himself, and supported himself by swimming, until, with the assistance of some natives who came out to meet him, he gained the opposite shore. The horse floated again, and was also saved.

To lieutenant-colonel H. Worsley,  
adjutant-general.

SEPTEMBER 19.

SIR,—On the 27th inst. I had the honour of reporting, that the detachment had then arrived, and taken up its position before the town of Bhownaie, at no greater distance than 1400 yards from the centre of the first line.

Yesterday I also reported to you express of the important acquisition of the town of Bhownaie, which was carried by assault about two, P. M. Every preparation had been made the preceding evening, and a battery constructed, during the night, of two 18-pounders, two 12-pounders, two howitzers, with a trench for 600 men, flanked by two howitzers, and two 6-pounders. The battery opened be-

fore sun-rise, and two very practicable breaches were made about noon.

The attacking columns were composed as follows:—the two right columns commanded by lieutenant-colonel J. M'Grath, of the grenadiers of the 1st batt. of the 9th, 1st battalion 10th, and 1st battalion 22d, with the light companies of those corps, and the 1st batt. 9th regt.

The two left columns commanded by major Smith, consisting of four companies of grenadiers, viz. 2d batt. 18th, 2d batt. 23d, with the light companies of those corps; the light company of the 2d batt. 24th, and the 2d battalion 18th regt. Total strength of the storming party 1820 rank and file.

The columns advanced, in high order, about half-past 12 o'clock, and just as they were clear of the batteries, the attack commenced very smartly, but such was the determined and desperate resistance opposed by the rebels, that it was not without great loss on our part they were driven from their intrenchments.

I calculate upon at least 4500 fighting men, and I think it may be fairly assumed, that their loss could not be less than one third of their number: about two, P. M. our troops were in complete possession of the place, and the whole of the storming party remained there for the night; and in the morning early, the remaining troops in camp changed ground close to Bhownaie.

In further explanation of the attack, I inclose a very correct sketch of it, with a copy of the orders issued by me on the glorious issue of the contest. I also inclose a return of the killed and wounded in the attack; and though I sincerely lament the loss sustained on our part, the casualties fall very short of what might have been expected, considering the great force of the rebels, who were strongly intrenched, and who fought with the most determined courage and bravery.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. BALL,  
Lieut.-col. commanding.

Camp Bhownaie, Aug. 30, 1809.

Express 5 P. M.



P. S. You have herewith a return of the ammunition expended from the battering guns, &c. &c.

The town is completely abandoned.

(Signed) G. BALL.

EXTRA DETACHMENT ORDERS, BY  
LIEUT.-COLONEL BALL.

*Camp Bhowanie, Aug 30.*

The commanding officer derives the greatest satisfaction in offering his general testimony of approbation and cordial acknowledgment to the officers and troops, yesterday engaged in the successful assault upon the town of Bhowanie, and particularly desires that such may be conveyed to corps and detachments respectively. To lieut.-colonel M'Grath, who had the general command of the attacking columns, and to major Smith, who had the immediate direction of the left column, the steady and very firm manner in which the troops advanced upon the enemy, merits the commanding officer's highest encomiums, and gives every claim to his most particular thanks, so meritoriously due to lieutenant colonel M'Grath, and major Smith, who personally conducted their respective columns.

To captain Mason, in the general command of the artillery, the very able arrangement of that officer's department throughout, but particularly in conducting the duties of the breaching batteries, with the very heavy and well-directed fire that was so rapidly kept up, in covering the advance, and approach of the storming party, to the points of attack, entitles captain Mason to every commendation, and reflects great credit upon the officers and men under his command.

To captain Houston, commanding the 6th cavalry, and the corps of irregular horse, under captain Skinner, the commanding officer feels himself warmly indebted, for the able disposition of their respective corps, in interrupting the retreat of a considerable body of the fugitives, most of whom were destroyed, after a desperate resistance.

To lieutenant Tickell, of engineers, the commanding officer has much pleasure in expressing his entire appro-

bation of the zeal and ability manifested by that officer, in the execution of the duties of his particular line.

To lieutenant Baines, commanding the pioneers, and the officers and men under his command, every praise is most deservedly due for their great exertions, and the commanding officer has much gratification in particularly noticing the intrepid conduct of ensign Ellis, of that corps, which has been circumstantially reported, and redounded highly to the merit of that officer.

The commanding officer has to express himself particularly indebted to the zeal and exertions of his personal staff, captain Keating, and likewise to lieutenant Nicholletts, quarter-master of brigade, and is happy in acknowledging the very great benefit he derived from their valuable services.

Extra batta to be served to the Europeans.

A true copy.

(Signed) M. D. KEATING, M. B.  
*Camp Bhowanie, Aug. 31.*

In consequence of an official report, made by major Smith, of the meritorious exertions of lieutenants Bladock and Armstrong, the officers in command of the pioneers, attached to the left column in the assault of the 29th instant, the commanding officer is most happy in recording this public testimony of his approbation of the gallant conduct of those officers, and shall not fail in his official detail of making a circumstantial report to headquarters.

A true copy.

(Signed) M. D. KEATING, M. B.  
*Camp Bhowanie,*  
B. M. Office, August 31, 1890.

*Return of the killed and wounded of Lieut.-colonel Ball's detachment, at the attack of Bhowanie, on the 29th August, 1890. — Camp Bhowanie, August 30.*

Artillery and Pioneers.—Killed, 1 gun faskar, 2 privates—Wounded, 1 serjeant, 1 havildar, 1 naick, and 9 privates.

6th regt. Native cavalry.—Killed, 1 serjeant.—Wounded, 1 cornet, 1 naick, 3 troopers, and 17 horses.



1st Batt. 9th regt. Native infantry.—Killed, 1 sepoy.—Wounded, 1 captain, 1 naick, and 14 sepoys.

2d Do. 18th ditto, do.—Killed; 3 privates.—Wounded, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 1 subidar, 1 havildar, 4 naicks, 1 drummer, and 22 sepoys.

Grenadiers and light infantry, 1st 22d.—Killed, 1 lieutenant, and 7 sepoys.—Wounded, 1 havildar, 2 naicks, and 15 sepoys.

Grenadiers and light infantry, 2d 23d.—Killed, 2 sepoys.—Wounded, 1 lieutenant, and 8 sepoys.

1st Grenadiers and 1st batt. in. co. 1st 16th and lt. in. 2d, 24th.—Killed, 1 sepoy.—Wounded, 1 ensign, 1 havildar, 1 drummer, and 12 sepoys.

Captain Skinner's corps independent cavalry.—Killed, 2 horses.—Wounded, 10 troopers, and 16 horses.

(Signed) G. BALL,

Lieut.-colonel comg.

Killed. Lieut. Stephen O'Brien, 1st battalion 22d regt. Native infantry.

Wounded. Cornet Byers, 6th cavalry.—Captain Whitehead, 1st battalion 9th regiment.—Lieutenant Buckley, and ensign Macdonald, 2d do. 18th do.—Lieut. Horsburgh, 2d, do. 23d do.—Ensign Playfair, 2d do. 24th do.

(Signed) M. D. KEATING, M. B.

*General orders by the commander-in-chief, Head-quarters, Meerut cantonment, Sept. 2, 1869.*

A detailed report having been this day received from lieutenant-colonel Ball, of the capture of the important town of Bhowanie, by assault, at two P. M. on the 29th of last month, the commander-in-chief hastens to express his high sense of the distinguished judgment, zeal, and ability, manifested by lieutenant-colonel Ball, in the general performance of this service, especially in the final disposition and plan of attack; which, having been most ably executed by the steady gallantry of officers and troops, surmounting every obstacle, and the most desperate resistance on the part of the enemy, fully entitles lieutenant-colonel Ball, and all the officers and troops employed, to the commander-in-chief's most perfect approbation and best

thanks, which his excellency requests lieutenant-colonel Ball will accept; and communicate the same to the several corps and detachments employed against Bhowanie, previous to their separation.

The commander-in-chief perused, with the highest satisfaction, lieutenant-colonel Ball's report of the meritorious conduct of lieutenant-colonel M'Grath, of the 9th, and major Smith, of the 18th Native infantry, who led the columns of attack, of captain Mason, commanding the artillery, captain Houston, commanding the 6th cavalry, captain Skinner, commanding a corps of Hindoostany horse, and of all the officers, and men, of engineers, cavalry, artillery, infantry, and pioneers, engaged in this important and brilliant achievement.

The commander-in-chief earnestly hopes that captain Whitehead, of the 9th Native infantry, lieutenant Buckley, of the 18th, lieutenant Horsburgh, of the 23d, cornet Byers, of the 6th cavalry, ensigns M'Donald and Cragie, of the 18th Native infantry, who were wounded in the assault of Bhowanie, will soon be enabled to resume their duty, whilst his excellency, with regret, records the name of lieutenant Stephen O'Brien, of the 22d Native infantry, now added to the number of those, who have gallantly fallen in the service of their country in Asia.

The commander-in-chief is pleased to direct, that leave of absence be immediately granted to the full proportion authorized for Native troops, in all the corps and detachments appertaining to lieutenant-colonel Ball's command, including also the 6th cavalry, 1st battalion 9th Native infantry, and other details belonging to the post of Khar-naul, which have been employed in Hurrianah, and that the period of furlough, in those corps, be extended until the end of January next.

(Signed) H. WORSLEY,  
Adj.-Gen.

*General orders by the honourable the vice-president in council. Fort William, Sept 19, 1869.*

The vice-president in council has received, with sentiments of the sincerest satisfaction, the official report of the



capture of the strong and important fortified town of Bhowanie, by the detachment under the command of lieutenant-colonel Ball.

In publishing the details of this gallant exploit, the vice-president in council desires to express the high sense which he entertains of the zeal, gallantry, and professional skill, manifested by lieutenant-colonel Ball, in the conduct of the important duty committed to his charge, by his excellency the commander-in-chief, under the authority of government, and of the distinguished perseverance, spirit, and gallantry, of the officers and men under his command, by whose energy and valour a fortress of great strength, and defended with desperate courage by a numerous garrison, fell in the short space of a few hours before the irresistible bravery of the troops.

The vice-president in council deeply laments the loss of lieutenant Stephen O'Brien, of the 1st battalion 22d regt. Native infantry, and of the brave men who have fallen in this arduous and honourable service; and he indulges an earnest hope that captain Whitehead, lieutenants Buckley and Horsburgh, cornet Byers, and ensigns M'Donald and Playfair, and the non-commissioned officers and men who were wounded on this occasion, will soon be restored to the duties of their profession.

The vice-president in council has particular satisfaction in expressing his sense of the meritorious conduct of lieutenant-colonel M'Grath of the 9th, and major Smith of the 18th, who conducted the assault; of captain Mason of the artillery, captain Houston of the 6th Native cavalry, and captain Skinner, commanding the irregular horse; and in repeating his high approbation and applause of the conduct and bravery of the whole of the officers and men of the corps employed on this service.

J. ADAM,

Act. sec. to govt. mil. dept.

SEPT. 20th.—Early in July, according to the Hindoostan newspapers, Dowlut Rao Scindia pitched his camp at Mowza Surrara, a place within 10 coos of the capital. His sirdars, who were

still plundering the territory of Jaypore, and the other Rajpoot countries in the vicinity, had received orders to join him, with their respective forces.

The brother of Bala Rao, it is said, had already set out on his march to wards Ajmere: Narrain Rao (the principal officer in the service of Bapoojee Scindia) had come to Surrara from Sahur, after levying a chout of 18,000 rupees at the latter place; and Bapoojee himself, was shortly expected to follow. Meanwhile, Dowlut Rao had directed Baptiste to march, with his power, in the direction of Kotah,—a state which, since his army last took the field, had remained unmolested. Baptiste, according to the last accounts, was encamped at Mullareea, a place about 60 miles from Jaypore. Scindia was not expected to continue, for any length of time, in his position at Surrara.

The last instalment of the Jaypore tribute still remained unliquidated. Scindia was very urgent and incessant in his demands, which the unfortunate rajah seems to have had no means left of satisfying.

The ukhbars state, that Nawab Meer Khan, the son of Shah Nizam-u-Dheen Ahmud, had lately set out from Scindia's camp, on a political mission to Calcutta. Previous to his departure, he had an audience of Scindia for several hours, and received from him his credentials as vakeel, and letters to the governor-general. He and the persons of his suite were, at the same time, honoured with khelauts from the hand of their sovereign.

Praug Dass, the Spobah of Gwalior, had been employed, for some time, in besieging the fort of Gurreehind, and had written to Scindia, stating that he expected to reduce it in the course of a few days.

Meer Khan, according to late advices, was at Bopatal.

## BENGAL

### Occurrences for October.

OCT. 7. An ingenious young man, an assistant in one of the public offices



the presidency, has lately suggested an improvement in the construction of ordnance for naval service. This improvement is simple, and admits of easy explanation: the gun is formed of three separate cylinders, lying parallel to each other, and closely joined in their whole extent, each with a separate chamber, and separate touch-hole. The gun, or rather the three guns, thus formed, is mounted on its carriage in the usual manner, except that, instead of being placed on trunnions, it rests on a strong projecting ring, which is made to embrace the circumference of the gun, near its point of equipoise; and by a cogged wheel it is rendered easily susceptible of being turned vertically on the carriage, so as to bring either of the touch-holes to any particular position. By a proposed improvement in the carriage, it is believed that this triple gun may be worked with the same facility as any of the guns that are now in common use. The inventor conceives that the gun may be cast, and bored, in one mass of metal; and it is alleged, that a piece of ordnance of this construction, which will carry three six-pounders, will not exceed the weight of metal necessary for one twelve-pounder.

OCT. 11.—This day accounts were received at the Banksball, from Saugor roads and Kedjeree, of the arrival of two inward-bound Portuguese vessels, a frigate and a brig: the *Minerva*, captain Ignacio, and the *Vasco de Gama*, from Rio Janeiro, whence they sailed on the 21st of June. These are the first vessels, under the Portuguese flag, that have entered the port since the translation of the court of Lisbon to the Brazils.

The Portuguese frigate mounts 48 guns. She gave convoy to seven sail of merchantmen for Africa and India.

OCT. 16.—A daring robbery was committed at the house of Naian Noondee, a wealthy salt-merchant, at Sulkia. The thieves, after scaling the outward wall of the compound, proceeded to break open the door of the house; they then set fire to a large open chest, containing the treasure

of the merchant. The whole stores, in specie and jewels, were carried away; and when the house was entered on the following morning, the servant, an old man, was found dead on the floor, with various marks of injury on the body.

OCT. 26.—His excellency the commander-in-chief was sworn in as vice-president in council, and deputy-governor of Fort William, and took his seat accordingly, under the usual salute from the fort.

*Extract from the proceedings of his excellency the vice-president in council, in the political department, under date the 31st of October, 1809, to C. Lushington, esq. acting-secretary to government, secret, political, and foreign department, Fort William.*

SIR,

I am directed by the right honorable the governor-general to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 15th and 16th ultimo, inclosing copies of dispatches, announcing the assault and capture of the fortified town of Bhowanie, by the British detachment under the command of lieutenant-colonel Ball, and containing the details of that brilliant and important achievement; together with copies of the general orders, issued on the occasion.

The governor-general is satisfied of the indispensable necessity of proceeding to the assault of Bhowanie, and derives the highest gratification from the success which has attended it; a success which must be productive of the happiest effects, in the complete establishment of the British authority, and of permanent tranquillity, in the province of Hurrianna.

The just applause bestowed by his excellency the commander-in-chief, and the honorable the vice-president in council, on lieutenant-col. Ball, and the officers and men of the detachment, employed in the execution of this arduous service; leaves to the governor-general only the duty of expressing his entire and cordial concurrence in the sentiments announced by those authorities, in their respective general orders of the 2d and 19th ultimo. The zeal,



judgment, and professional ability displayed by lieutenant colonel Ball, in the dispositions preparatory to the assault; the eminent exertions and gallantry of those officers, whose distinguished merits have claimed the expressions of specific admiration; and the intrepidity and martial spirit which animated the whole body of officers and troops composing the detachment, are deeply impressed on the mind of the governor-general. His lordship considers the success of this assault, rendered doubly arduous by the strength of the place, and the desperate resistance of the enemy, as worthy of being ranked among the number of those brilliant exploits which have added lustre to the British arms, and security to the British interests in this quarter of the globe; and the governor-general desires that his thanks, also, may be communicated, individually and collectively to the gallant officers and troops, by whose power and exertions it had been accomplished.

His lordship unites in the sentiments of regret, expressed by the honorable the vice-president in council, and his excellency the commander-in-chief, at the loss which has been sustained, and at the sufferings of the officers and men, who have been wounded on this occasion; and anxiously hopes that, by their speedy recovery, the latter may again be restored to the exercise of those professional duties which, with distinguished credit to themselves, and advantage to the state, the late memorable siege has called into action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,  
Secretary.

(A true extract.)

(Signed) C. LUSHINGTON,  
Acting-sec. to govt.

Fort St. George, Oct. 10, 1809.

## BENGAL

### Occurrences for November.

Nov. 1.—Letters from Benares, received in the course of this week, state, that a most serious affray took place in that city, about the latter end

of October, between the Hindoos and Mussulmauns, in consequence of the interruption of a Hindoo religious procession by the latter, which caused a scuffle, and the Mussulmauns were beaten off the field of battle, fortunately without the loss of any lives on either side. However, the enraged disciples of Mahomet, in order to be revenged, proceeded to a Hindoo mut, which they levelled to the ground, and sacrificed a calf on its ruins. This daring insult, it appears, could not be borne by the sons of Brahma; they assembled in great numbers, and a second rencontre took place, in which several Mussulmauns were killed; and, shortly after, the commotion became general. The tumult was not appeased until many lives were lost on both sides.

Letters, dated the 24th ultimo, mention that good order and tranquillity were, soon after the above affray, restored by the vigilance and exertions of Mr. Ernst, and other civil officers.

Nov. 4.—Advices from Umrutsir, of the 20th ultimo, give a more favourable picture of the present situation of Sujah-ul-Moolk, the late sovereign of Cabul, than from the apparent failure of all his resources, and the rapid extension of his rival's dominions, could well have been hoped for. That prince had again appeared, in considerable force, in the western plains of Candahar. He had been joined by numerous bodies of Doorannees; and, if the Hindoostan newspapers may be believed, a great proportion of the chieftains, by whose aid and influence Mahmud had been enabled to drive him from the throne, had, with the usual inconstancy of Asiatics, deserted the usurper's standard, and returned to their pristine allegiance.

Of all Mahmud's adherents, only Futeh Khan, and a few others of his most devoted sirdars, now remained with him. But his strength was so much reduced, that even this small band could not be expected to hold together for any length of time, nor to wait the approach of his competitor.

CALCUTTA, NOV. 11.—The Gener



Wellesley, from the eastward, came to her moorings, off Calcutta, yesterday afternoon.

She brings accounts from Manilla and China, which had been received at Penang.

The Chinese had levied an exorbitant impost, amounting to one hundred tales, upon every chest of opium; and seven tale upon each pickle of cotton, imported from Bengal and Madras.

The above is said to have been occasioned by the late differences at China, and in consequence of the failure of one of the principal Hong merchants.

The state of the markets at China, and to the eastward, in general, are represented as being extremely unfavourable.

FORT WILLIAM, Nov. 18.—His excellency the vice-president in council has great satisfaction in publishing the following copy of a dispatch from the right honourable the governor-general, for the information of the army.

By order of the vice-president in council,

G. DOWDESWELL,  
Act. Chief Sec. to Govt.

To the honourable J. Lumsden, Esq.  
vice-president in council.

FORT WILLIAM. — HONOURABLE SIR,—The extreme pressure of public business, incident not only to the immediate object of my visit to this presidency, but also to the preparation of my dispatches to England by the ships which have sailed from this port, has, hitherto, suspended the satisfactory duty of communicating, through the channel of your authority, the sentiments of cordial gratitude and approbation, which have been excited in my mind by the loyal and patriotic addresses and declarations of the king's and company's officers of the establishment of Bengal, founded on the late proceedings of the officers of the company's army on the coast. I now proceed to discharge this grateful obligation of my public duty.

I deem it proper, in the first to enumerate the various ad-

dresses and declarations, of which either copies, or the originals, have been transmitted to me.

—  
*Addresses to his excellency the commander-in-chief.*

From all the corps stationed at Muttra, as follows:—

Colonel Wood, the commanding officer, and station staff at Muttra.

Lieutenant-colonel Stovin, and the officers, of his majesty's 17th regt. of foot.

Major A. Knox, and the officers, of the 2d regiment Native cavalry.

Lieutenant-colonel Frith, and the officers, of the 8th regiment Native cavalry.

Major Richardson, and the officers, of the 2d battalion 14th regiment Native infantry.

Captain Orrock, and the officers, of the 2d battalion 17th regiment Native infantry.

An address from colonel Marshall, and the officers, of the station of Kurnool.

From lieutenant-colonel Browne, and the officers and staff, of the corps of the station of Agra, forming part of the Muttra division of the field army.

From lieutenant-colonel Ball, and officers, at Rewaree, Goorgwan, and Delhi.

From major M'Morine, and officers, of the 1st battalion 10th regt. Native infantry, at Delhi.

From captain Cartwright, and officers, of the 2d battalion 24th regt. Native infantry, and captain Shaw and officers of a detachment of the 2d battalion, 13th regt. at Delhi.

From lieutenant-colonel M'Grath, and officers, of the detachment at Khotuk.

From lieutenant-colonel Mawby, and officers and staff, of his majesty's 53d regt. of foot at Cawnpore.

—  
*Declarations addressed to the Adjutant-general.*

From lieutenant-colonel Gillespie, and officers, of his majesty's 8th regt. light dragoons, at Cawnpore.

From lieutenant-colonel Cunning-



hame, and officers, of the corps, stationed at Lucknow.

From lieutenant-colonel Ochterlony, and officers, stationed at Lundhiana.

*Addresses to major-general St. Leger, viz.*

From lieutenant-colonel Lawtie, and officers, of the 1st battalion 18th regt. at Cawnpore.

From lieutenant-colonel Horsford, and officers, of the artillery, at Cawnpore.

*Addresses to major-general Macdonald, viz.*

From captain Hickman, commanding the 1st batt. 1st regiment Native infantry, at Mirzapore, on the part of himself and the officers of that corps.

Letter to captain Bryant, Brigademajor of the station of Chunar, from lieut.-colonel Williams, commanding the 2d battalion 5th regiment Native infantry, on the part of himself and the officers of that corps.

*Addresses to major-general Clarke, viz.*

From lieut.-colonel Gordon, and officers, of his majesty's 67th regt. of foot, at Dinapore.

From major Weguelin, and officers, of the honourable company's European regiment, at Dinapore.

From lieutenant-colonel Crow, and officers, of the 1st battalion 7th regt. Native infantry, at Dinapore.

From lieutenant-colonel Fergusson, in behalf of himself and officers, of the 2d battalion 7th regt. Native infantry, at Kissengunge.

*Addresses to major-general Palmer.*

From lieutenant-colonel De Castro, commanding the 25th regt. Native infantry, on the part of the corps at Berhampore.

From lieutenant-colonel M'Culloch, on the part of himself and the officers of the 1st batt. 14th regt. at Midnapore.

From major Burton, commanding the 1st battalion 25th regiment, in behalf of himself and officers, at Dacca.

Letter from major Fetherstone, commanding 2d division of the 1st batt.

25th regiment, at Chittagong, to major Burton, inclosed in the foregoing.

*Addresses to the governor-general.*

From major-gen. Macdonald, commanding at the station of Chunar.

From lieutenant-colonel Need, and officers, of his majesty's 24th regiment light dragoons.

From lieutenant-colonel Martindale, and officers, of the station of Kermah in Bundelcand.

3. These addresses and declarations breathe the sentiments of the purest loyalty, and of the most animated attachment to the laws and constitution of our country, a love of social order, and a just conception of the criminality and danger of a departure from the established principles of military subordination.

4. I have received the expression of these loyal and honourable sentiments with the most lively satisfaction.

My personal confidence in the honour and fidelity of the army of England, required no confirmation, and could not be augmented; but my mind is highly gratified by this seasonable manifestation to the world, of that ardent devotion to public duty, and to the service of our country, which seeks for utterance, most of all, in moments of exigency, and furnishes by weight and influence alone, even where active exertion is not required, one of the firmest and most efficient supports of the state.

5. I cannot omit this opportunity of professing, in the most solemn and public manner, the total discredit, with which, at the time of their most industrious circulation, I heard, in common with the public of Calcutta, the calumnious and detestable reports, to which allusion has been made in most of the addresses above enumerated. It would have afforded me much satisfaction to trace these disgraceful fabrications to such a source, as should have subjected the guilty parties to the severest penalties of the law. But in Bengal these scandalous rumours were too general and indefinite to be brought home to individuals concerned in their propagation, and the share, which some of the



committees of the coast army have been too distinctly found to have taken, in deluding their brethren by such deceptions, has been buried in the general oblivion, which now happily covers the whole mass of past errors.

6. The army of Bengal will learn, with sentiments alike of public and fraternal satisfaction, that the officers of the coast army are now actuated by every sentiment which becomes their honourable profession, and have obtained the cordial return of undiminished confidence from their government.

7. This happy aspect of our affairs is the more a subject of gratification and joy to every virtuous bosom, as the noble part, which our sovereign and his empire are now acting on the great theatre of the world, demands the union of all our energies, and as every attempt to divide us is not only a desertion from the glorious labours of our country, but from the cause of the human race itself.

8. It is superfluous to state that I most cordially concur in the sentiments of confidence, respect, and applause, which have been declared to the army of Bengal in the general orders of the 23d of August, published under your authority, and in those assurances of implicit reliance on the fidelity and attachment of the officers of that army, which have been afforded in the replies directed by you to be returned to the addresses communicated to you from the several military stations under the presidency of Fort William.

9. It only remains to request, that the contents of this dispatch may be made known to all the officers who, on this occasion, have so honourably manifested their loyal and patriotic ardour in the various addresses and declarations, which have been communicated to me.

I have the honour to be,  
Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
MINTO.

Fort St. George, October 28, 1809.

To N. B. Edmonstone, Esq. chief secretary to government.

CALCUTTA, — Nov. 22. — Sir, — It is with extreme concern I announce to you,

for the information of the right honourable lord Minto, governor-general in council, that the H. C. ship, *Streatham*, late under my command, was captured on the 31st May last, by *La Caroline*, French frigate, commanded by Monsieur Ferretier, Lieutenant de Vaisseau.

Before I proceed to the detail of this unfortunate affair, it is necessary that I should go back to the 25th of May, the day on which the fleet parted company with H. M. ship *Victor*. The preceding night had been exceedingly dark and squally, attended with much rain, so that captain Stopford's light was seldom visible. At day light, on the 25th the H. C. ships *Streatham*, *Europe*, *Monarch*, lord Keith, and earl Spencer, were all close together, but the *Victor* was not in sight. Knowing we were very near the Nicobar islands, and concluding that captain Stopford had put about during the night; which the badness of the weather had prevented the fleet from observing, at seven in the morning I made the signal for wearing, and stood to the N. W. to enable us to weather the islands, directing a good look out to be kept for the *Victor*—shortly after, two sail were seen in the N. E. at a great distance, and I bore up in the *Streatham*, in hopes of finding the Commodore, but as they continued to stand on to the Southward, without taking any notice of us, I concluded they were two of the country ships, that left Bengal in company with us, bound to the eastward; the weather becoming thick and squally, these ships were soon out of sight. Being the senior officer, I took charge of the fleet, agreeable to my instructions, and made sail close hauled to the N. W. judging that to be the most likely way to rejoin the *Victor*. May the 26th, early in the morning, captain Hawes, of the H. C. extra-ship, *Monarch*, communicated to me, by telegraph, that his leak had increased to a most alarming extent, that the ship now made 26 inches of water per hour, and that he was desirous of making the best of his way to Prince of Wales's island to get it stopt, but did not think it safe, considering the state his ship was in, to proceed alone. I immediately made the signal for com-



manders; captains Gelston and Hawes came on board; captains Campbell and Fleming were prevented attending by illness.

After hearing captain Hawes's statement of the condition his ship was in, Captain Gelston and myself were of opinion, that it was not safe for him to go alone, accordingly, I wrote officially to captain Heming, of the H. C. extra-ship, Earl Spencer, directing him to accompany the *Monarch* to Prince of Wales's Island, and put himself under captain Hawes's orders. Sometime previous to this, it had been determined, at a consultation of commanders, held on board the *Monarch*, by order of captain Stopford, that it was necessary she should put into Prince of Wales's Island, to stop her leak, and captain S. had signified his intention to see her in, when he should leave the fleet.

MAY 31.—Latitude  $9^{\circ} 15$  north, longitude  $90^{\circ} 30$  east, in company with the honourable company's ships, *Europe* and *Lord Keith*, at daylight, (half past five,) a strange sail was seen from the deck bearing S. by W. we were then standing on a wind to the S. S. E. by E. under double reefed top-sails, the weather very squally, with a good deal of sea. I made the private signal to the stranger, whom I perceived to be a frigate, and as he did not answer it, I made the signal at 6 A. M. to our ships to clear for action, and a few minutes after to form the line of battle, shortening sail to the top-sails and fore-sail for that purpose. I also directed the Packets to be got to hand, to be destroyed in case of necessity. The stranger continued to approach us, and at half past six, being close along side, the *Europe* to windward, which was the sternmost ship in the line, hoisted French colours, and fired his broadside into her. I hauled our fore-sail up instantly to support the *Europe*, and endeavoured to bring some of our guns to bear on the frigate, but without effect, being so nearly in our wake; the *Europe* returned his fire very briskly, and the enemy, after engaging her for sometime, passed a-head of the *Europe*, and ranging up on the lee quarter of the *Streatham*, within pistol shot, com-

menced firing a little before seven A. M. which was instantly returned, and the action continued, without intermission, till very near 8 o'clock, long before which time every carronade on the upper deck was dismounted on the side we engaged, and the ship, from the effect of the enemy's fire, wholly unmanageable, every brace and bow-line, halyards, sheets, &c. and most of the standing rigging cut away, the lower masts badly wounded, several shot in the hull, and the sails rendered useless.

Our defence being confined to the gun deck alone I sent Mr. Maxwell, the chief officer, below to encourage the people at the guns; he returned shortly after to inform me that the Chinese and Portuguese, who were stationed on the gun deck, could not, by any exertion of the officers, be kept to their quarters, deserting as fast as they were brought back, and that our firing was almost exclusively maintained by the Europeans, who had been quartered to the upper deck guns. I sent Mr. Maxwell below again to make another effort for the defence of the ship, and, at the same time, ordered the packets, &c. to be thrown overboard. Finding from Mr. Maxwell's report that all the efforts of the officers to keep the Chinese, &c. to stand at their quarters were unavailing, and the enemy's fire continuing to be very destructive, the ships being so close, I consulted with Mr. Maxwell what was best to be done; and being of opinion that a longer resistance was hopeless, considering the condition of the ship, and only sacrificing the lives of the few Englishmen we had remaining; at 8 A. M. most reluctantly I ordered the colours to be struck. The *Europe* and *Lord Keith* also engaged the enemy, while along side the *Streatham*, but his whole attention was directed to us. The frigate mounts 46 guns, viz. 28 18-pdrs. on the main deck, 8 36-pdrs. carronades, and 10 long 8 pdrs. on the quarter deck and fore-castle, besides 20 swivels carrying a 1-lb. ball, distributed in the tops and round the gun-wales, with a complement of 400 men, all Europeans. She had only left the Sand Heads a few days before our



fleet sailed, after cruising there three weeks, during which she captured a small brig going to Madras, which sailed with H. M. ship, Rattlesnake, and their water getting short, she put into the Car Nicobar island to fill up. While watering there, the Silenus, an American ship that sailed with us, appearing off the island, the frigate detained her, and obtained every information respecting the fleet, the force of the ships, convoy, &c. and sailed directly in quest of us, so that upon the first view of our ships, he knew immediately what we were.

It is with much pleasure I inform you, that I received every assistance, during the action, from Mr. Maxwell, chief officer; the rest of the officers conducted themselves to my entire satisfaction, and nothing could exceed the determined bravery of the few Englishmen I had on board, which enabled me to defend the ship so long against so very superior a force; I regret to say that 3 of them were killed and 2 wounded.

I also feel much indebted to Major Leathart and Lieutenant Goldsnap, of the honourable company's service, who, with two or three invalided soldiers, kept up a constant fire of musquetry during the whole of the action.

The Europe was under the necessity of surrendering shortly after me, the particulars of which Captain Gelston will acquaint you with; he rendered every support to me, that circumstances would admit of, and I am happy to find that he speaks in high commendation of his officers and ship's company. The disabled state of the Streatham and Europe prevented the frigate from capturing the Lord Keith, which her very superior sailing would easily have enabled her to do, and being, also, favoured by its coming on thick weather with rain, captain Campbell, fortunately escaped. It occupied them nearly three days to put the ships in a condition to make sail, after which they resolved upon making for these islands, and arrived here on the 21st July.

It is a justice due to M. Ferretier, captain of La Caroline, to say, that we

have been treated by him and his officers, with very great politeness and attention; and the hospitality and kindness of the inhabitants of this place, towards us, have been unbounded.

Enclosed is an abstract of the Streatham's ship's company on the day of action.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN DALE,

Late com. H. C. ship, Streatham.  
*St. Paul's, Isle Bonaparte,*  
Sept. 4, 1809.

STREATHAM'S SHIP'S COMPANY.

British,	-	-	-	-	44
Foreigners,	-	-	-	-	16
Chinese,	-	-	-	-	23
Lascars,	-	-	-	-	40
Invalid Soldiers,	-	-	-	-	4

Total - 137

To the chief secretary of government,  
*Fort Williams*

SIR, — Captain Dale, the senior officer of the fleet, which left the Sandheads on the second of May, will, no doubt, give you an account of its proceedings for the information of his lordship in council; it is for me only to give an account of the proceedings of the late honourable company's ship, Europe, on the day we fell in with, and surrendered to the French national frigate, La Caroline, of forty-six guns, and four hundred men, Europeans, being then in company with the honourable company's ship, Streatham, and extra ship, Lord Keith.

On the 31st May, at half past five, A. M. saw a strange sail to the S. W. standing to the N. W. in latitude about 9° 30' N. and Long. 90° 90' east, about seven miles distant. We at first took her for his Majesty's ship, Victor, our convoy, who had separated from us; but soon after perceiving it was not, and her coming down to us before the wind, I called the hands to quarters, and cleared the ship for action. The Streatham then made



the private signal, which, on her not answering, made the signal "to have ships particularly clear for action." At that time we were about a mile a-stern of the *Streatham*, blowing fresh, upon a wind, carrying all possible sail to close with her. About quarter past six, the frigate came abreast of our starboard quarter near pistol shot distance, hoisted her French colours, and fired a shot, and immediately on hoisting ours, a broadside, which we immediately returned. She kept abreast of us, at that distance, for near forty minutes, keeping up a constant fire, which we did also, though latterly, the carronades on the quarter deck were all dismounted, and the three foremost guns on the gun-deck reported to me unserviceable.

The frigate then passed ahead of us, crossed us, and gave us a raking broadside, and made for the *Streatham*. I persevered in carrying all possible sail in hopes of acting with the *Streatham*, though we were very much damaged both in sails and rigging. Our fore-top-sail-yard was in two, the jib and stay-sails in atoms. Two shot through the fore-mast. Four of the starboard, and two of the larboard, fore shrouds gone, the top-gallant sails, top-sails, braces, and bowlines, all almost useless. We got the yard tackles down, and got the sails to rights, as well as the time would allow, so as to endeavour to bring our larboard guns to bear, which, as soon as we could, we commenced again. Near eight o'clock he wore from the *Streatham*, gave a broadside in passing to the Lord Keith, and came round on our larboard quarter, backed his main-yard, and continued firing at us for about ten minutes, during which time we returned it whenever a shot would tell; he then made sail and stood to the N. W. About twenty minutes after eight, I hailed the *Streatham*, and Captain Dale told me he was obliged to strike. The Lord Keith, at this time, had made all sail upon a wind to the southward, in appearance not the least damaged,—it struck me immediately that the only possible means we had

now of escaping, and likewise the only means of assisting the Lord Keith of doing the same, was, by keeping before the wind, and every exertion was made to repair our damage, and to set as much sail as our damaged state would admit; though at that time we had four feet water in the hold, and gaining on us fast. At a quarter before nine the frigate tacked and stood for the *Streatham*, to take possession of her; some time after I perceived her intention of following us.—I then called a consultation of my officers, with the two senior merchants on board, Alexander Wright, Esq. and Cecil Smith, Esq. and captain Bean of his Majesty's 17th regiment, passengers; who were all unanimously of opinion, that any further resistance from our disabled state (and at that time six feet water) would be fruitless; I then ordered all packets and papers to be thrown overboard, and at ten o'clock, the frigate being near gun-shot, and the Lord Keith almost out of sight to windward, I was under the painful necessity of ordering the colours to be struck: and I trust, Sir, his lordship in council will do me the honour to believe, that it was not before every exertion, on our part, was made for the defence of the ship, that the colours were struck to a force so greatly our superior, as our total number of British was only forty-one, foreigners thirty-one, and lascars fifty-six.

I have the pleasure to inform that Mr. Hardynian, chief of well as Messrs. Jackson, Hall, Charetir and Mills, did their duty in a most handsome manner. The petty officers and the Europeans did, also, behave with great courage; but as for the lascars they were only in the way.

I am sorry to add, we had two seamen killed, Thomas Roberts and John Harmony, and one lascar wounded.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
W. GELSTON,  
Late com. H. C. ship, Europe.

*Isle of Bonaparte, Sept. 5, 1800.*



## PORT NAPOLÉON.

*Extract of a letter addressed to his excellency general Decaen, captain-general, &c. by M. Ferretier, lieutenant de vaisseau, and commanding his majesty's frigate, the Caroline.*

GENERAL,—I have the honour to acquaint you, that on the 22d of July, I entered the bay of St. Paul's with his majesty's frigate Caroline, and two ships of the English East-India company, namely, the *Streatdam* and *Europe*, which I captured in the bay of Bengal. These two vessels are very richly laden: their cargoes consist in principal part, of 1698 boxes of indigo, 1514 bales of piece-goods, 1843 bales of silk, 11,000 bags of salt petre, and 25 bales of handkerchiefs.

Extract from the log book of M. Ferretier, commanding the Caroline frigate.

"MAY 31.—Being in lat. 9° 15 N. and 87. 20. East, 3 three-masted vessels were discovered to leeward, bearing N. N. E. distant about 3 leagues, on their starboard tacks, with all sail set. Towards five A. M. having made my dispositions to engage, I steered for the strange ships, which continued on their course without alteration:—on approaching, they made private signals to us; which not being answered, they made signals to one another. I then discovered them to be company's ships, each with a tier of guns, and carronades on their upper deck. I immediately stationed my people at their quarters. The high confidence and enthusiasm that prevailed throughout my ship's company, assured me of success in the unequal attack that we were about to make."

"At six A. M., being within short musquet range of the stern-most ship, we hoisted the French flag, which was saluted by all my officers and men, with three cheers of *long live the Emperor!* and the engagement began. Our fire was so supported that this vessel, after having fought for 40 minutes, sought to withdraw from the reach of our guns, in order to repair her damage. Her fire was at first brisk, but slackened towards the end. This ship was

completely disabled; and seeing the impossibility, in her condition, to escape, I steered for the ship a-head, which bore the flag of commodore. I manned the starboard guns, with orders not to fire till within pistol shot. At 10 minutes before seven, after engaging her for an hour, during which time the two other vessels neared us, and gave us several broadsides on the larboard quarter.

"At half-past 7, I had the misfortune to lose the master, M. Vandercruce, an officer of distinguished merit. His head was carried off by a cannon shot, while at my side on the quarter deck. The same shot took off the half of my hat, and wounded me in the cheek. I instantly called M. Rabaudy, the officer second in command, on the gun-deck, to replace M. Vandercruce. At eight o'clock, our fire having been uniformly kept up with the utmost spirit, the commodore's ship struck her colours. Upon this, I took on board my larboard tacks, and made for the other two ships, and running along side, began to engage them. I ran particularly close to the vessel a-head, and our two first broadsides were so well directed, that she shamefully took to flight. The second vessel being on the opposite tack, gave us two broadsides, and stood before the wind: we then stood on the same tack with her, and passing at a short distance from the vessel that had already struck, I determined to take possession of her immediately, and sent Monsieur V. Rabaudy on board with order to take charge and continue in command of her. As soon as he got on board, he sent the English captain and officers on board the frigate. I then hoisted in my boat, and stood for the disabled vessel, which was now to leeward, and endeavouring to make off, her colours still flying. This ship, finding that we were standing towards her, and coming up very fast, hove to, and struck her colours. I sent on board M. Desplanches to take command of the prize. The report, which he had made to me of the bad condition of this vessel, having received three shots between wind and water from which she



had made 12 feet water, and the damage that the other prize had sustained in her masts and rigging, obliged me, to my great regret, to permit the third ship, which was already three leagues to windward, to escape.

"We then proceeded to shift the prisoners and their baggage, from the prizes to the frigate. The number of European prisoners, on board the two ships, amounted to 200. The pumps of the Europe were unable, with the few people that were on board, to keep her free, I therefore sent M. Bazin on board, with a strong gang of hands from my ship's company, to give all the assistance that was necessary.

"The zeal, with which M. Bazin and the officer commanding, applied in repairing the damages of this ship, put her in a condition to reach this island. I also sent a party on board the Streatham to repair her damages. Having employed two days to place these two ships in a state to proceed, I finally determined to convoy them to these islands. The Streatham being in condition to keep her guns, of which she had 36 18-pounders, I put on board a party of French seamen, in order that M. Rabaudy, who was in command, might assist me, in case of meeting with an enemy. The Europe had the same complement of guns as the Streatham, but having been obliged to throw a great part of them overboard to lighten her, I sent no more hands on board that vessel, than were sufficient for her safety."

There are two mis-statements in captain Ferretier's account—the first, where he says, there were 200 Europeans on board the two Indiamen. Instead of Europeans, he probably intended to say 200 Christians; men, women, and children, all of whom, including the Asiatic, Portuguese, and Manilla men, probably did amount to 200; but the chief part of the crew of both ships was composed of lascars and Chinese. The second mis-statement in his account is, that the Streatham had 36 guns, 18-pounders. She had certainly 26 ports, but only 20 guns on her gun-deck; and 10 on her quarter-deck. It was, however, of

little consequence what was the number of her guns. Of what avail would have been an hundred guns with 28 men to fight them?

*Extract of a letter, received at Calcutta, on the 25th November.*

LEODRAUNAH, Oct. 31.—Jund Sing is a chief, who has extensive possessions on the banks of the Jumna, but is strictly attached to the cause of Rurjeit, and has been constantly with him in command of a large body of horse. His people lately took possession of two very strong fortified towns, within six marches of this, to which he had no claim; and as we were sent here to prevent such unlawful transactions, colonel Ochterlany, on application from those who were driven out, demanded of Jund Sing's people the restoration of those towns. But it soon proved, that words they treat as empty sounds, and stronger measures were in consequence resorted to. On the 20th a detachment marched, consisting of one squadron and galloper, three companies of the 23d, and a brigade of guns. They arrived before the place (Kunnee by name) on the 25th, and proceeded immediately to the attack of the gateway. But, as misfortune would have it, the precaution of stockading it had been taken, and the work performed skillfully by the defendants. After making several attempts, and remaining for a great length of time under a very galling fire of musquetry, the party was obliged to retire; having three sepoy's killed, and captain Bridge of the 23d, two European artillerymen, and 37 sepoy's wounded. An express was immediately dispatched for a reinforcement, and on the 27th, at half past 11 A. M. one troop, with four companies, two 18-pounders, and all the artillerymen belonging to the detachment, marched to their assistance. The day after the repulse, a very fine, plausible fellow, came into capt. Coxton, who commands the detachment, and said,—“How unfortunate it is, that I, who had power to save this effusion of blood, did not arrive in time!” He immediately applied for a truce of four days, that matters



might be properly settled, which was granted. However, it appears, the people in the town did not feel very comfortable after hearing of the reinforcement; and, in the course of the night preceding the day on which it arrived, they took themselves off. The other town, which is distant but a few miles, and, it was said, garrisoned by 2000 men, was also evacuated. It is just as well that it so happened, for both places are much stronger, than any one has an idea of; indeed, so much so, that the weakest (Kunnee), if they had remained determined in resistance, we could not have carried, without sustaining a very heavy loss. It is a town, surrounded by a mud wall, and rampart 20 feet high, with a wet ditch all round, 12 feet deep and 18 broad. The detachment is on its return, and expected on the 6th of November.

## BENGAL

### *Occurrences for December.*

DEC. 4.—This day being appointed for the commencement of the half-yearly sessions of Oyer and Terminer, and general gaol delivery, for the town of Calcutta, and the territories thereon depending, the court assembled a little past nine, A. M. and, after the usual preliminary ceremonies, the following gentlemen were chosen by ballot, to serve as grand jurors, viz.—

Robert Brown,  
William Kinloch,  
Josias Dupre Alexander,  
Archibald Kelso,  
Thomas Hickey,  
Robert Home,  
Henry Wood,  
William Brodie,  
Eneas Mackintosh,  
Thomas Dupré Porcher,  
M. Henry Turnbull,  
James M'Taggart,  
Robert Morrison,  
I. Alexander Davidson,  
William Petrie,  
William Hollings,  
Matthew Lumsden,  
Patrick Stewart,

Alexander Wilson,  
John Trotter,  
Robert H. Tulloh,  
William L. Gibbons.

AND

S. Laprimaudaye, esquires.

The jury, having retired, elected William Hollings, esq. as their foreman. On their return into court, they received a concise charge from the lord chief justice, to the following effect :

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

I am extremely sorry to observe that the number of offences on the calendar, for the present sessions, is considerably greater than usual, and that many of those offences are of a very heinous nature. In none of them, however, are there any difficulties whatever in point of law; and I will not, therefore, waste your time unnecessarily, by entering into them at large. There are, in the first place, five cases of homicide, which may perhaps differ from each other in degree, but can present no variation, with which you can have any concern. It is not your business to say, whether the prisoners be guilty or not, but whether or not they ought to be brought to trial. It is fit that the accused should be tried, in order that, if guilty, he may receive the punishment due to his crime:—it is, also, sometimes fit that he should be tried, in order that he may have an opportunity of proving his innocence. Besides the cases of homicide, you will have to investigate two cases of assault, with an intent to murder. In these, the particular nature of the assault, (that is, the intent to murder) will, probably, be sufficiently proved by the nature of the instrument with which it was perpetrated. There are, also, two cases of commitment for coining,—an offence, which, I fear, is but too common here, though it has not frequently been prosecuted. The punishment of this crime, I presume, is not the same here as in England; but the nature of the crime itself is exactly the same, and your duty is the same. Though the mere possession of instruments for coining be not in itself a crime, the discovery of such instru-



ments in the hands of the accused, is the strongest circumstantial evidence that can be imagined of his guilt. On a charge for murder, the finding a pistol, cutlass, or other weapon, in the prisoner's possession, can weigh but little; for those are implements in common use; but it is next to impossible that such articles, as dyes for rupees, or instruments for milling money, should be possessed with an innocent intention. Lastly, there are two cases of larceny, which have nothing in them peculiar, except in so far as they are aggravated by having been committed by servants on the property of their masters. Besides these cases, which come before the sessions of Oyer and Terminer, there are two

admiralty cases, of which you have equal cognizance; the jurisdiction of this court, with respect to crimes of that description, being now co-extensive with these seas—one is a case of murder perpetrated on the high seas by two Malays; the other a case of piracy, committed in forcibly seizing and taking away the brig, *Malacca*, and plundering her cargo. All these cases will be supported by such evidence as cannot leave a doubt on your minds with respect to the duty which you have to perform. From that evidence alone, and from your own personal knowledge, can you derive such information as will enable you to make a legal presentment.

### MADRAS Occurrences for JANUARY, 1809.

JAN. 19.—Intelligence has been received of the loss of his Majesty's frigate, *Greyhound*, captain Pakenham, on the coast of Luconia. Only one seaman suffered on the occasion, Captain Pakenham and the crew had arrived at Manilla, and proceeded thence in carts. The captain, and 150 men, embarked on board the *Discovery*, which was unfortunately captured by two French frigates. The remainder of the crew escaped, in the *Diana*, to Penang.

*Address of the officers of his Majesty's 22d dragoons to his excellency lieutenant-general Hay Macdowall, &c.*

SIR,—The officers of his Majesty's 22d dragoons, duly appreciating your public and private character, and anxious to give you a proof of their sincere respect and regard on your departure from India, request your acceptance of a sword, which they do, under the firm conviction that, in your hands, it will never be drawn without cause, or returned without honour.

G

In conveying these the sentiments of the corps to you, allow me to assure you, general, of the respect and truth with which I am

Your very faithful servant,  
(Signed) J. HARE.

Lieut.-col. 22d regt. drs.  
*Arcot, Jan. 15, 1809.*

—  
*To lieutenant-col. Hare, commanding H. M. 22d L. D.*

SIR,—I have been honoured with your letter of the 15th instant, and request you will assure the officers of his Majesty's 22d regiment of dragoons how highly I feel flattered by the distinguished mark of regard and approbation which they propose to honor me with; I shall accept with pride and gratitude the sword you have been so good as to offer me, and which I trust will never be wielded but in a just cause, for the service of my country, and in supporting its honour and dignity. In whatever part of the world I may hereafter be employed, be assured, I shall ever retain the most



lively recollection of the distinguished services and character of his Majesty's 22d dragoons, and shall ever feel interested in its success and prosperity.

With the sincerest wishes for the increased welfare and happiness of yourself and the officers of the regiment,

I remain, Sir,

Your most faithful

And obliged servant,

(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL.

Madras, Jan. 20, 1809.

JAN. 26.—The honourable the governor in council having recently received a report, from his excellency the commander-in-chief, of the particular spirit and exertion which were evinced in the 6th regiment of Native cavalry, at the period of the formation of the detachment of cavalry, lately embarked on foreign service, with an explanation that an accidental cause had prevented an earlier communication on that subject, the governor in council has now great pleasure in expressing his public approbation of the zeal and loyalty evinced by the 6th regiment of cavalry on the above occasion.

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) G. BUCHAN,

Ch. sec. to govt.

*Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, 28th Jan. 1809. General orders by the commander-in-chief.*

The immediate departure of lieutenant-general Macdowall from Madras, will prevent his pursuing the design of bringing lieutenant-colonel Munro, quartermaster-general, to trial, for disrespect to the commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the civil government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding Native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the honourable the president in council, lieutenant-general Macdowall has received a positive order from the chief

secretary to liberate lieutenant-colonel Munro from arrest.

Such conduct on the part of lieutenant-colonel Munro being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the commander-in-chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service; lieutenant-general Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, feels it incumbent on him to express his strong disapprobation of lieutenant-colonel Munro's unexampled proceeding, and considers it a solemn duty imposed upon him to reprimand lieutenant-colonel Munro in general orders, and he is reprimanded accordingly.

(Signed) T. BOLES,

Deputy adj.-gen.

*General orders by government.*

FORT ST. GEORGE, JAN. 31.—It has recently come to the knowledge of the honourable the governor in council, that lieutenant-general Hay Macdowall did, previously to his embarkation from this presidency, leave to be published to the army a general order, dated the 28th instant, in the highest degree disrespectful to the authority of the government, in which that officer has presumed to found a public censure on an act adopted under the immediate authority of the governor in council, and to convey insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the government, and subversive of military discipline, and of the foundation of public authority.

The resignation of lieutenant-general Macdowall of the command of the army of Fort St. George not having been yet received, it becomes the duty of the governor in council, in consideration of the violent and inflammatory proceedings of that officer on the present, and on other recent occasions, and for the purpose of preventing the possible repetition of farther acts of outrage, to anticipate the period of his expected resignation, and to annul the appointment of lieutenant-general Macdowall to the com-



mand of the army of this presidency. Lieutenant-general Macdowall is accordingly hereby removed from the station of the commander-in-chief of the forces of Fort St. George.

The governor in council must lament, with the deepest regret, the necessity of resorting to an extreme measure of this nature; but where a manifest endeavour has been used to bring into degradation the supreme public authority, it is essential that the vindication should not be less signal than the offence, and that a memorable example should be given, that proceedings, subversive of established order, can find no security under the sanction of rank, however high, or of station, however exalted.

The general order in question having been circulated under the signature of the deputy-adjutant general of the army, it must have been known to that officer, that, in giving currency to a paper of this offensive description, he was acting in direct violation of his duty to the government, as no authority can justify the execution of an illegal act, connected as that act obviously, in the present case, has been, with views of the most reprehensible nature, the governor in council thinks it proper to mark his highest displeasure at the conduct of major Boles, by directing that he shall be suspended from the service of the honourable company.

The general order left by the commander-in-chief for publication, under date the 28th instant, is directed to be expunged from every public record, and the adjutant-general of the army will immediately circulate the necessary orders for this purpose.

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

## MADRAS

### Occurrences for February.

#### General orders by government.

FEBRUARY 1.—It having been made known to the honourable the governor

in council, that the adjutant-general of the army was materially implicated in the measure of giving currency to the offensive general order of the commander-in-chief, dated the 28th ultimo, it becomes the duty of the honourable the governor in council to direct, that lieutenant-colonel Capper be suspended from the service of the honourable company, and that officer is hereby suspended accordingly.

The governor in council directs that major Robert Barclay will take charge of the duties of the office of adjutant-general until further orders.

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

**PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.**—The honourable the governor in council is pleased to publish, for general information, the accompanying extract of a letter from the honourable the court of directors to the supreme government, and to give notice, that from and after this date the instructions, therein contained, are to be considered in force at this presidency.

“We direct, on the receipt of this dispatch, that public notice be issued, forbidding, under pain of our high displeasure, any public assemblage, either of our own servants, or of private merchants, traders, or other inhabitants whatsoever, without first obtaining the sanction of the government, through the medium of the *Secretaries*, the time being; and we further direct that, with the application for holding such meetings, the subjects, intended to be taken into consideration, be also submitted to your previous consideration, in order that you may have it in your power to judge of the propriety of allowing the questions that may be proposed to be agitated, and can no consideration whatever is the sheriff, or the officer presiding at such meetings, to allow any subject to be considered that has not been previously submitted for your consideration. We have full confidence, however, that our governments in India will not preclude our servants, or other European inhabitants,



from meeting for the purpose of expressing their sentiments, whenever proper subjects are submitted for their deliberation."

Published by order of the honourable the governor in council.

G. G. KEBLE,  
Fort St. George, Sec. to govt.  
Feb. 1, 1809.

*General orders by government.*

FORT ST. GEORGE, February 6.—The honourable the governor in council having lately adopted the measure of ordering the release of the quarter-master-general of the army from arrest, and it being desirable that the circumstances, connected with that measure, should be distinctly and publicly understood, there being reason to believe that a great degree of misapprehension has hitherto existed, the governor in council thinks it proper to state, that the quarter-master-general was placed under arrest by the late commander-in-chief, on charges founded on a report, which was submitted by the quarter-master-general, in conformity to express orders; which report having been approved and adopted by the commander-in-chief, lieutenant-general Sir John Cradock, was by him communicated to the late right honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, and finally laid before the supreme government, under whose approbation and orders it became the foundation of measures already known to the army.

In these circumstances the quarter-master-general could be considered no longer responsible for proceedings so sanctioned, and it would have been inconsistent with the evident principles of justice, that a public officer should have been liable to the obloquy of a trial for an act not his, but that of his superiors. The question which, in such a case, would have been submitted to the cognizance of a military tribunal, would not have involved only a discussion of the conduct of the quarter-master-general, but would have extended to the measures of the principal, civil, and military, authorities in this country,—measures which had undergone

the maturest consideration, and which had been carried into effect under the most formal sanction; it must be apparent that a discussion, involving consequences of this nature, would have been contrary to law, contrary to reason, ruinous of public confidence, and subversive of the foundations of military discipline, and of public authority. Impressed with these sentiments, it became the solemn, the bounden duty, of the governor in council, on the facts being made known by a communication from the quarter-master-general, which, from the nature of the question, it became the right and duty of that officer to submit by direct reference, on the communication having been refused by the late commander-in-chief, to interpose the authority of the government for the prevention of the most fatal evils; it was the wish, it was the earnest endeavour of the governor in council to effect this object by every means of conciliation and explanation; but such means having been used in vain, and having been even repelled under certain circumstances highly offensive, no alternative remained, but that of conveying a specific order for the removal of the arrest.

The governor in council desires that the officers of this army will be assured, that this government would not be less solicitous to vindicate their honour and reputation, by rejecting all injurious imputations, if such could have been supposed, than the officers of the army could have been solicitous in their own vindication. The governor in council has, accordingly, under this impression, been led to an attentive consideration of the expressions which are understood to have been deemed objectionable; and he has no hesitation in declaring, that it appears, in his judgment, impossible, under any correct construction, to attach an offensive meaning to words where injury was not meant, and where the intention of offence assuredly did not exist.

Having stated this explanation, the honourable the governor in council deems it his farther duty to observe,



that the question, which has been under deliberation, must be now considered as concluded; the farther agitation of a subject of this nature could be availing for no purpose but that of disturbing the established course of public affairs, and for the excitement of feelings, injurious to order and authority; and it will be, accordingly, of importance to the public welfare, that the circumstances, connected with it, should be consigned to oblivion.

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

A session of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery, commenced at the court house of fort St. George, on Wednesday the 4th ultimo, and was continued by adjournment until this day.

The trial of the most importance, and which lasted for several days, was that of Mr. John Batley, charged with wilful and corrupt perjury in the evidence he had given on the trial of Reddy and Anunda Row, who were convicted of a cheat and conspiracy at the last sessions.

This indictment was tried before the honourable Sir Andrew Strange, Knt. chief justice, and a special jury, composed of the following persons.

Martin Jolly, esq. foreman. F. I. Collis, esq.; Wm. Watts, esq.; John Tulloh, esq.; Wm. Oliver, esq.; John Macdouall, esq.; H. George Keene, esq.; Edward Dent, esq.; William Weston, esq.; Alex. Falconar, esq. Wm. Hawkins, esq.; and R. Maconichie, Esq.

The jury were nearly three hours out of court, and on their return pronounced a verdict of *guilty*, but recommended the defendant to mercy.

Mr. Batley, Reddy and Anunda Row, were brought into court to receive judgment on Monday last. At this time the honourable the chief justice observed, that as the smallest punishment the court could inflict for the crime of perjury fixes an indelible stain on the object of such

award, he felt a difficulty in pronouncing sentence against Mr. Batley from the circumstance of the jury having recommended him to mercy. It was therefore his intention to continue the defendant at large upon his recognizance, and to refer his case, as well as that of the other two defendants, to the consideration of his Majesty.

FEB. 4.—The honourable the governor in council has recently received a particular account of the action, which took place at Quilon, on the 15th ultimo, between the British troops and the troops of Travancore, in which, after a severe and long contest the Travancore troops were defeated with heavy loss. From the extent of the combined force, which was opposed to the British troops, the signal victory reflects the highest honour on their discipline and valour; and the governor in council has great satisfaction in expressing his strongest approbation of their meritorious conduct.

The governor in council accordingly conveys to lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, who commanded the British detachment at Quilon, in this distinguished action, his public thanks, and lieutenant-colonel Chalmers is requested to convey the thanks of the governor in council to lieutenant-colonel Picton of his majesty's 12th regiment, major Muirhead, major Hamilton, captain Newall, captain Pepper, captain Macintosh, lieutenant Lindsay, lieutenant Arthur of the engineers, and the officers of the staff, captain Cranston and captain Ahmuty; with the other officers and troops of the detachment, who bravely signalized themselves on the occasion.

The honourable the governor in council also takes this opportunity of expressing his warm approbation of the conduct of a detachment of troops, stationed at Cochin, under the command of major Hewitt, who with great skill and bravery repulsed a numerous and united force of the troops of Travancore and Cochin, in an attack which they made on the British detachment on the 19th ult. The



governor in council has particular satisfaction in expressing to major Hewitt, and to the officers and troops under his command, his public thanks for their highly-deserving conduct.

MADRAS, Feb. 15.—A dispatch, dated 10th instant, has been received from the honourable lieutenant-colonel Sentleger, from Camp in Travancore, in which he relates the complete success which has attended the forces deputed by him to storm the barrier. The party consisted of a detachment of two companies, and the picquet of H. M. 69th regiment, under captain Syms, four flank companies, and five battalion companies third Native infantry, under captain Lucas. The whole commanded by major Welsh. Notwithstanding the difficulty of approach, the walls were scaled, and the Arambooly lines and covering redoubts, north and south, carried. This service being effected, a company of H. M. 69th and third of the first battalion 13th Native infantry, under captain Hodgson, were sent to reinforce major Welsh, who then stormed and carried the main lines, and at the date of this dispatch colonel Sentleger was encamped two miles within the gate.

Colonel Sentleger speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of majors Welsh and Lambton, and of all the officers employed on this glorious service, and particularly laments the wound of captain Cunningham, of H. M. 69th regiment, which we hear has since proved mortal. The names of the officers employed on this service, are

Major Welsh, captains Syms, Lindsay, Cunningham; lieutenants Carey, Reid, Lane, Baby.

Captains Lucas, Pepper, Carrao,—lieutenants Walker, Tay, Dawson, Goble, Inverarity, Jeffery, Rule, Sheppard, Black, 3d Native infantry, and lieutenant Bertram of the pioneers.

Colonel Sentleger was in possession of the arsenal, which was extremely well stored, and of a number of pieces of ordnance.

*Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, February 17, 1809.*

G. O. BY MAJOR GENERAL GOWDIE.—Major-general Gowdie embraces the earliest moment to express the sense of satisfaction which he entertains, in being called to the command, of an army with which he has passed the greatest portion of his life; which he has accompanied in every vicissitude of misfortune and success; and which he has seen finally subdue all the enemies by whom it has been opposed. Major-general Gowdie encourages a confident assurance, that the army will be distinguished, while he shall have the honour of commanding it, by the same zeal, public spirit, discipline, and respect for authority, which produced the eminent success that has signalized it, and which are essential to the prosperity of the British interests in India. It is the duty of the officer commanding the army in chief to state, in the actual situation of affairs, that while his conduct shall be uniformly actuated by an earnest desire to afford the most honourable and decided support to the constituted authorities of his country, to maintain discipline and subordination, and to distinguish merit, service, and claims, he expects, from the officers composing his majesty's and the honourable company's services, and particularly from those who held the command of divisions, stations and corps, that cordial and zealous co-operation, which is dictated by the most powerful motives of duty to their sovereign and their country.

*Trade with Manilla,*

MADRAS, Feb. 25.—Notice is hereby given, that in consequence of the recent intelligence of the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and Spain, the collector of government customs will be authorized to grant port clearances to ships of individuals desirous of prosecuting commercial enterprizes, to the Spanish Philippine islands, and that ships bound to those islands will be permitted to take advantage of the convoy, appointed to give protection to the eastern trade, at



## MADRAS OCCURRENCES FOR FEBRUARY, 1809.

the commencement of the month of April, or of the first convoy proceeding to the eastward.

### *General orders by government.*

Fort St. George, February 16.—The honourable the governor in council has the greatest satisfaction in publishing in general orders the following extracts of letters, received from the hon. lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, announcing the decisive and distinguished success which attended the storm of the lines of Travancore, by the troops under the command of that officer.

*Extract of a letter from the honourable lieutenant-colonel St. Leger to the chief secretary of the government, dated the 10th of February, 1809.*

I had the honour this morning to convey to you, by express, a small note in pencil for the information of the honourable the governor in council, by which you were made acquainted with the satisfactory intelligence of the British flags being flying on every part of the Arambooly lines, as well as the commanding redoubts to the north and south.

It is impossible for me to convey, in language sufficiently strong, the obligations I feel under to the personal exertions of major Welsh, commanding the third regiment Native infantry, and the detachment for escalade under his command.

The southern redoubt, which presented a complete enfilade of the whole of the main lines as far as the gate, was the object of major Welsh's enterprize, an enterprize which, from the natural strength of the approach, appeared only practicable to the exertions and determined bravery of British troops, led on to glory by major Welsh. It was ascended under cover of the night, and our troops had actually escalated the wall, ere their approach was suspected, and the ascent was of such difficulty as to require six hours of actual scrambling to reach the foot of the walls.

On consideration of the brilliancy

of this achievement, I feel a pleasurable duty in detailing, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, a list of the names of the officers who accompanied the detachment for escalade; it consisted of two companies, and the piquet of his majesty's 69th regiment, commanded by captain Syms, and the four flank, and five battalion companies from the third regiment Native infantry, under captain Lucas, and it did not require that confirmation which major Welsh has conveyed to me in the most handsome manner, to convince me that, to have accomplished such an object, every man must have done his duty.

In the list of gallant fellows, which accompanies this dispatch, I have to lament the fate of poor captain Cunningham, of his majesty's 69th regiment, whose wound I fear is mortal, which deprives his country of a brave and valuable officer.

When major Welsh had once effected his security in this commanding position, I dispatched to his assistance, by the same arduous route, a company of his majesty's 69th regiment, and three companies of the 1st battalion 13th regiment, under captain Hodgson, to reinforce and give confidence to his party; as soon as this addition was perceived, a detachment from his party stormed the main lines, and, by dint of persevering bravery, carried them entirely, and the northern redoubt was abandoned by the panic-struck enemy, who fled in all possible confusion in every direction, leaving me in possession of their strongest lines, and I am now encamped two miles interior of the Arambooly gate.

I had ordered the remainder of the detachment to be under arms at midnight, and marched to the most convenient position, either to secure major Welsh's retreat, or furnish him support, and when daylight permitted, major Welsh had the satisfaction to see his friends at hand, ready to support him.

It would be injustice in me not to express the active services I received from lieutenant-colonel Macleod, of his majesty's 69th regiment; they



were such, as might be expected from an officer of his reputation and experience, in bringing forward his regiment in support of the attack with the most willing zeal.

I feel it a duty I owe, from the report of major Welsh, of the pioneers who accompanied him, to express my entire approbation of their conduct, and that of lieutenant Bertram, who commanded them.

In short, I feel highly satisfied with the whole of the officers, and men, who compose the detachment under my command.

I am in possession of the arsenal, which appears well stored with arms, ammunition, and military stores, with a quantity of valuable ordnance on the works, which has not as yet been ascertained.

I have not been able to ascertain the loss of the enemy, but it must have been considerable.

*List of officers composing the detachment for escalade under major Welsh.*

*H. M. 69th Regt.*—Captain Syms, captain Lindsay, captain Cunningham, lieutenant Carey, lieutenant Reid, Meut. Lane, and lieutenant Baby.

*3d Regt. N. I.*—Captain Lucas, capt. Pepper, capt. Carfrac, lieutenant Walker, lieutenant Tagg, lieutenant Dawson, lieutenant Goble, lieutenant Inverarity, lieutenant Jeffery, lieutenant Rule, lieutenant Shepherd, lieutenant Blake, and lieutenant A. Bertram, pioneers.

*Extract of a letter from the honourable lieutenant colonel St. Leger to the chief secretary of the government, dated the 11th February, 1809.*

"In the hurry of my dispatch of yesterday, I omitted to state, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, the important services I had derived from major Lambton's ability and well-known professional skill; an omission I feel, and the more, as I am fully sensible of the services he rendered me."

The governor in council considers the execution of the above service to reflect equal honour on the judg-

ment, with which it was planned, and on the signal zeal and bravery with which it was carried into effect.—The governor in council accordingly conveys to the honourable lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, the expression of his warmest approbation and thanks, and colonel St. Leger is requested to make known to the officers and troops under his command, particularly to major Welsh, who gallantly and ably conducted the party employed in the assault, and to the other officers, mentioned by lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, the sentiments of cordial approbation due to their meritorious conduct.

**FEBRUARY 26.**—The honourable the governor in council has sincere satisfaction in publishing the following extracts of letters, received from the honourable lieutenant-colonel St. Leger reporting the distinguished and decisive successes obtained by the detachment under his orders, in the prosecution of the present operations in Travancore.

*Extract of a letter from the honourable lieutenant-colonel St. Leger to the chief secretary of government, dated Camp the 17th of February, 1809.*

"I have the honour to inform you, that in consequence of its being well ascertained that a large force of the enemy had taken post at the villages of Cotar and Nagre Coil, I yesterday made the following arrangements to dislodge and disperse them from those villages, where they had made every endeavour to render themselves capable of withstanding the attack, which they naturally expected I should make.

I ordered lieutenant-colonel Macleod, of his majesty's 69th regiment, of whose ability, judgment, and gallantry, I was well aware, to proceed in advance with the flank companies of his Majesty's 69th—the whole of the detachment from the 3d Ceylon regiment under lieutenant-colonel Morrie, three troops of cavalry under major Nuthall, and the flank companies of the 1st and 2d battalions 3d regiment Native infantry, and of the 1st battalion 13th Native regiment, with a company



of pioneers under lieutenant Patter-son, accompanied by the detachment of royal artillery with the six light three-pounders under captain Bates, the galloper of the cavalry, and the brigade of six pounders attached to the 1st battalion 13th regiment, forming, in all, a strong and highly-equipped detachment.

I was prepared to expect every obstacle from the country through which the detachment had to march, as well as from the uncommon strong, and advantageous position, which the enemy had occupied with a battery in front, commanding entirely the entrance, by which our troops must make the attack, rendered, if possible, more strong by a river in front, and a thick impassable country in the rear—all these advantages, however, were of little service to them—their lines were attacked, at day-light, under a heavy fire from the battery, and from guns, which opened in all directions, and were gallantly carried after a sharp action—the village, which is one of the largest and finest I have seen in India, was completely scoured, and the enemy forced to retreat, in great confusion, protected in a great measure by the strength of country in their rear.

I cannot sufficiently dwell on the judgment displayed by lieutenant-colonel Macleod in the form of attack, and gallantry of its execution, which must ever reflect on himself the highest credit, and on the detachment under his command.

I cannot as yet forward a correct list of the killed and wounded on our side, but, from what has come to my knowledge, it appears to be considerable in numbers, although small, when the strength of the enemy's position is considered.

I have received no report of the quantity of cannon which fell into our hands, but I counted nine pieces of ordnance myself, and have reason to believe the number to be much greater.

It was evidently the intention of the enemy to make a desperate stand at this place, as the Dewa in person had been present for two days, and only

fled when it was known that we were on the way to attack them—he is said to have retreated to Papanaveram, or Woodagherry.

As the whole of the troops have had severe fatigue, it is my intention to halt here to-morrow, and then proceed in the direction of Papanaveram, and I trust, by so doing, I am endeavouring to accomplish, in a satisfactory manner, the objects which the honourable the governor in council has in view.

The loss of the enemy I cannot attempt to specify: our's, I am given to understand, amounts to about fifty killed and wounded, of which, however, by far the greater part are only slightly wounded.

I cannot conclude without again expressing the obligations I feel under to lieutenant-colonel Macleod, and the detachment in advance, and indeed to the whole of the force under my command; and I have to request you will convey these my sentiments to the honourable the governor in council.

I feel myself much pleased with the services of the staff of the detachment; and I must not omit to mention that lieutenant-colonel Macleod has particularly specified the services rendered to him by captain Hodgson.

My present encampment is situated in the midst of the enemy, which is extremely harassing to the troops.

*Extract of a letter from lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, to the chief secretary of government, dated Camp the 19th February, 1809.*

"I have great pleasure in submitting to you, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, the satisfactory intelligence of the British flags being now flying on both the forts of Woodagherry and Papanaveram, and without a shot being fired.—The gates were left open, the troops fled, and our flags hoisted in all directions.

"I am taking infinite pains to protect the inhabitants from insult, and the sacred places from being even entered, and by such conciliatory conduct I hope soon to be enabled to convey the



tidings of perfect tranquillity being established in Travancore.

"I of course attribute the desertion of the enemy to the action of Cotar and Nagre Coil, which, by every account, appears to have broken the spirit of the Dewan's party on this side entirely."

The governor in council repeats to lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, and to the officers and men under his orders, his warmest thanks for the activity, zeal, and bravery, which have signalized their operations.—The governor in council has particular satisfaction in observing the farther proof of military skill and gallantry afforded by that distinguished and valuable officer, lieutenant-colonel Macleod, of his majesty's 69th regiment, in the action of Cotar and Nagre Coil, which has been followed by events of a highly important nature.

*Speech of the hon. Sir Benjamin Sullivan, in the supreme court of Judicature at Madras, on Tuesday, Feb. 21, 1809.*

The counsel for the crown, in a late prosecution for forgery, having early in the term desired my opinion on some points of law, which these trials have given rise to, I have considered them with attention, and shall now proceed to deliver my sentiments. The first question is this:—

"Whether the proceedings of the supreme court, sitting as a court of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery, are submitted to any revision whatsoever in term: or in other words, whether the court of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery be not a branch of the supreme court of judicature exercising criminal jurisdiction, and, during the exercise of that jurisdiction vested with all the authority of the supreme court, to the exclusion of all revision whatsoever, except by appeal to his majesty in council."

When this question was agitated, it came on too suddenly to justify my giving an opinion from a mere recollection of the charter. I have since looked into it with care, and find that

all criminal jurisdiction is vested in the supreme court of judicature, and hence it would seem to follow, upon a superficial view, that in exercising the criminal jurisdiction, it is the supreme court which sits, and acts, and administers justice.

It is, however, declared that the supreme court shall proceed to hear, examine, try, and determine offences, and to give judgment thereon, and to award execution thereof, and in all respects to administer justice, in such, or the like manner and form, as nearly as the condition and circumstances of the place and persons will admit of, as the courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery do, or may, in that part of Great Britain, called England.

Now, whether this may not be a limitation of the powers of the supreme court, while acting as a court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, seems to me to be a question of some weight and difficulty; for the supreme court is expressly vested with such jurisdiction and authority as the justices of the court of King's Bench have, or may lawfully exercise within that part of Great Britain, called England, as far as circumstances will admit.

And Coke, Hale, Hawkins, and Blackstone, state, that the King's Bench is, in dignity and authority, so much superior to the courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, that they cannot sit in the same country with it, the presence of this high court in which the king himself is in law supposed to sit, suspends the powers of these inferior and subordinate jurisdictions, inasmuch, that it required two acts of parliament, (both passed in the present reign) to enable the courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, for Middlesex, to act during the sitting of the court of King's Bench, at Westminster; and Hawkins tells us, that this court of King's Bench, being the highest court of common law, has not only power to reverse erroneous judgments given by inferior courts, but also to punish all inferior magistrates, and all officers of justice, for all wilful and corrupt abuses of their authority, against the known, obvious, and common prin-



ciple of natural justice. (B. 2. chap. 3, 8, 10, 11.)

Now the supreme court of judicature being vested by the charter, in its general jurisdiction, with all the power and authority of the court of King's Bench, and yet bound to conform in the administration of criminal justice to the form and mode of proceeding observed in the courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery in England—it would seem that the powers of the supreme court, acting as a criminal court, at a sessions of oyer and terminer held in vacation, as is always the case with us, have no further extension; than the courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery have in England. How is it then in England when a Judge of the King's Bench presides in courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery in Middlesex?

In the case of the King against Morris, (2 Burr. 1189) where the defendant was found guilty of perjury, Lord Mansfield made his report to the court of King's Bench, the superior court of which he was himself the chief justice, to have the benefit of their opinion on a point of law. It is the same in civil cases; in Bright and Eynon, (1 Burr. 390) Lord Mansfield stated to the court of King's Bench the circumstance of the case with his own opinion, and concluded by saying, "these are my sentiments; my brothers will judge whether I am right or not." The court of King's Bench, as we learn from Coke in Lord Sanchar's case, (A 9 C 118) is the highest court of ordinary justice in criminal causes within the realm, and paramount to the authority of justices of gaol delivery, and commissioners of oyer and terminer, and, as it is held in 27 Ass. 1. more than the eyre, for they shall examine the errors of the justices in eyre, gaol delivery, and oyer and terminer—and in another part of the same case, he tells us, that in term-time no commission of oyer and terminer, or gaol delivery, can sit in the same county where the King's Bench sits, for in *presentia majoris cessat potestas minoris*, and I think we have something like a recognition of this in the adjournment of the late sessions of

oyer and terminer to the 23d of the month, when the term will be over.

Nothing, I think, passed by the King's grant beyond what is expressly mentioned, and if no greater power passes by the charter in criminal matters to the supreme court, acting as a court of oyer and terminer, than is exercised by that description of courts in England, there seems to be an undoubted limitation to the judicial authority of the supreme court, sitting as a court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, and hence I am forced to conclude, that the supreme court of judicature, sitting in vacation, as a court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, is inferior and subordinate to itself in its general jurisdiction, whilst sitting, in term, as a court of King's Bench—and it seems to me reasonable that it should be so.—The business of the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery is limited in duration, often hurried, and the judge obliged either to give an opinion on a sudden, or to reserve the point, to be argued and determined in term, which affords more time for deliberation; and upon the whole, I am of opinion that as far as the courts of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery in England are subject to the revision of the court of King's Bench, so far as the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery here is subject to the revision of the supreme court, sitting in term, as a court of King's Bench.

One thing more, and I have done with the question. The charter grants a power to allow, or to deny, appeal to his majesty in criminal cases; but criminal cases are to be tried before the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery.—Now is the power to allow or deny these appeals lodged with the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery?—I think it is not—that authority being expressly vested in the supreme court of judicature. The clause, concerning appeals in criminal cases, runs in these terms:—"And it is our further will and pleasure that in all indictments, informations, and criminal suits, and causes whatsoever, the supreme court of judicature at Madras shall have the full and absolute power



and authority to allow, or deny, the appeal of the party pretending to be aggrieved, and also to award, order, and regulate the terms, upon which appeals shall be obtained, in such cases in which the said court may think fit to allow such appeal." If it be objected here, that by my own concession it is the supreme court that sits in the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, and that, therefore, whether it sits in sessions, or in term, it is still the same court, and can allow or deny an appeal in either indifferently—I cannot admit either the concession, or the consequence, after granting to the supreme court its principal jurisdiction as a Court of King's Bench; it grants that it shall also be a court of equity; it also grants that it shall be a court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery; then grants that it shall be a court of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—and finally that it shall be a court of admiralty. Now all these are distinct and separate jurisdictions, which ought not to be confounded. The court of equity is altogether independent of the King's Bench; the ecclesiastical and admiralty courts are in the same degree subordinate to it, for their proceedings may be suspended by prohibition, and as to the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, the trials depending there may be removed to the King's Bench by *certiorari*.

Though these courts are all held in the same place, and by the same judges, they are yet as distinct as if they were held in separate places, and before different persons, and without a doubt in my mind should studiously be kept distinct. Confusion is a copious source of error, every thing will go wrong if we confound one jurisdiction with another.

But if we keep them distinct and separate, as I think we ought, and do not suffer one jurisdiction to exercise those powers which are expressly granted to another, it will follow that this power, not being granted to the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, *eo nomine*, and expressly granted to the supreme court of judicature, it belongs solely to the latter as a court of King's Bench. Yet this power cannot be exercised by the supreme

court without issuing a writ of *certiorari* to bring the proceedings before it, and without reviewing them when they are before it, to enable it to see whether the causes, assigned for appealing to the immediate justice of the crown, are sufficient to justify it in calling his majesty's attention to the case, and if the cause be sufficient, it is farther necessary to review the proceedings in order to enable the court to order and regulate the terms, upon which the appeal may be allowed.

Second question.—Having thus given my opinion on the first question I was called upon to consider, I proceed to the second, which, situated as I am, judge of this court, and a creditor of the late nabob, is a subject of peculiar delicacy and difficulty.

Having received a letter from my lord chief justice in December last, I concluded my answer with this passage:—

"As I understand from Mr. Orme that the next sessions will be entirely taken up with the business of the creditors, and as I am one myself, and therefore necessarily interested, and cannot with propriety sit or act, or offer any opinion on the occasion, I trust you will have the goodness to dispense with my attendance."

Two men were to be tried at the sessions for forgery, and a conspiracy to defraud the creditors of a large sum of money—this trial was the occasion I wished to avoid. In justice to my own feelings, and to my own character, as an individual, I thought it right to decline exposing myself to the suspicion that even my presence might in some degree influence the verdict of the jury—but in declining to sit and offer any opinion upon that occasion, it was not my intention to seal up my lips for ever; or preclude myself from the free discharge of my duty, in giving my opinion on any general or distinct point of law that might arise out of it, nor do I think that my letter, in a fair and liberal construction, will bear that interpretation. Yet my words were quoted, and this interpretation put upon them, the other day, by my lord chief justice in open court. Why it was put



upon them is too obvious to need an answer. But to borrow an expression from his lordship upon another occasion, it would be a dereliction of duty, if after the trial was over, and no application made for a new one, I should decline, when publicly called upon, to deliver my opinion on a general point of law, which though immediately arising from this trial, may be hereafter brought into discussion in various other instances: I will, therefore, proceed to state the question in my own way—and shall word it thus:—

Whether a person, convicted at a sessions of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery of a conspiracy and forgery at common law, can be reprieved before judgment is pronounced, or, being so reprieved, can be let out upon bail? as also how the forged bond ought to be disposed of?

This, I believe, is as general and fair a way of stating the question as any man could wish.

Our charter makes no provision for reprieving a prisoner convicted of any offence under felony, nor for reprieving a felon convict until sentence be passed. We must, therefore, look for authority some where else, for the charter furnishes us with nothing like it.

Plowden tells us (comment. 83.) that King Henry IV. asked Gascoigne, one of his judges, if a man was to kill another in his presence, and a third person was indicted for the murder and convicted, how he would act? The judge replied, he would respite judgment, because he knew the person was innocent, and report to his Majesty to grant his pardon. And the king, he says, was well pleased that the law was so. Here then is very old authority for reprieving or respiting before judgment, an authority that seems to be fully recognized by the act of 1 Ed. VI. ch. 7. Sir Matthew Hale (2 P. C. 309.) is very explicit on this subject. Speaking of the misdemeanors of juries, he says—"But what if a jury give a verdict against all reason, convicting or acquitting a person indicted against all evidence, what shall be done? I say if the jury will convict a man against or without evidence, and against the

direction or opinion of the court, the court hath this salvo, to reprieve the person convicted before judgment, and to acquaint the king, and certify for his pardon."

Now in the circumstances mentioned by Sir Matthew Hale, but confining the judges' opinion to matters of law, (2. 11. P. C. 313.) this is decisive of the first part of the question; and as to the second, namely, whether a convict reprieved before judgment can properly be let out upon bail, it is easily disposed of. The charter empowers the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, even in capital cases, and after judgment, to reprieve; and stating the case and evidence, and the reasons for recommending the criminal to the royal mercy, either to order the offender to be kept in strict custody, or deliver him out to sufficient bail, or mainprize, as the circumstances shall seem to require. But if the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery can do this in capital cases, and even after judgment has been passed, it would seem that it can do it in all minor offences, for *omne majus continet in se minus*—and it would the rather seem, so as this part of the charter contains no words of exclusion—it does not, for instance, say that the power shall be exercised in capital cases only, and therefore seems to give full operation to the maxim I have quoted. I have further to observe that this power vested in the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, and if I am right in the opinion I have given on the first question, as I think I am, that that court is a distinct and separate jurisdiction from this: and if the due exercise of that power depends upon circumstances, it will follow, that when the proceedings have not been removed into this court, we can form no judgment whether it has been duly exercised or not, we can know nothing whatsoever of the circumstances, and therefore cannot say whether or not they were sufficient to justify the reprieve, or the admission to bail—the case is not before us.

In regard to the third part of the question, namely, how the forged bond ought to be disposed of, it was moved



the other day, and perhaps irregularly, as the proceedings have not been removed, that it should be lodged with the officer of the court; the bond being then, and I suppose it still is, in the hands of the commissioners for investigating the Carnatic debts. The opinion of my lord chief justice, if I understood him correctly, was, that it rested with these gentlemen to deposit the bond in court or not, as they should think proper. He said it could not be in safer hands than with the officers of the court; but that they were to use their discretion in the matter, that he would not order it. His lordship said he considered the bond, although tainted, to be still an outstanding claim; and that, notwithstanding the verdict which pronounced it to be a forgery, he thought the commissioners were competent to exercise their judgment upon it, and to recommend it as a good and a valid bond, if they thought proper so to do, but that it would be a dereliction of duty if they suffered the verdict to influence their judgment in the investigation of that claim.

This, I think, was the substance of what fell from his lordship; if I have any thing misconceived his meaning I shall be thankful to him to set me right—these sentiments fell from him in the warmth of argument, and I should be extremely sorry to impute them to him, unless, on reflection, he should think proper to avow them—but I must withhold my assent, as they stand at present, and should deem myself unworthy of the place I occupy on this bench, did I not express my warm dissent to sentiments, openly delivered, which, if adhered to, seem to me to be fraught with public inconvenience.

It is impossible to say what may be the result of the reference to his Majesty—he may refuse to grant a pardon altogether—and it is most likely he will, as I believe he has never yet been known to pardon the crime of forgery, and in that event judgment must not only be pronounced, but the bond cancelled (3 inst. 60), for all prosecutions of forgery have two objects in view, to defeat the criminal intention of the offender, where that intention has not already been carried into effect, and to

punish him for the means he employed to effect it—to inflict the punishment and yet to leave it in his power to effect his criminal intention would be absurd; and therefore, in cases of forgery, the court commonly takes care, by cancelling the forged paper, or delivering it up to the prosecutor for that purpose, that an improper use shall not be made of it; should then a refusal of pardon be the result of a reference to the crown, where shall we look for the forged bond, if it be suffered to remain with the commissioners; for these gentlemen act under instructions from the commissioners in England, by whom they are directed to transmit to them all bonds upon which any claim is founded. Should his Majesty, therefore, be advised to adhere to his resolution not to pardon forgery, and orders come out to us to proceed to judgment, are we to send to England for the bond? The court ought not, surely, to expose itself to this inconvenience, nor to the far greater, perhaps, of rendering future judgment wholly ineffectual by seeing this bond acknowledged by the commissioners as a just claim, and put in a train of payment—a bond which, after a full defence, has been pronounced by a British jury to be a forgery; and the evidence brought in support of it, has been, by another jury, pronounced to be wilful and corrupt perjury. Should the commissioners be encouraged to venture so far as this, should they be led to hold the verdicts of two grand juries and two petit juries in such disregard as to declare this bond an honest and fair claim, shall we be justified in the eyes of our sovereign and our country, in assisting to lead them into error, by leaving it in their power so to do? It is our duty, I think, to guard against the possibility of such a conduct: it is also our duty to await the result of the reference to his Majesty, and to have every thing in readiness to obey the royal orders as soon as we receive them—should the king be pleased so far to extend his mercy to the offenders as to grant them a conditional pardon, and the condition be that the forged bond shall be cancelled—How shall we carry his orders into execution if the bond is not within our



reach,—if it is not in our actual custody and power? Why the officer of the court was permitted to return it to them I know not, but by suffering it to remain in the hands of the commissioners, we place ourselves in the situation of not being able to conform to the orders he may think proper to send to us—and why draw this inconvenience on ourselves, when we have it in our power to avoid it, by directing that the bond be lodged with the officer of the court.

At the same time that we draw a great inconvenience on ourselves by suffering the bond to remain in their hands, we expose them to solicitations and importunities to pass it as fair demand, which, in my opinion, ought to be avoided—for these gentlemen are not placed above the law—their powers of decision arise solely from the deed between the company and the creditors, which is neither ratified nor confirmed by parliament, as is evident from the 9th clause of the act—they are liable, like all other trustees, to suits for abuse of trust, and should not, I think, be unnecessarily exposed to it, nor to the serious inconvenience of admitting in the list of claims, which they are bound, through the commissioners in England, to lay before the two houses of parliament at every sessions, with the grounds of their decision, that they passed this bond, or recommended it to be passed, in direct opposition to the verdict of a British Jury—for these reasons I am clearly and strongly of opinion that an order should be made for depositing the bond with the officer of the court.—I shall close what I had to say on this question by observing, that though a creditor of the late nabob; I am not, at present, in the smallest degree, interested in this bond. The verdict of a British jury having pronounced it to be a forgery, even the semblance of validity is for ever gone, and by its validity only could my interests be affected. Though the verdict has not had the aid of judgment, its propriety has not been questioned by the defendants themselves, and, by not praying a new trial, which might have been granted, they have acknowledged its justice. The punishment due to the

crime of forgery may, perhaps, be pardoned; but no pardon can stamp a value on the bond—that will for ever remain a tainted, and, I may venture to say, an useless, paper: for the commissioners in England, with whom the final decision rests, on all the Carnatic claims, will unquestionably hold the trial by jury, that great palladium of our liberties, in too much veneration, to allow the opinions of any individuals here to be put in competition with the verdict of twelve men upon their oaths, nor would I, I apprehend, be suffered by parliament, to whom they undoubtedly are accountable. The quotation from my letter will, therefore, I trust, miss its evident aim—to cast on my opinion, if I should venture to give one, the imputation of interest; but I am too well known in this settlement to have my integrity brought into question. I am not now interested in the fate of this bond, nor was I from the moment the justice of the verdict was acknowledged, by neither moving for a new trial, nor an arrest of judgment. I am neither interested in it myself, nor is any one connected with me.

Third question.—As to the question, whether the prayer of Mr. Marsh, for an order from this court to print the late trials, ought to be granted or not.

I think that as these trials are not before this court, but before the court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, the application would more properly be made to that court; but, perhaps, as this is not a question of law, and my lord chief-justice, before whom the men were tried, presides here, we may, placing a perfect confidence in Mr. Marsh's ability and correctness, give him leave to print them: but what end will our permission answer, if there exists any where, within the settlement, a power to controul the liberty of the press?—He has already applied to the chief secretary of government for leave to publish them, and has received for answer, that it is not thought expedient, and nothing more; no reason given why it should not be printed; but it sometimes is not convenient to assign reasons.—The chief secretary could not have said, that the government of this settlement have



power to revive the act of Charles II. for restraining the liberty of the press. That act, after two revivals, expired about 100 years ago, and all the efforts of king William, that great favourite of the nation, were not sufficient to prevail on parliament to revive it again. Parliament knew too well the value of a free press to put it under any other restriction, than that already imposed on it by the law of libels. The chief secretary might, perhaps, have said that government had been for many years in the exercise of a power to restrain the press; by prohibiting the publication of any thing that may create private uneasiness, or public ferment; and that the settlement had so long acquiesced in the assumption of this power, that it had grown into a right, which they now thought proper to exercise; allowing for a moment that the acquiescence of the settlement for twenty or twenty-five years past, (for beyond that period there was no press at Madras) could confer such a right. It was limited to the newspapers, and never extended, nor meant to be extended, to the length to which it would now be carried. In the case of the King against Paupiah and others, many years ago, for a conspiracy against Mr. David Halliburton, no such right was pretended to; that trial was printed and published at Madras, and no objection whatsoever made to it on the part of government, even though the governor and council were then judge, of oyer and terminer, and formed the court before whom the defendant was tried. They were not lawyers, and were, therefore, liable to errors in judgment, which they might not have wished to have exposed to the observation of the public. But no objection whatever was made.—The other day at Calcutta the trial of Mr. Tucker, for an assault on a married lady, with intent to commit a rape, was printed and published. At Bombay all the trials of consequence are printed in the public paper,—and have appeared in the public papers of Bengal, and some have lately appeared in our own. Why then object to a publication of the late trial? Are the characters and conduct of the men tried, like a lady's fame, too sacred to

be mentioned? or are the public less interested in being acquainted with the circumstances which came out on their trials, than they were in those which have at various times already appeared?—Nothing of this kind could possibly be the cause of refusing to let those trials be made public.—We must, therefore, look to something else—perhaps to an apprehension of improper interference in the suits of other men, approaching, nay possibly amounting, to maintenance “*as Blackstone informs*” (Com. 135) “*against public justice*.” It keeps alive strife and contention, and perverts the remedial process of the law into an engine of oppression, and therefore, by the Roman law, it was a species of the *crimen falsi* to enter into any confederacy, or to do any act to support another's law suit, by money, witness, or patronage.”—The excellent lawyer and upright judge, who quitted us last October, noticed a similar imprudence in the case of *Abbot v. Hussain-ul-Mohamed*, and pronounced it from the bench to be maintenance.

If, then, the secret reason of thinking it inexpedient to permit the publication of these trials, was to prevent the exposure of their falling a second time into the same error, it was certainly prudent.—But more prudence would have been shewn, if they had taken the blunt hint of sir Henry Gwillim, and avoided the error altogether.—I was for three-and-twenty years a confidential servant of the company under this government, and feel an habitual leaning towards them—I am not, therefore, inclined to impute any thing to them beyond imprudence—but imprudent, I am afraid, they have been, in taking any part in a cause, which seemed to call on them for a steady and determined neutrality—and had I still been their attorney-general, this is the conduct I should have advised.—All this, however, may soon be overlooked and forgotten, if the error be not further repeated; but the unauthorized restriction of the press cannot be so easily passed over. It is the dearest privilege of a British subject—the best and sur-



ent protection of his liberties—the greatest check on the extension of authority to which we are all naturally inclined—it is the best security we have for the pure administration of the laws we live under, and for keeping unpolluted, by undue influence or arbitrary decision, the sacred seats of justice; Mr. Marsh has, therefore, my leave, as far as it can avail him, to publish these trials. But my leave is comparatively of little value. By the constitution of the court, my lord chief justice at present possesses a double, or casting voice: whether, therefore, Mr. Marsh shall or shall not have the leave of the court, depends on the inclination of his Lordship's mind.

## MADRAS

### *Occurrences for March.*

#### *General Orders.*

FORT ST. GEORGE, MARCH 5.—The resident at Travancore, in a dispatch, under date the 21st ultimo, having communicated an account of the spirit and gallantry with which a part of the British forces, encamped at Quilon, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, consisting of two columns, under the respective commands of lieutenant-colonel Picton, of his Majesty's 12th regiment, and the honourable lieutenant-colonel Stuart, of his Majesty's 19th regiment, assaulted the batteries and works, erected by the enemy in front of that position, and, after having silenced and carried the batteries, captured seven guns. The honourable the governor in council has great pleasure in recording the high sense which he entertains of the skill and judgment, evinced by lieutenant-colonel Chalmers in the arrangements made by him to secure the success of the attack upon the enemy's position, and requests that lieutenant-colonel Chalmers will convey to lieutenant-colonel Picton, to the honourable lieutenant-colonel Stuart, and to the officers and men who served under them, the public thanks of the honourable the governor in council,

for their meritorious exertions on this occasion.

#### SUPREME COURT, MARCH 3.

*The King on the prosecution of Venaigum, versus John Batley and Royo Reddy Row.*

At an adjourned session of Oyer and Terminer, held on the 3d instant, at the court-house, in Fort St. George, before sir T. A. Strange, knight, chief-justice, came on to be tried an indictment, against John Batley and Reddy Row, for a cheat and conspiracy. The indictment charged that the above persons had conspired to defraud one Sadras Venaigum Moodeliar, a soucar, of the sum of 15,500 star pagodas, by inducing him to take a security, purporting to be a *bona fide* bond of the late nabob, Omdut-ul-Omiah, for that sum; whereas the same was alleged to be a forgery.

The above indictment was tried by a special jury, composed of the following gentlemen:

James Balfour, esq. foreman,  
F. I. Collis,  
Edward Dent,  
John Gwatkin,  
W. Hawkins,  
G. G. Keble,  
John M'Douall,  
W. Oliver,  
Mark Roworth,  
John Tulloh,  
W. Weston,

#### AND

Martha Jolly, esquires.

The trial lasted four days, and on Monday, the 6th instant, the jury returned a verdict of guilty. The defendants were on Wednesday brought up for judgment, when the honourable the chief-justice declared his intention of submitting this verdict, as he had done the two former ones, to the determination of his Majesty; and that, until his pleasure could be known, he should release the prisoners from gaol, and allow them to be at large on their recognizances.

MARCH 23.—The following is a more circumstantial account of the operations of the southern brigade of the Madras army against the former



dable lines of Arambooley, than has hitherto appeared.

The whole force employed on this service, under the command of colonel St. Leger, consisted of his Majesty's 69th regiment of foot, 500 men of the 1st battalion of the 3rd Native infantry, the 1st battalion of the 13th Native infantry, the 6th regiment of Native cavalry, and a party of artillery, with ten field pieces and four howitzers. They arrived at the Travancore frontier and pitched their camp opposite to the Arambooley gate, on the 6th February, four days previous to the assault. The works at Arambooley constitute a line of fortifications, which extends for the space of three quarters of a mile, from hill to hill, and is flanked on the right and left by strong redoubts constructed on either height. The great gate in the centre of the lines covers the principal pass through the huge rampart of mountains which divide the kingdoms of Travancore from the English provinces. The force, by which this important barrier was defended, consisted of 5000 regular infantry, armed and disciplined after the manner of the company's sepoys, and commanded by several Europeans, besides an immense multitude of Nair bowmen and other regular troops. Though the following concise account of the proceedings of the storming party contains few particulars beyond those which are already known, it will still, as the testimony of an eye-witness, be perused with some degree of interest.

The access to the works was extremely difficult, from the steepness of the hills, from jungles, ravines, and rocks. The batteries on the southern hill commanded the whole line; and it was proposed by Major Welsh, who commands our corps, to take possession of this hill in the night, by surprise. This plan was adopted, and he accordingly marched on the night of the 9th inst. with two companies of the 69th, two companies of the 1st battalion 3d regiment, and seven companies of our battalion, the 2d of the 3d. A party of pioneers carried scaling ladders, and he had a few artillerymen with him. I went with our corps; we

were all night in getting up the hill, through the obstacles I mentioned. The enemy appeared very vigilant, but their whole attention was directed to the north hill, towards which we had sent several reconnoitring parties the day before. Having got to the top, the scaling ladders were placed, and the whole force got in about an hour before day-light, without disturbing a single centinel. It was not a difficult matter then to drive the enemy down the hill. Our artillerymen turned the guns of the battery against the line, and, as soon as day broke, a party of ours charged the enemy on the ramparts of the line, and drove them before them. At this time the rest of colonel St. Leger's force came up from the camp, and the doors being opened for them they entered, and took possession of the pass and all the works. We had a captain and a sepoy mortally wounded, besides five or six others slightly.

After an interval of a few days, which were employed in destroying the enemy's works, and the unserviceable portion of his ordnance, the army, being joined by 500 Coffres belonging to the Ceylon regiment, and a party of about 100 men of the royal artillery, whom general Maitland had dispatched for Ceylon, began their march into the interior on the 17th. The enemy, meanwhile, had taken post at Kotar, not more than seven miles distant from the British camp, and there awaited our approach. An advanced party of colonel St. Leger's army, however, under the command of colonel Macleod, of the 10th regiment, having entered the village, immediately proceeded to the attack, and drove the Travancorians from their guns at the point of the bayonet. The guns, to the number of 15, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Our loss in this engagement did not exceed the number of four or five killed, and about thirty wounded; neither was the slaughter on the part of the enemy very considerable, the greater part of them being saved by the precipitancy of their flight. Such, indeed, was the panic, which their rapid and repeated reverses had diffused among all ranks,



that they abandoned to their pursuers the fortresses of Outegherry and Papanaveram, which are situated about ten miles from Kotar, and are accounted two of the strongest posts in the whole country. Colonel St. Leger, after blowing up the ordnance which he had captured at Kotar, advanced again on the 19th, and took possession of both fortresses.

On the 26th February, the date of our latest advices, the army remained encamped within five miles of Papanaveram. To the great mortification of our gallant countrymen, the splendid palace of the rajah at that place was found entirely empty, the immense treasure of money and jewels, which it was supposed to contain, having been carefully removed at the time of the evacuation.

Besides the detachment of artillery and infantry from Ceylon, which joined colonel St. Leger after the storm of Arambooley, the whole of the king's 19th foot, commanded by lieutenant-colonel the honourable P. Stuart, through the zeal and exertions of the Ceylon government, had, on the first intelligence of the disturbances, been dispatched to Quelon: they reached that place by sea on the 4th ult. After the arrival of this reinforcement, the army there, under colonel Chalmers, consisted of upwards of 1200 Europeans, including his Majesty's 12th and 19th regiments, and four battalions of Native infantry. In consequence of the great difficulty of collecting in that quarter a sufficient number of draft bullocks, and other necessary articles of equipment for the field, this powerful force had hitherto remained on the defensive. The two principal attempts made by the Travancorians on colonel Chalmers's camp, took place on the 14th and 31st of January; the engagement of the 15th was the most severe of the two; the loss of the 12th regiment on that day amounted to eight men killed and 45 wounded, and that of the sepoy regiments, in all, to about 60 or 70 rank and file. The enemy left 200 dead, and ten pieces of ordnance, on the field of battle. The portion of

their wounded of course could not be accurately ascertained. On both these occasions our Native troops vied with the Europeans in their steadiness and valour.

It does not appear that any treaty with the rajah of Travancore had actually been concluded at the period to which these accounts extend. Proposals of submission, however, on the same terms which had been formerly proffered by the English government, are said to have been sent by the rajah into camp. Colonel St. Leger waited the arrival of the resident, who was alone invested with power to negotiate,

MARCH 31.—The name of lieutenant Gore, commanding the light company of the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment, and ensign Meredith attached to the grenadiers of that corps, having been accidentally omitted in the letter from lieutenant colonel the hon. A. St. Leger, dated the 10th ultimo, enclosing a list of the officers who accompanied the detachment employed in the escalade of the lines at Arambooley; the governor in council has much satisfaction in publishing to the army the names of lieutenant Gore and ensign Meredith, whose conduct is equally entitled to that public approbation, by which he has had great pleasure in marking his sense of the gallant exertions of all the other officers engaged in that arduous enterprise.

## MADRAS

### *Occurrences for April.*

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.—The following proclamation, published by the authority of the judge and magistrate of the Zillah of Verdachellum, is made public for general information.

#### PROCLAMATION.

ZILLAH VERDACHELLUM, 30th March, 1809.—“Whereas on the night of the 12th of March, 1809, at the Choultry named Tavalacoopang, near and within the limits of Pondicherry, an attack was made on 16 Gollah Peons, or others, carrying a large sum of money in rupees from Madras to



Gaddalore, the persons in charge of the money were wounded, and the money carried away. This is to give notice, that a reward of one thousand Star Pagodas will be given, upon conviction, to any person, or persons, who will lodge such information in the office of the magistrates of the Zillahs of Verdachellum, or of Chingleput, as will lead to the detection and apprehension of the ringleader, or ringleaders, the instigator, or instigators, of this atrocious robbery, or who will apprehend and deliver the aforesaid persons into the jail of the Zillahs abovenamed. And it is hereby further made known, that a reward of Star Pagodas 100 will be given upon conviction to any person, or persons, who will apprehend and deliver into either of the jails aforesaid, or who will give such information as may lead to the apprehension of any of the other persons, who may have been actively engaged in the commission of this robbery."

(Signed) D. COCKBURN,  
Magistrate.

By order of the honorable the governor in council.

E. C. GREENWAY,  
Act. sec. to government.

Fort St. George,  
April 5, 1909.

## MADRAS

### Occurrences for May.

#### General orders by the governor in council.

FORT ST. GEORGE, May 1.—The zeal and discipline, by which the military establishment of Fort St. George had long been distinguished, induced the governor in council to expect that the measures, which the violent and intemperate acts of the late commander-in-chief had imposed on the government, would be received by all the officers of the army with the sentiments of respect and obedience prescribed by the principles of military subordination, and due to the government by which those measures were as well as to the authorities which they were ultimately referred.

The governor in council has, however, learned, with a degree of surprise proportionate to the confidence which he reposed in the discipline of the army, that soon after the departure of the late commander-in-chief, proceedings of the most unjustifiable nature, and correspondent to the example which he had afforded, were pursued by certain officers of the army.

The most reprehensible of those proceedings consisted in the preparation of a paper addressed to the right honourable the governor-general, purporting to be a remonstrance, in the name of the army, against the acts of the government under which it serves.

That paper is not more hostile to the authority of this government than to the first principles of all government. It maintains opinions directly adverse to the constitution of the British service, and is calculated to destroy every foundation of discipline, obedience, and fidelity.

The secrecy observed in preparing this seditious paper, prevented for some time the discovery of the persons engaged in that proceeding. But it has now been ascertained that captain Josiah Marshall, late secretary to the military board, and lieutenant colonel George Martin, lately permitted to proceed to England, were principally concerned in preparing and circulating the memorial in question, and that lieutenant-colonel the honourable Arthur Soutley was active in promoting its circulation, employing in the influence, which he derived from the important command confided to him by the government, for the purpose of attempting the subversion of its authority, and spreading disaffection among the troops which it had entrusted to his charge.

It has also been ascertained that major J. De Morgan has been active in the circulation of the memorial.

The governor in council is, also, under the necessity of noticing another paper of a most dangerous tendency, lately in circulation at some of the military stations, purporting to be an address from the officers of the army to major Boles, the late deputy adjutant-general.



tant-general. In this address a right is assumed, to decide on the acts of the government, by condemning, in unequalled terms, the sentence of suspension passed on major Boles; and an encouragement is held out to other officers to violate their duty to the government, by affording a pecuniary indemnification, not only to major Boles, but to all such officers as shall suffer by any act of the government which the subscribers to the address may deem exceptionable. This paper, so incompatible with the military character, and so repugnant to the fundamental principles of military discipline and government, was forced on the attention of the governor by captain James Grant, commandant of his body guard, who, while holding that confidential situation, and employed by order of the governor in council under the resident at Travancore, transmitted a copy of the paper to be laid before the governor, with an avowal that he had affixed his signature to it, and a defence of the grounds on which he adopted that proceeding.

It has also been ascertained that a paper of a similar tendency has been circulated among the officers of the corps of artillery at the mount, and that its circulation has been promoted by lieutenant-colonel Robert Bell, the officer commanding that corps.

The governor in council regrets that he is obliged to notice, also, the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Chalmers (commanding in Travancore), and lieutenant-colonel Cuppage (lately commanding in Malabar, and employed with the troops under his orders in Travancore), who appear to have taken no steps whatever, either to repress or report to the government the improper proceedings pursued by part of the troops under their orders. It is not sufficient for officers holding commands to avoid a participation in such proceedings; it is their positive and indispensable duty to adopt the most decided measures for their suppression, and to report them to their superior authorities.

It has further been ascertained that captain J. M. Coombs, assistant quarter-master-general in Mysore, has

been concerned in these reprehensible proceedings.

It becomes the painful duty of the governor in council to mark, with the displeasure of the government, the conduct of the above-mentioned officers, who have been engaged in a course of measures, equally dangerous to the existence of discipline, to the foundations of legal government, and to the interests of their country.

The under-mentioned officers are accordingly declared to be suspended from the service of the honourable the company, until the pleasure of the honourable the court of directors shall be known.

Lieut.-colonel the honourable Arthur Sentleger.

Major John De Morgan.

Captain Josiah Marshall,

Captain James Grant.

Lieutenant-colonel-commandant Robert Bell is removed from all military charge and command, until the pleasure of the honourable the court of directors shall be known, but he is permitted to draw his regimental pay and allowances.

Lieutenant-colonel-commandant J. M. Chalmers is removed from the command of the subsidiary force in Travancore.

The under-mentioned officers are removed from their staff appointments, and ordered to join the corps to which they stand attached.

Lieutenant-colonel John Cuppage,  
Captain J. M. Coombs.

The governor in council considers it to be proper to avail himself of this occasion to correct a misapprehension, highly dangerous in its tendency, which has arisen in the minds of some of the officers of the army with regard to the nature of the authority of the governor in council. This misapprehension appears to have originated in the general order, published by the late commander-in-chief on the 28th of January last, from which it might be inferred that the authority of the governor in council is only of a civil nature, whereas by the express enactment of the legislature, the entire civil and military government of the presidency of Fort



St. George, and its dependencies, is vested in the governor in council. It is therefore to be distinctly understood that no officer of whatever rank while serving under the presidency of Fort St. George, can, without incurring the penalties of disobedience to the legislature of his country, issue any order in violation, or to the derogation, of the authority of the government; and that every officer, complying with an order of that description, under any pretence whatever, renders himself liable to the forfeiture of the service, and to such legal penalties as the nature of the case may demand.

While the governor in council deems it to be proper to afford the foregoing explanation, he feels himself, at the same time, bound to acknowledge that the principles, to which he has adverted, had never been called in question until the publication of the above-mentioned order of the late commander-in-chief. On the contrary, these principles had been invariably acted upon by the government, and by the officers of the army of this presidency, who have been no less distinguished for their obedience and discipline, than for their achievements in the field. The governor in council also experiences the most sincere satisfaction in publishing his conviction that the majority of the army have resisted all participation in the improper and dangerous proceedings described in this order, and it is an act of justice to the troops of his majesty's service to declare his entire approbation of the order, discipline, and steady adherence to duty, which they have invariably manifested. The information before the government does not enable the governor in council to distinguish, by the expression of his approbation, all the troops of the company's service that have manifested the same dispositions; but he deems it to be proper to notice, on this occasion, the satisfactory and exemplary conduct of the part of the army composing the Hyderabad subsidiary force. The honourable the governor in council is also

confident that such officers as have inadvertently yielded to the misrepresentations of individuals, who have been engaged in the prosecution of designs equally fatal to the honor and to the interests of the army, will in future manifest in the service of the government, the obedience, fidelity, and zeal, which constitute the first principles of their profession, which have hitherto distinguished the army, and which are indispensable to the prosperity of the British empire in India.

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief sec. to govt.

The honourable the governor in council has been pleased to make the following appointments:

Major T. H. S. Conway to be adjutant-general of the army, with the official rank of lieutenant-colonel, vice Cuppage.

Captain P. V. Agnew to be deputy adjutant-general of the army, with the official rank of major, vice Conway.

Lieutenant-colonel T. Clarke to be commandant of artillery with the staff allowance annexed to that station, and a seat at the military board, vice Bell.

Major Sir John Sinclair, Bt. to be commissary of stores in charge of the arsenal of fort St. George, vice Clarke.

Lieutenant A. E. Patullo to command the honourable the governor's body guard, vice Grant.

Captain J. Doveton of the 7th regiment Native cavalry, to be paymaster at Vizagapatam, vice Marshall.

The following officers, who have been suspended from the service of the honourable company, until the pleasure of the court of directors shall be known, are directed to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to England, by such opportunities as the honourable the governor in council may think proper to point out, viz.



Lieutenant-colonel the honourable Arthur Sentleger.—Major Thomas Bolea.—Major John De Morgan.—Captain Josiah Marshall.—Captain James Grant.

Lieutenant-colonel Sentleger is further directed to repair to the presidency without delay.

The honourable the governor, having been pleased to appoint lieutenant-colonel Henry Conran, of his Majesty's royal regiment, to command the whole of the troops composing the garrison of Fort St. George, the governor in council directs that colonel Conran shall be considered to be entitled to the same allowances as other officers holding commands under the appointment of the governor in council.

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief. sec. to govt.

By order of major-general Gowdie, commanding the army.

MAY, 12.—On Monday afternoon, the 12th instant, anchored in Madras roads, his majesty's ship, Fox, captain Hart, accompanied by the French ship, Caravan, her prize. This ship was formerly the Cartier, of Bengal, Captain Aikin, and was taken in October, 1807, by the French privateer, L'Adele. The Caravan, when captured, was bound from Batavia to to Surabayah, her cargo consists of stores for building forts, arrack, coffee, and several carriages and bandies.

To captain R. Dickie, commander of the ship, *Marchioness Wellesley*.

DEAR SIR,—We cannot permit you to leave this port without expressing to you how highly we are sensible of your obliging conduct towards us, whilst we were your passengers from Bombay, and with how much solicitude you, on every occasion, studied our comfort and convenience.

We request your acceptance of a piece of plate, in the form of a cup, and of the value of one hundred star pagodas, as a small token of remembrance.

With every wish for your welfare and prosperity,

We remain, dear Sir,

Your obedient, humble servants,  
James Russel, major,—E. L. Smythe, captain,—H. Raynsford, captain,—A. Scott, lieutenant,—R. Parker, lieutenant,—E. Flint, lieut.—E. J. Bannerman, cornet,—Thomas Adair, cornet,—Thomas Trotter, surgeon.

To major James Russel, captain Edward Smythe, captain H. Raynsford, Thomas Trotter, Esq. lieutenant A. Scott, lieutenant Robert Parker, lieutenant George Flint, cornet E. J. Bannerman, cornet Thomas Adair.

GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, expressing your satisfaction at my conduct towards you during the passage from Bombay on board the *Marchioness of Wellesley*, and requesting my acceptance of a piece of plate, as a token of your remembrance.

I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that I feel highly gratified by the obliging manner in which you have been pleased to express your approbation of my conduct; and accept, with much pleasure and thanks, the piece of plate you have presented to me, which I shall not fail to preserve as a valuable testimony of your approbation.

I beg you to accept my sincere and best wishes for your health and prosperity, and remain, with great respect,—  
GENTLEMEN,

• Your very obliged, and  
obedient, humble servant,  
R. DICKIE.

Madras, May, 24, 1809.

## MADRAS

### • Occurrences for June.

By William O'Brien Drury, esq.  
rear admiral of the red, and commander-in-chief for the time being,



*of his majesty's ships and vessels employed in the East Indies.*

Whereas the right honourable the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. have, in consequence of his majesty's pleasure previously signified, directed me to establish the most rigorous blockade upon the island of Java and the Moluccas, and particularly for preventing any Arab vessels proceeding from those places to the French islands, or to the Red sea.

I do, therefore, hereby declare the said island of Java, and the Moluccas, to be in a state of close and strict blockade accordingly. And that all vessels, particularly those sailing under the Arab flag, which may attempt to proceed from those places, as well as the vessels of every nation which may approach the same for the purpose of communication, after having received due notice thereof, will be detained and sent into the nearest British port, there to be dealt with according to the principles and stipulations of such treaties as are applicable to the cases of islands, ports, and places, in a state of strict blockade.

Given under my hand on board his majesty's ship, Fox, in Madras roads, the 10th June, 1800.

(Signed) W. O'B. DRAVEY.

By command of the commander-in-chief,

(Signed) R. BROMLEY.

The honourable the governor in council has much satisfaction in publishing to the army of this presidency, the following letter from brigadier-general Malcolm, late envoy to the court of Persia, containing an honourable testimony of the conduct of the officers and men belonging to this establishment, composing part of the force lately assembled at Bombay under the brigadier's command.

*To the honourable Sir George Barlow, bart. governor in council, Fort St. George.*

Sir,—I consider it an act of justice towards the different details of this

presidency, which composed part of the force assembled under my orders at Bombay, to report their meritorious, and exemplary conduct, during their stay on that island.

These details amounted to near a thousand men, and the officers with them were about fifty, and it will, I trust, be considered as highly honourable to the character of the coast army, that during five months that this party of troops were encamped near the populous town of Bombay, I had not one complaint against them from any officer of police, or from any of the authorities under government, nor had I occasion to pass a censure on the conduct of any one officer, or to notice the occurrence of the slightest difference, or contention, between any individual of the detachment, during the whole of that period.

I trust I shall be pardoned stating the obligation I feel towards major Russell, captain Showers, capt. Poignand, and captain Fitzpatrick, who commanded the different details of cavalry, artillery, horse artillery, and pioneers, under my orders, as also to lieutenant Balmain, lieutenant Patullo, and lieutenant Little, who acted on my staff, and indeed to all the officers of the details, for they were, without an exception, actuated by one spirit of harmony and zeal, and their conduct was such as gave ample assurance of that degree of confidence which might have been placed in their efforts had they been called upon to act against the enemies of their country.

I had the highest reason to be satisfied with the great industry and science of the officers of the military institution of this presidency, that were attached to my expedition, who, under the superintendence of captain Goodfellow, of the engineers, completed, during my stay at Bombay, a very large and valuable map, of the western frontiers of India, Persia, part of Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient,  
humble servant,

(Signed) J. MALCOLM, B. G.

Madras, May 19, 1800.



In consideration of the expenses, to which the troops above alluded to were exposed, while under orders for foreign service at Bombay, the governor in council has been pleased to resolve, that the officers and men of all the details, European and Native, and also the public followers, shall be allowed one month's full batta, after their arrival at their respective destinations, independently of that which they may be entitled to for marching thither.

The governor in council, advertent to the alacrity with which the several details composing the force proceeding on the service in question, has been pleased to confer upon the Native officers and soldiers honorary badges to be worn as a mark of distinction, and as a proof of the sense entertained by the governor in council of their attachment to the service, and of their meritorious conduct while absent from their own establishment.

To Major P. V. Agnew, deputy adjutant-general.

SIR,—We the undersigned officers, forming a committee selected by the corps at Serroor: and Poonah to represent them, in carrying into effect their wishes of presenting you with some lasting memorial of the sense they entertain of the highly correct, yet gratifying manner, in which, for so long a period, you have carried on the duties attached to the important situation of deputy adjutant-general of the Poonah force, feel great pleasure in communicating to you that the committee have come to the resolution of begging your acceptance of a silver vase, valued at 100 guineas, which has been commissioned from England for the purpose.—Added to the gratification we derive collectively in apprising you of this act of our public duty, is the happiness we experience, individually and privately, in offering you a tribute, which we trust will not fail to be acceptable.

We remain, Sir,

Your's with best regards,  
Major Wm. Lewis; major George Powell; captain Dyson; captain

Hull; lieutenant J. Hickey; lieutenant W. Speller; lieutenant T. Skirrow.  
*Serroor Cantonments, June 13.*

[Here follows the names of the subscribers].

## MADRAS

### Occurrences for July.

To James Tweedale, esq. com. H. C. ship, *Perseverance, Madras Roads, Poonamallee, July 16, 1809.*

DEAR SIR,—Impressed with a deep sense of your kindness and attention to us during our passage from England, we, with unfeigned satisfaction, avail ourselves of this opportunity of publicly testifying our acknowledgments. With many wishes for your health and happiness, and sincerely hoping you may make a prosperous voyage to China and Europe, we subscribe ourselves,

Dear Sir,

Your most sincere friends,  
I. Gillam, cornet H. M. 22d light dragoons,—Henry Nott, ensign 80th regiment,—F. S. C. Brown, ensign 80th regiment,—Joseph Budden, lieutenant H. M. 17th light dragoons,—John Bowler, lieutenant 80th regiment,—John Brackenbury, lieutenant his majesty's light dragoons,—C. P. W. Harness, lieutenant 80th regiment,—George Woods, lieutenant 69th regiment,—M. R. Freeman, lieutenant 80th regiment,—William Wildey, captain H. M. 19th regiment, commanding detachment on board H. C. ship, *Perseverance.*

MADRAS, July 18.—GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, which, believe me, was highly gratifying to my feelings, being conscious of the sincerity of its contents.

If any kindness and attention has been shewn you, it was not only merited by your general uniform good conduct, but a duty incumbent on me to discharge at all times.

Believe me, gentlemen, you have my most earnest wishes for your health,



piness, and success, and your last testimony of gratitude towards me will never be erased from my memory.

I am, Gentlemen,

With the highest esteem,

Your most sincere friend,

JAMES TWEEDEALE.

*To captain Wildey, 19th regiment foot,  
and the officers of his majesty's  
troops, late on board the honourable  
company's ship, Perseverance.*

## MADRAS.

### Occurrences for August.

*G. O. By the honourable the governor  
in council. Aug. 3.*

PARA. 1. The honourable the governor in council judges it proper to announce to the Native troops, that the very improper conduct of some of the European officers of the company's service, and the refusal of others to acknowledge their allegiance to the government, have rendered it indispensably necessary to remove, for a time, a considerable number of European officers from the exercise of authority.

2. This measure will not, however, affect in any respect the situation of the Native troops, who must know that their first duty is to the government which they serve, and from which all authority is derived.

3. The governor in council entertains the same solicitude for the welfare and comfort of the Native troops, that has invariably been manifested by the British government.

4. He has no intention whatever of making any changes in their situation, and he expects that the Native troops will display on every emergency the unshaken fidelity to government, which constitutes the first duty of a soldier, that they will obey with zeal the orders of the officers, whom the government shall place in authority over them, that they will refuse a belief to all reports calculated to agitate their minds and diminish their confidence in the government, and that they will not allow themselves to be involved in

measures, in any respect adverse to their duty and allegiance.

5. The governor in council is pleased to express his approbation of the good conduct, which has been recently manifested by the Native troops at the presidency, in the camp at the mount, at Trichinopoly, and at Vellore, and he is confident that their behaviour will be equally correct and loyal at all other stations of the army.

AUG. 5.--The honourable the governor in council has been pleased to resolve, that all the European officers of the company's service, who may be removed from the exercise of their military functions in consequence of their refusing or omitting to sign the declaration required in the orders of the 26th of July last, shall be permitted to choose a place for their residence, until further orders, between Sadras and Negapatam, both places included; from which they are not afterwards to proceed beyond the distance of five miles, without the permission of the governor in council.

The governor in council is further pleased to direct that the commanding officers of divisions, stations, or corps, shall take the most effectual measures for obliging the officers, who may be suspended from the exercise of their military functions for the reasons above stated, to quit the stations of their corps without any delay whatever, and to proceed with all practicable dispatch to the places, which they may choose for their residence.

Commanding officers of divisions, &c. are directed to report to the office of the adjutant general of the army, the names of the places which may be selected by the officers for their residence under this order.

*G. O. By the honourable the governor  
in council.*

On the march of H. M. 2d battalion of the royals, from the garrison of Fort St. George, lieutenant-colonel Conran will assume the command of the force under orders of march to the ceded districts, without interfering with the command of the troops in the centre division of the army.



The governor in council is pleased to express his entire approbation of the conduct of the 2d battalion of the royals, while they have been stationed at fort St. George.

The governor in council requests that lieutenant-colonel Conran will accept the expression of his warmest thanks, for the able and satisfactory manner in which he has conducted the duties, incidental to the command of the troops in the garrison of fort St. George.

—  
FORT ST. GEORGE, August 10.—Yesterday the honourable the chief justice, the honourable Thomas Oakes, and James Henry Casamajor, esqrs. members of the council, major-general Gowdie commanding the army in chief, and the principal inhabitants of Madras, waited on the honourable the governor at the government-house in Fort St. George, when the following address was read and presented to the governor by the chief justice.

*To the honourable Sir George Barlow, bart. knight of the Bath, governor and president in council of Fort St. George, and its dependencies, &c. &c.*

Honourable Sir,—We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, impressed with a deep sense of our duty to our country, and of the necessity of good order and obedience to the constituted authorities, beg leave to tender you, at this moment of difficulty and danger, our assurances of support to the interests of government, and of our readiness to devote our lives and fortunes to the maintenance of the public tranquillity, in any way in which to you, in your wisdom, it may seem meet to command them.

We desire to take this opportunity of publicly expressing our fullest disapprobation of that spirit of insubordination, which has recently shown itself amongst the officers of the honourable company's army, serving under the presidency of Fort St. George. Fully convinced that it is the duty of every good subject to yield obedience to the commands of those, whom the will of

his sovereign, and the laws of his country have placed in authority over him, and patiently to await the result of a reference to Europe for the redress of real, or supposed, grievances; any conduct, impatient of the period of such appeal, and backward to the calls of professional obedience; we regard as subversive of all good order and discipline, hostile to the constitution of our native country, and big with danger to the existence of the British empire in India.

And we, therefore, honourable Sir, beg to repeat the assurances of our firm determination to resist the operation of such principles, which, we are convinced, must be equally reprobated and condemned by all good and loyal subjects.

(Signed) Thomas Andrew Strange; T. Oakes; J. H. A. Casamajor; Francis Gowdie, major-general commanding the army in chief; James Hare, lieutenant-colonel commanding centre division of the army; T. H. Conway, adjutant-general of the army; A. Falconar; J. H. D. Ogilvie; J. H. Peile; Frederick Gahagan; Robert Alexander; J. Munro, quarter-master-general; W. Thackeray; W. Wayte; J. Kenworthy; A. Anstruther; V. Blacker, deputy-quarter-master-general; W. Brown; George Garrow; James Taylor; Henry Hall; D. Hill; J. Leith, lieutenant-colonel; R. Barclay, lieutenant-colonel; W. Saunders; R. Yeldham; E. C. Greenway; H. Gahagan; J. Baker; W. Nicholson, D. A. G. K. T.; C. W. Burdett, brigademajor, K. T.; W. Parker; S. T. Goad; H. Huxell; G. E. Barlow, capt. 34th foot; Thomas Robinson; James Stuart Fraser, lieutenant; Thomas Gahagan; W. M'Leod, lieutenant-colonel 69th commanding; Charles Trotter, lieutenant-colonel 1st bat. 20th regiment; Henry Conran, lieutenant-colonel royal regiment; J. Campbell, lieutenant-colonel 33d regiment; C. Nicol, major 66th regiment; Thos. Maclean;



J. Sinclair, major 2d bat. artillery commissary of stores; J. H. Symonds, lieutenant-colonel Native infantry; C. Mackenzie, major engineers; W. Cooke; W. M. Taggart, sheriff; Terence Cahagan; P. Bruce, lieutenant-colonel; W. H. Gordon; A. Scott; John Read; P. Vane Agnew, deputy-adjutant-general; W. Morison; F. H. Bruce; W. Horsman; J. Prendergast, deputy-military-auditor-general.

*Fort St. George, Aug. 9, 1860.*

To this address the governor delivered the following reply.

GENTLEMEN,—I beg you will accept my warmest acknowledgements for this mark of respect and attachment to the interests of my government.

Assurances of confidence and support from persons of your rank, character, and station, must at all times have been highly gratifying to me, but they are peculiarly acceptable at the present moment of difficulty, when the governor is deserted by two many of those, in whose hands the constitution had placed arms for its defence.

When I reflect, however, on the distinguished reputation which the officers of the army of the honourable company have acquired, I cherish a well-grounded expectation that the example, which has this day been afforded by you, will produce the most salutary impressions on the minds of those individuals who have been so unhappily misled, and induce them to return to a correct sense of their duty.

While our native country is struggling for the support of the liberties of Europe, it cannot be possible that she should be wounded by our own sons in these distant and valuable possessions, which have been won by their arms, and which can be maintained only by a strict obedience to that authority to which she has confided their defence and government.

There is a principle of national feeling and attachment deeply implanted on the minds of Britons, which cannot be eradicated. I am confident, therefore, that in the hour of danger every

British government must find friends and supporters in all the good and reflecting part of society, who would be ready to rally around it, and to defend the principles of that constitution, which is the source of our liberty and happiness. They will perceive that every violation of the authorities created by the constitution, is a violation of the constitution itself, and they will be convinced that the greatest misfortune, which could befall the state, would be the surrender of its authority to the army, which it maintains for its defence, and the submitting to their trampling on those first principles of duty and obedience, on the due observance of which by every class of the community, and particularly the military servants of the public, the stability of every government is founded. To maintain these principles must ever be my primary duty as the immediate head of the government of this important branch of the British empire in India, and to support me in the discharge of that duty must be the first wish of every loyal subject.

Deeply impressed as you are with the truth of these sentiments, you will be rejoiced at being informed that the honourable zeal and loyalty of his majesty's officers and troops, and of a large body of the most respectable officers of the company's army, supported by the fidelity of the Native troops, have enabled me to frustrate the designs, which had been formed for the subversion of the government, and it will be a further source of satisfaction to you to know that the public security will be completed by the councils and authority of the right honourable the governor-general, whose arrival at this presidency may be shortly expected.

In this extraordinary crisis, it must have been a source of gratification to every man of rank and high station to have had an opportunity of placing his name in the list of those, who have stood forward to discredit, by their authority, principles destructive of all order and legal government. The public sentiment in every society must



necessarily be influenced by the opinions and conduct of its leading members; and I anticipate the most essential benefits from the exertion of your endeavours to disseminate those feelings of duty and attachment to the laws, which you have this day expressed, feelings which will be applauded by our country, and remembered to the honour of those by whom they have been manifested.

AUGUST 10.—This day a sessions of Oyer and Terminer, and general gaol delivery in the supreme court, commenced before the honourable sir Thomas Strange, kt. chief justice, at the court-house in Fort St. George, who addressed the grand jury in the following terms: .

Gentlemen of the grand jury,—I have to beg your attention for a few minutes, while I trouble you with the matters which I have to give you in charge.

Upon the larcenies in the calendar I have nothing particular to say, except to observe that a number of them were committed during the continuance of those tumults, which agitated the Native population of the town for several days subsequent to the close of the last sessions; occasioned by a difference that has long subsisted with respect to certain particulars between, in this part of India, two comprehensive classes of the Hindoos. In return for their unceasing and exemplary allegiance to us, we owe to this portion of our subjects an anxious attention to every thing by which their feelings, as well as their interests, are capable of being affected. It is not for us to deride their prejudices, particularly such, the history and nature of which we but imperfectly understand. Exercising over them the rights of government, it is our duty, so far as we may have it in our power, to make their case our own, wherever either circumstances, or their reference calls upon us to interpose, though, upon abstract consideration of the subject, their estimate of its importance, and our's, may widely differ. Government has, therefore, acted both wisely and humanely in

appointing a committee to investigate the differences, to which I allude, with a view to some arrangement that may prevent, for the future, their tendency to disturb the public peace. The committee, engaged in the enquiry, is peculiarly qualified to answer its purpose, delicate as is the trust confided to it. In the mean time, justice must take its course against delinquents, who shall appear to have availed themselves of the disorder of the moment to commit depredations upon their terrified fellow subjects. Cases of this description will occupy some portion of the time you will have to allot to the public service in consequence of the summons under which you are assembled.

There are, also, no fewer than three murders in the calendar. None of them require any particular observation from me at present, except one, for which you will find that the grand jury, at the last sessions, thought they could not, upon the evidence before them, justify finding a bill. The atrociousness of the case, and the just anxiety of that jury that the guilty should not escape, induced the court to detain, till the present sessions, the prisoners who stood committed for it, in the hope during the interval of some further discovery. I am sorry to have to tell you that none has been made, though the diligence of the police has been exerted for the purpose. The case, therefore, will come before you upon precisely the same evidence, upon which your predecessors in the function you are entering upon, thought it most discreet not to find any bill. The prisoners, if discharged, this sessions, for want of a bill being found against them, will be liable, at any future time, to be called upon again to answer, upon discovery of better evidence, to charge them than what at present exists. It is proper, however, for me to tell you, that you are not, in the slightest degree, bound by the judgment of the former grand jury. If the evidence, that will be laid before you, shall, in your opinion, be sufficient to warrant the accusation, upon which they stand committed, it will be your duty to confirm it by finding the



bill that will be preferred to you for the purpose.

There is one other commitment in the calendar upon a charge of a description that requires to be noticed. It is a capital one, for a brutal and violent attack upon the chastity of the weaker sex, the nature of which I need not further particularise. It is preferred against a British soldier, and, if true, is attended with circumstances of considerable aggravation, for the prosecutrix is a native, and married. In an address, which I mean to publish, I am unwilling to enter into remarks upon an accusation of this sort, which might otherwise assist you in deliberating upon the evidence to be adduced in its support, and shall content myself, for the present, with imparting to you the caution in an enquiry of the kind, of one of the best and most enlightened judges that England ever saw. When the witnesses for the prosecution shall present themselves, should difficulties occur, if you will intimate them, it will be the duty of the court to guide you the best it can in their solution. Mean while be it sufficient that I read to you some passages on the subject from the work of Lord Hale, the excellent judge to whom I allude. "It is true," says he, (speaking of the offence in question) "it is a most detestable crime, and, therefore, ought impartially to be punished with death; but it must be remembered that it is an accusation easily to be made, and hard to be proved, and harder to be defended by the party accused, though ever so innocent." "And therefore," says he, "though the party injured be in law a competent witness, yet the credibility of her testimony must be left to the jury upon the circumstances of fact that concur with that testimony." He then proceeds to lay down a few general rules as guides to the discovery connected with the character of the prosecutrix, her deportment at that time, the signs of the alleged injury, the place where it was committed, and lastly, the conduct of the accused: His experience had to be sceptical of the fact, the description of the crime

he uniformly speaks of it, as it deserves, with indignation and horror.

Gentlemen, the certainty that acts of rebellion have, within the territories dependant upon this presidency, been recently committed by members of the honourable company's officers engaged in an extensive combination, eventually to throw off all obedience to this government, and seek redress of alleged grievances by arms, forbid my parting with you on the present occasion without drawing your attention to a state of things at once so extraordinary, so perilous, and so highly criminal. If there be in the mind of any one of you, gentlemen, the least doubt as to the fact, upon him I shall expect to make no impression till he be better informed on the subject. If the fact, however, be, that the description of persons, to whom I allude, have, with comparatively few exceptions, been prevailed with to enter into an illegal combination, and that individuals of them, availing themselves of its support, are by their acts leaving to this government no alternative, but either to compromise the public authority, or to endeavour to maintain it by the sword, then the time is, in my opinion, arrived, when it becomes every man in his sphere to consider the part which it may be proper for him to take in a contest, in which it is not seemly to be neutral, and to exhort others, over whom he may have influence to adopt that which, upon a conviction of its being right, he means himself to pursue.

That the moment for doing this in the most public as well as unreserved manner, has existed ever since the day, upon which government took measures for requiring from every company's officer a test of his fidelity, it will be believed that I can have little doubt in assuming. By that act, on the part of government, the most universal publicity was given to the state of things as it existed between it and that portion of the army to which I am alluding. In the development which the dictates of prudence seem upon that day to have rendered indispensable, the Natives were expressly



included. The Native officers of corps were convened, by authority, to receive an explanation of the measure adopted, with respect to such of their European officers as had declined affording the test that had been required. The policy of reserve, from an apprehension of alarm, ceased with that act; and it became from that moment the proportionate duty of every friend to his country, by rallying round government, to countervail, as much as possible, the evil tendency of a disclosure that had taken place, and could be no longer restrained.

If individuals, the combination alluded to being effected, are pushing their plans for the controul of government to the extent described, it is for this court, exercising its legal discernment, to give the well-disposed the satisfaction of knowing, that if they are embarked in a conflict with their fellow-subjects, they are about to contend at least on the side of duty, for the preservation of whatever ought to be dear to them, in opposition to betrayers of their trust, employing in the subversion of the state the arms committed to them for its preservation.

Dreadful, indeed, is the alternative to which government has been driven, more especially considering the numbers engaged in this design, for whom many a consideration will plead. But dreadful as it is, "they who take arms against a lawful established government create the necessity of all acts requisite to be done on the side of that government, in order to repel and subdue them, or which, in the nature of things, becomes unavoidable for their suppression."

On the other hand, those, who on such an occasion can make up their minds to be instrumental in compromising the public authority, are either blind to consequences, or actuated by views quite distinct from the public good. Compromised it could not be without consequences following infinitely more to be dreaded than any evil to be apprehended from a steady opposition to armed demands, if go-

vernment possess the means of making it.

Thanks to the loyalty of his majesty's corps, of those officers of the honourable company, who are adhering to their duty, and to the discriminating sense of the native officers, the apprehension of any great ultimate danger to the state seems to be subsiding. The desperate experiment of forcing government, of substituting in effect aristocracy (the worst of all governments) in place of the one, under which it is our happiness to live, will, there is now reason to hope, be defeated without the difficulty that might have been expected. In the mean time, gentlemen, it becomes us at such a moment to recognise in the acts of the ruling power, the discharge of an extreme and painful duty. It should be remembered, that the British establishments in India represent the authority of the state at home, to which their conductors are severally responsible. It is some time since they could no longer with propriety be considered in the limited view of chartered governments. They have stood now for several years on the foundation of a celebrated act of Parliament, defining their powers and subjection, with reference to which latter they may be regarded as king's governments, as much as any other within the empire, to which the king directly appoints. Against such an authority it is, that many of the company's officers may be considered as at this moment in arms, many more in a state of desertion from their duty, having incapacitated themselves from performing it by declining to abide by the tenor of their commissions. In such a state of things, gentlemen, is it for the government to surrender? Distress might compel it; it must be extreme, however, indeed, to justify a thought of the kind. If it have the means of protecting the public authority, it is its duty to exert them for the purpose to the utmost.

Gentlemen, the sentiments which, upon this occasion I wish to convey, occur in a paper I have lately had oc-



caution to see, so stated, that, while I adorn my charge by their insertion, I think I cannot more effectually serve the cause to which they relate, than by offering them to you as I find them expressed.

"I would sincerely hope," (says the writer of it) "that there is no officer, however deluded by his passions, who, to procure redress for his grievances, will deliberately justify an act of resistance against the legal and established authority of government. Were they ten times as numerous as they are represented to be, it will not, I trust, be asserted that redress should be insisted upon, though the government itself be destroyed in the attempt. But the officers seem to consider themselves irrevocably engaged by certain pledges and promises, from whence they think they cannot recede with honour to themselves. A promise from one officer to another is assuredly a solemn obligation, and one that should not be lightly abandoned. But the officers should seriously reflect, that there are sacred pledges and promises which are antecedent and superior to those that they have given to support their present desperate undertaking. In giving a pledge to promote a hostile combination against the government, the officers should recollect that they violate all their solemn obligations as soldiers and subjects. No promise to perform an illegal act can be legal; no engagement ought to be considered as binding, which is itself a violation of all prior, and superior, engagements. The duty of a soldier to his superior, and of a subject to his government, is paramount to his duty to a brother officer."

This beautiful exposition of sentiments the most correct comes from an accomplished officer in the same service, the character of which upon the coast the application of them so severely, but so justly arraigns, and I am happy in being empowered to give to them the greatest possible circulation.

Gentlemen, there has been averred to you, in justification of the charge that I am delivering, nothing but what

I have, upon the best authority, reason to know to be the fact. The consequence, I should think, would, in the mind of every good subject, instantaneously follow. Rebellion is to be discountenanced, and put down. Every attempt to intimidate government into the retraction of acts, that have been deliberately adopted, and may, if exceptionable, be rectified at home, should be reprobated as tending to the subversion of its general authority, upon the maintenance of which the peace and preservation of society depends. In thus exhorting you, gentlemen, I am not undertaking the defence of measures,—*Non tali auxilio*. Not only it is impossible that I should have had any participation in those, which have been so perseveringly represented by the great body of the company's officers upon this establishment, and highly improbable, at least, that I should have been consulted upon them; but from this seat of truth, as well as of justice, I take this opportunity of declaring, that of the occasion and grounds of them I know as much, and not more, than the least informed among yourselves. But, though it is not for me to defend measures, there are principles which it is my province to inculcate, nor, regardless of all private interests and particular prejudices, can you, Gentlemen, possibly, at this moment, render a more important service to your country, than by adopting and enforcing them, to contribute to bring back the deluded to their duty, and restore to this distracted portion of the empire something like union and security

#### Police Department.

Notice is hereby given, that all Europeans, English as well as Foreigners, not in his majesty's, or the honourable company's, service, residing at this place, are required, within the period of fifteen days from this date, to deliver, at the Madras Police Office, a report of their names, country, place of residence, occupation, period of arrival, specifying also the place from whence they have last come, &c.



The above description of persons, who may hereafter arrive at this presidency, either by sea or land, are likewise directed to report their names, designation, occupation, &c. as above, within twenty-four hours after their arrival, at the Madras Police Office, mentioning likewise their intended place of residence while at Madras.

The above description of persons, at present residing at any of the out-stations, or elsewhere, under the authority of the government of Fort St. George, or who may hereafter arrive, shall, without delay, forward a report, in the annexed form, through the channel of the nearest magistrate, collector, or other local authority, to the Madras Police Office.

It is further directed that, on the departure of any of the above description of persons from their place of residence, to such place as they may proceed to, either from the presidency or from any of the out-stations, whether by sea or land, shall, by themselves, and through the channel of the nearest magistrate, collector, or other local authority, at all times, report to the Madras Police office.

In order to avoid any plea of ignorance, by the above persons, of the existing orders and regulations of government, the honourable the governor in council directs that copies of this notification, as well as that of the advertisements of the 2d of April, and 22d of August, 1807, be prepared by the superintendent of police, and affixed in the most conspicuous places of public resort at this presidency, for general information, and a certain number of these copies be transmitted to all the magistrates, collectors, and other local authorities, for the like purpose, of being affixed in their respective zillahs and districts, where the above descriptions of persons may reside; and in the event of failure by the superintendent of police, in transmitting the above copies, application to be made to him for that purpose.

It will be the particular duty of the magistrates, collectors, and other local authorities, where the above description of persons may at present reside,

and may hereafter arrive, to explain to them this order, and to see it strictly carried into execution, and on their failing to comply with it, they shall, on discovery, be placed under personal restraint.

J. H. SYMONS,

Supr. of police.

Madras Police Office,

Aug. 9, 1809.

*General orders by the honourable the governor in council.*

FORT ST. GEORGE, August 12.—

The course of proceedings followed, for some time past, by the officers of the honourable company's army at this presidency, has obliged the government to adopt the most decided measures for the preservation of the important interests committed to its charge. These proceedings may be stated to have commenced with the transmission to the government, by the late commander-in-chief, of a memorial addressed to the honourable the court of directors, dated January, 1809, and signed by a large proportion of the company's officers. Although that paper exhibits claims of an ungrounded nature, and contains observations equally improper, and unjust, on the orders of the honourable court of directors and the government, the governor in council was induced to permit it to pass without the serious notice which it appeared to demand, by a confidence in the discipline of the army, and a persuasion that the objectionable passages, in the memorial, were inadvertently and unintentionally introduced.

The subsequent conduct of the commander-in-chief forced the government to vindicate its authority by a signal example of punishment. It was well known to the company's officers, that the whole of this proceeding was referred to the supreme government, and the authorities in Europe; that it would receive, from their wisdom, a decision conformable to the soundest principles of reason and justice; and that its discussion could not belong to the cognizance of the army, who are precluded from becoming a deliberative



body. Notwithstanding these considerations, the governor in council, anxious to remove every cause of misunderstanding relative to a measure of so important a nature, published an order, dated the 31st of January, explaining to the army the grounds on which it was adopted. The governor in council had a right to expect, on the most obvious grounds of discipline, and respect for the laws, that the question would have been permitted to rest here, and receive its final award from the only powers competent to decide on it; and it was with feelings of equal surprize and concern he learned, that a memorial to the supreme government, of the most intemperate description, was circulated in the company's army. The governor in council, desirous to avoid a recurrence to measures of severity, and persuaded that it was sufficient to apprise the company's officers of the improper nature of their proceeding, to induce them to desist from their prosecution, authorized the commander-in-chief to issue a circular letter, dated the 5th of March, 1809, explaining to those officers the impropriety of their conduct, and calling upon them, by the most powerful motives of duty, allegiance, and honour, to abstain from such unjustifiable measures. A letter from the right honourable the governor-general in council, dated the 20th of February, 1809, approving of the steps adopted by the government of Fort St. George, with respect to the late commander-in-chief, was also circulated to the army, in the expectation that the sentiments of the supreme government would have repressed the spirit of faction and insubordination which prevailed. These letters appear to have produced no effect; the memorial to the supreme government made further progress; and an address to major Boles, an officer under sentence of suspension, written in a language of determined sedition, was circulated in the army, and forced upon the notice of the governor in council by a company's officer holding a confidential situation on the staff. The governor in council was still induced to pursue a system of

forbearance by the sentiments of affection and respect, which he was disposed to entertain towards the company's officers, and by a conviction that the principles of zeal, discipline, and national attachment, by which he supposed they were actuated, would lead them to relinquish the reprehensible measures in which they were engaged, on being made fully acquainted with their impropriety and danger. The commander-in-chief, accordingly, under the sanction of the government, issued a second circular letter, dated 10th April, 1809, again calling upon the officers of the company's army to adhere to their duty, correcting the erroneous opinions which they had received, regarding the powers of the government, and describing the unjustifiable nature and dangerous consequences of their proceedings. The governor in council learned, with deep regret, that these measures of moderation, these repeated and urgent appeals to the discipline, duty, national attachment, and professional honour of the company's officers, were entirely nugatory; that the memorials continued to be circulated, and that sentiments of the sedition were openly declared in many parts of the army. The further forbearance of the government would have encouraged the progress of those evils; a course of explanation and exhortation had been pursued in vain, and it became imperiously necessary to check, by a salutary example of punishment, a spirit of insubordination, that threatened the most dangerous consequences to the prosperity of the empire. The general orders of the 1st of May last were accordingly passed. The governor in council is concerned to state that this example, which was confined to the persons who were principally instrumental in promoting sedition, and of whose delinquency the most ample proofs existed, and which was intended to obviate the necessity of more extensive punishments, failed to produce the beneficial effects anticipated from its adoption; and that principles of insubordination and sedition continued to prevail among the company's officers, if possible, with



aggravated violence. The company's officers of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, whose good conduct, in refusing to affix their signatures to the seditious addresses, had received the approbation of the government, intimated to the rest of the army in an address, dated in May last, scarcely less reprehensible than the papers which had incurred the animadversion of the government, their participation in the disaffection, which prevailed so extensively in the company's army. The officers, at Hyderabad, followed up this act, by threatening, in an address, dated the 15th June, transmitted direct to the government in council, to separate themselves from the authority of the government established over them by their country, unless a submission should be yielded to their menaces, by abrogating the general orders of the 1st of May, and the company's officers, at Masulipatam, imprisoned their commanding officer, and made preparations to desert the post entrusted to their charge, and join the Hyderabad subsidiary force, thereby involving, on account of views personal to themselves, the men under their command in the guilt of rebellion, and furnishing to the Native troops a dangerous example of resistance to authority. The governor in council, still anxious to impress on the minds of the company's officers a sense of the impropriety of their conduct, published to the army the dispatch from supreme government, dated the 27th of May last, which contained an entire approval of the measures of the government of Fort St. George, and stated the most forcible and conclusive arguments against the system of faction and illegal combination, which had introduced itself into the coast army. This solemn decision of the supreme authority, in India, has, also, proved to be ineffectual. The officers at Hyderabad, although they knew the sentiments of the supreme government, refused, in a body, in a letter to their commanding officer, dated the 8th July, obedience to the orders of government for the march of a battalion from the Hyderabad force, adding, as a threat,

that its services might soon be useful to their cause; and have since forwarded to the government, in a paper dated 21st July, the conditions on which they are willing to return to their duty, and which they require the government to accept, in order to avert the impending awful evils, evils which can result only from their own criminal determination, to place themselves in the situation of enemies to their country. The conditions, on which those officers presume to state that they will yield obedience to the national authorities, afford further proofs of the nature of their designs; for they demand the public revocation of the general orders of the 1st of May, the restoration to their rank and appointments of all officers removed by this government, however obnoxious and criminal the conduct of those officers may have been; the dismissal from office of the officers of the general staff, who may be supposed to have advised the government; the trial, by a general court-martial, of the officer, commanding Masulipatam, who was arrested by his own disobedient officers; and, finally, an amnesty for the conduct of the company's army. The garrison of Masulipatam have placed themselves in a state of rebellion, the troops at Seringapatam and Hyderabad have followed their example, and it has been ascertained, that the military authority entrusted to commanding officers, has been usurped by self-constituted committees, and that an organized system of combination for the purpose of subverting the authority of the government has been established throughout the greatest part of the army of this establishment.

The governor in council perceives in the foregoing course of proceedings, on the part of the European officers of the company's army, which has equally resisted measures of forbearance and punishment, a determined spirit of revolt, that must, unless speedily repressed, produce the most fatal consequences to the constitution and authority of the government and the interests of the nation. No means compatible with the honour and au-



thority of the government have been omitted to recal the company's officers to a sense of their duty as soldiers, and of their allegiance as British subjects; the forbearance displayed by the government, under circumstances of aggravated indignity, demonstrate the satisfaction with which it would have regarded any disposition, on the part of the company's officers, to manifest the usual obedience required from all soldiers. No disposition, however, of that nature has appeared; on the contrary, those officers, by a systematic course of aggression and insubordination, have forced the government to adopt measures of the most decided nature in the support of its authority.

The governor in council would be guilty of a most criminal desertion of his duty, and the cause of his country, if he were capable of confirming the evils of sedition and mutiny by a submission to the menaces of a body of men placed, by the law, under his government. Such a course of proceeding would prostrate the authority of the state before a disaffected and seditious faction; it would effectually incapacitate this, and every succeeding government, from executing the functions of administration, and would be fatal to the prosperity of the empire in India, by affording an example of successful opposition to authority; and by weakening the power and dignity of the government, which, in this country, are peculiarly essential to its existence. Influenced by these considerations, the governor in council has considered it to be his sacred duty, to resist every appearance of concession to the threats of insubordination and faction, and to employ the power and means, at the disposal of the government, for the restoration of discipline, and the maintenance of its honour and authority.

In this state of affairs it is a source of the most gratifying reflection, that the zeal, loyalty, and discipline, of his Majesty's troops, and of many of the most respectable officers of the company's army, combined with the fidelity generally manifested by the Native troops, will enable the government to

accomplish the important object of re-establishing public order. The good conduct of his Majesty's troops during the dissensions that have occurred, their zealous adherence to duty, the preference which they have manifested to the principles of honour, virtue, and patriotism, over the personal views and disorderly passions, which prevailed around them, reflect the greatest credit on their character, and demonstrate that they are animated by the same ardent love of their country, which has distinguished their brother soldiers in Europe. His Majesty's troops under this government will possess the gratifying reflection of having deserved the approbation and gratitude of their country, and of having eminently contributed to the preservation of an important branch of the Empire.

The governor in council entertains a hope that the company's officers, who have threatened the government of their country with the most serious evils, who have demanded as the condition of being faithful to their duty, the execution of measures degrading to the character, and fatal to the interests, of the state, will pause before they attempt to proceed further in the course of sedition and guilt which they have pursued. It has been the earnest wish and anxious desire of the governor in council to avoid measures of extremity, to re-establish order by the course of the law, and to give up to military trial the authors of the present seditious proceedings. In the prosecution of measures, so consonant to justice, so necessary for the restoration of discipline, so conformable to the ordinary course of military government, the governor in council is persuaded that he shall have the concurrence of all persons in the civil and military services, who have not banished from their minds every sentiment of national feeling; and he exhorts the officers of the company's service, by submitting to that course of measures, to avert the evils which they are precipitating upon themselves. Such a result, gratifying at any period, would, at the present moment of national difficulty, be peculiarly acceptable to the views and feel-



ings of the governor in council; and adverting to the zeal and patriotism, by which the officers of the company's army have been distinguished, he still encourages a hope that, by manifesting obedience to the government, they will obviate the adoption of measures of extremity, arrest the certain consequences of their past conduct, and promote the restoration of general confidence, order, and discipline.

The honourable the governor in council is pleased to appoint major-P. V. Agnew, the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, and at present attached to the field force under the command of lieutenant-colonel Conran, to be also superintendent of bazars to that force.

The honourable the governor in council is pleased to appoint captain Lee, of the 2d battalion of his majesty's royal regiment, to be brigade major to lieutenant-colonel Conran, and lieutenant Rothwell of the same regiment to be post-master to the force under lieutenant-col. Conran's command.

The declaration required from the European commissioned officers of the honourable company's service by the order of the 26th July last, having been tendered to the medical officers at several stations of the army—and refused by some of them, in consequence of which they have been removed from the exercise of their functions, the governor in council is pleased to publish, that it never was intended that the medical officers should be called upon to sign the declaration in question, which is in no wise applicable to them, and to direct that all those, who may have been removed from their duties, do immediately return to their stations, and resume the duties of them.

The governor in council, having taken into consideration the whole of the transactions that have occurred in the garrison of Masulipatam, and being satisfied that the part borne by the men in those transactions is to be entirely imputed to the misrepresentations and seductions of their European officers, is pleased to proclaim a full pardon to the European non-commissioned officers

and privates, and to the Native commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the garrison of Masulipatam, who were concerned in these improper proceedings. The governor in council entertains a confident persuasion that this act of lenity will produce a proper effect in the minds of those men, and induce them to manifest in future that fidelity to the government, which constitutes the first duty, and highest praise, of every soldier.

The governor in council prohibits the march of any body of troops from the garrison of Masulipatam without the orders of major-general Pater, commanding the northern division, and directs that any troops, who have marched from Masulipatam without due authority, shall return, forthwith, to that station, on pain of being considered to be in a state of rebellion to the government.

*At a meeting, (by permission) of the medical officers at the presidency of Fort St. George held 14th August, 1809.*

Present, Doctor Harris in the Chair, Messrs. Ainslie, Ord, Goldie, Dalton, Gilmour, Underwood, Rogers, Sherwood, Trotter, Evans, G. Anderson, Timon, Dean, Sladen, Towle, Donaldson, and Sergeant.

The object of the meeting being laid before the medical officers present, viz.

“To take into their consideration the most effectual means for carrying into effect the erection of a suitable monument to the memory of the late physician general,”

It was stated that the settlement at large had it already in contemplation to enter into a general subscription for the accomplishment of the same purpose.

Proposed by Dr. Harris, and seconded by Mr. Sergeant,

That “the medical gentlemen of his majesty's and the honourable company's services, on the coast establishment, be invited to join in making up the sum of one thousand guineas, (by equal subscription) as their proportion towards the general contribution.”



The medical officers present, being unanimously of the same opinion, and having expressed themselves highly gratified in the opportunity so afforded of joining in the general sentiment and expression of affection, and respect, to the memory of departed worth and philanthropy, it was accordingly

Resolved—That Mr. Serjeant be requested to take the trouble to ascertain the presumable amount of each share, to the individual subscriber—in the event of the plan now suggested meeting the ulterior approval of absent medical officers, and

That copies of the proceedings of this meeting be submitted, by circulation, to medical gentlemen, respectively, at all stations under this presidency.

Resolved—That the thanks of the meeting be given to the chairman, for his conduct in the chair.

(Signed) H. HARRIS, M. D.  
Chairman.

AUGUST, 15th.—All civil and military officers, exercising authority under the government of Fort St. George, having been directed to consider all corps moving without orders as in a state of rebellion to the government, and to offer every practicable obstruction to their progress, the honourable the governor in council is pleased to direct that timely notice shall be given by officers commanding divisions to the different collectors and magistrates, through whose districts any troops under their orders may have to march, in order that such collectors and magistrates may be prepared to afford the supplies and assistance to those corps, which they would, without such notice, consider themselves bound to withhold.

The governor in council is further pleased to direct, that the notice to the civil officers shall distinctly specify the strength and description of the corps, or party, moving, and the name of the officer in charge of the same, who must produce a written order, with a translation on the back of it in the common language of the district; and by the officer commanding the

vants of the civil officers will withhold all supplies, and oppose every impediment to the march of the corps.

17th August.—The several natives, found guilty of grand and petty larcenies, were this day brought up for the judgment of the court; their sentence having been pronounced by the honourable the chief justice, the grand jury came into court, when their foreman addressed his lordship in the following terms:

*To the honourable Sir Thomas Andrew Strange, knight, chief justice, &c. &c.*

My Lord,—We, the grand jurors for the town of Madras and its dependencies, beg leave to offer to your lordship our humble thanks for the copy of that eloquent charge, with which, in consequence of our request, you were pleased to favour us.

We have studied it with that profound attention which every thing proceeding from your lordship so well merits, and we beg leave to state our hearty concurrence in those general sentiments of attachment and respect towards the government legally constituted, which your lordship therein expresses, and our sincere hope that the publication of your charge may have all the effect which it seems so well calculated to produce.

(Signed) JOHN READ,  
Foreman.

*Grand Jury Room, Aug. 17, 1809.*

The usual proclamation was then made, and the session concluded.

*Fort St. George, Aug. 18th.*

The governor in council has received intelligence that the troops at Chittledroog, consisting of the 1st battalion of the 8th and 15th regiments N. I., seized, in the latter end of July, the public treasure at that station, deserted the post entrusted to their care, and in obedience to orders which they received from a committee who have usurped the public authority at Seringapatam, marched on the 6th inst. to join the disaffected troops in that garrison, plundering the villages on their route. The British resident and the officer commanding in Mysore prohibited, in the



most positive terms, the advance of the troops from Chittledroog; and demanded from their European officers a compliance with the resolution of the governor in council of the 26th ultimo, by either declaring that they would obey the orders of government according to the tenor of their commissions, or withdraw for the present from the exercise of authority. \* The officers having refused to comply with his requisition, and having persisted in advancing towards Seringapatam, it became unavoidably necessary to prevent, by force, their entrance into that garrison. In the contest, which ensued, a detachment from the British force, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, aided by a body of Mysore horse, and first battalion of the 3d regiment of Native infantry, entirely defeated and dispersed the corps from Chittledroog. During this affair, a sally was made, by the garrison of Seringapatam, on lieutenant-colonel Gibbs's camp, but was instantly driven back by the picquet and 5th regiment of cavalry, under the command of captain Bean, of his Majesty's 25th dragoons, in charge of that regiment.

Nearly the whole of the rebel force was destroyed, while one casualty only was sustained by the British troops. Lieut. Jeffries, of H. M. 25th regiment L. D., having zealously offered his service to carry a flag of truce, which lieut.-colonel Gibbs, anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, was desirous of dispatching to the rebel troops, was slightly wounded in the execution of that duty by a volley fired under the express command of an European officer.

While the governor in council participates in the feelings of sorrow that must have been experienced by the British forces in acting against the rebel troops, and deeply laments the unfortunate, but imperious, necessity which existed for that proceeding, he considers it to be due to the conduct of the British forces to express his high admiration and applause of the zeal, firmness, and patriotism, which they displayed on that most distressing occasion. Their conduct affords a further proof of the superior influence in

their minds of the principles of virtue, honour, and loyalty, over every other consideration, and eminently entitles them to public approbation. Lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, lieutenant-colonel Adams, major Carden, captain Bean, and lieutenant Jeffries, availed themselves of the opportunities offered to them on this occasion of serving their country.

The governor in council is also happy to distinguish the zeal and loyalty displayed by the 5th regiment N. C. the 1st battalion 3d regiment N. I. and the Mysore troops, who all manifested an eager desire to perform their duty. The Mysore horse, on one occasion, put the column of the Chittledroog troops to flight, and took two guns and both 'the colours,' from one of the battalions: a memorable proof of the weakness of men acting in the worst of causes.

That a body of British officers should deliberately disobey the orders of their government, seize the public treasure under their protection, abandon the post entrusted to their charge, march to join a party of men in open opposition to authority, plunder the dominions of a British ally, and finally bear arms against their country, must excite grief and astonishment; but the conduct of these officers, in urging the innocent men under their command, who had the most powerful claims on their humanity and care, into the guilt and danger of rebellion, constitutes an aggravation of their offence, that cannot be contemplated without feelings of the deepest indignation and sorrow. The governor in council is very far from wishing to aggravate the misconduct of those deluded and unhappy men; but he earnestly hopes that the example of their crimes, and their fate, will still impress on the minds of the officers, who have joined in their plans, a sense of the danger of their situation, and the propriety of endeavouring, by their early obedience, and future zeal, to efface the deep stain which has been cast on the honour of the Madras army.

In announcing to the Native troops the distressing event described in this



order, the governor in council must express his concern that any part of the Native army should be so far deluded by misrepresentations, and so lost to a sense of the obligations of fidelity, honour, and religion, as to act against the government, which has so long supported them. The general orders of the 3d instant, and the conduct that has been observed towards the Native troops at the presidency, the Mount, Vellore, Trichinopoly, Bellary, Cooty, and Bangalore, must convince the whole Native army of the anxiety of government to promote their welfare, and save them from the dangers into which they were likely to be plunged. The governor in council still places the greatest confidence in the fidelity and zeal of the Native troops; and is convinced that they will not willingly sully the high reputation which they have so long enjoyed, by joining in the execution of plans, that must end in their disgrace and ruin.

The governor in council trusts that the unhappy fate of the Chittledroog battalions, who allowed themselves to be engaged in opposition to the government, will have the effect of preventing any other part of the Native army from suffering themselves, under any circumstance, to be placed in a situation adverse to their duty and allegiance.

The governor in council avails himself of this occasion to express, in the most public manner, his high sense of the zeal, moderation, energy, and ability, displayed by the government of Mysore, and by the British resident, and commanding officers, during the transactions that have recently occurred in that country. The British resident, and the commanding officer, in Mysore, did not permit the adoption of coercive measures until every means of expostulation and forbearance had been exhausted, and until they were compelled to embrace the alternative of employing force in order to prevent the most fatal evils to the cause of their country: The governor in council requests that the honourable Mr. Cole, and lieutenant-colonel Davis, will be pleased to accept the expression of his highest approbation and thanks for the

moderation, firmness, and ability, which they manifested on this unprecedented and distressing occasion.

The officer commanding the army in chief is pleased to publish, for general information, the lists of officers who have signed the declaration tendered by the orders of government of the 26th ult. which have as yet been received at the adjutant-general's office.

Major-general — Francis Gowdie, commanding the army.

Colonel — E. Trapaud, engineers.

Lieutenant-colonels — J. J. Durand, 2d regt. N. I. S. W. Ogg, 5th regt. N. I. J. Malcolm, M. E. regt. J. H. Symons, 17th regt. N. I. Henry Nash, 22d regt. of N. I. Thomas Wilson, 5th regt. of N. I. J. Leith, judge-advocate-general. P. Bruce, mil.-aud.-gen. R. Barclay, 6th regt. of N. I. town-major, Fort St. George. J. Munro, qr.-mr.-gen. of the army. T. H. S. Conway, adjt.-gen. of the army.

Majors — Colin Mackenzie, bk.-mr. Mysore. Thomas Tichborne, M. E. regt. N. I. W. McCally, 2d bat. 20th regt. N. I. J. R. Vernon, M. S. P. V. Agnew, dep.-adj.-gen.

Captains — F. Thompson, bk.-mr. presidency. P. Brown, fort-adjt. Fort St. George. M. L. Percira, 2d bat. 11th regt. N. I. W. Morrison, sec. to the mil.-board. R. B. Otto, assist.-qr.-mr.-gen. L. S. Smith, 2d bat. 20th regt. N. I.

Major Blacker, dep.-qr.-mr.-gen.

Lieut.-col. Trotter, 20th regt. N. I.

Lieut. Woodward, M. E. regt.

Ensigns Christie, 2d bat. 25th regt. N. I. and Logan, 1st bat. do.

Lieut. Newman, 2d bat. 25th regt. N. I.

*List of officers at Trichinopoly, who have signed the declaration.*

Major Nuthall, 6th regt. N. C.

Captains Fotheringham, engineers, Grant, 24th N. I. Marrett, 24th do. Frith, 13th do. Franck, artillery.

Lieutenants Fernyhough, Haultain, West, Jones, Ewing, Godfrey, 24th regt. N. I.

The following address to the he-



nourable the governor was received from lieutenant-colonel Davis, the officer commanding in Mysore.

*Camp, near Seringapatam,  
17th August, 1809.*

*To the honourable Sir G. H. Barlow,  
Bart. and K. B. governor of Fort  
St. George, &c.*

: **HONOURABLE SIR,**

We, the officers of the troops, in camp, near Seringapatam, under the immediate command of lieutenant-colonel Davis, are desirous of thus publicly expressing our sentiments of loyalty and patriotism at this momentous crisis.

While we feel proudly conscious that no thought, word, or act, of any one of our body could justify a doubt of our integrity; yet, at a time like the present, it is a satisfaction to ourselves to convey to government the sentiments by which we are actuated.

As British subjects, and as British soldiers, we assure you of our ready obedience; of our steady determination to protect the government, under which we serve, against all its enemies, of whatever description; and our full conviction that any departure from these principles would be in opposition to the allegiance which we owe to our king, and the duty we owe to our country.

(Signed) Henry Davis, lieut.-col. commanding the troops in Mysore; S. Gibbs, lieut.-col. 59th regiment, for self, and officers of the regiment; George P. Adams, lieut.-col. for self, and officers of H. M. 25th L. D.; J. Beaumont, assistant quarter-master-general, Mysore; H. Grove, major brigade.

To this address the honourable the governor was pleased to transmit the following answer:

*To lieutenant-colonel Davis, commanding in Mysore.*

**SIR,**—The sentiments expressed in the address, which you have been pleased to transmit to me, correspond with the high opinion that I entertain of the patriotism, zeal, and public virtue, of the officers who have sub-

scribed to that paper. At the present period of national difficulty our country has a right to expect, that all those, who have the honour of serving it, will make the greatest exertions and sacrifices in its cause; and I am confident that the high example of public zeal, which you have manifested, will be emulated by all the troops under this government.

In this remote part of the empire, it is only by the obedience, loyalty, and virtue, of every class of British subjects, that the national ascendancy can be maintained; and while I express my thanks for the just and honourable sentiments which you have conveyed to me, I think it proper to acknowledge the benefits that have been derived to the interests of this government, from the exemplary conduct of the whole of his Majesty's troops serving under it. It is a source of the most consoling reflection, that the commotion which existed has been, in a considerable degree, appeased; and that it is now the principal duty of the government to repair the evils which have occurred, to re-establish public confidence, and to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the future security of this branch of the empire.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

The following address to the honourable the governor in council has been received from Masulipatam:

*To the honourable sir George Hilary  
Barlow, K. B. governor in council,  
Fort St. George.*

**HONOURABLE SIR,**

We, the undersigned, being moved by the consideration of the agitation and disorder which so unhappily prevail at the present instant, to think the expression of our dutiful services might be not unseasonable, beg leave to offer the declaration of our rooted and unshaken affection to our invaluable constitution and laws, and our firm determination to abide by, and, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes,



faithfully adhere to the government, as by law established. Instructed by our happy constitution that on the just control over the army, by the executive power, depends the safety of the state, we regard, with sentiments of the profoundest grief, the departure from military subordination by which the present awful crisis is so affectingly characterised; and, being impressed with the most lively conviction, that such a state of things must be attended with danger to every object that is most dear to us, we feel anxiety greater than we can express, that, by the re-ascendancy of this constitutional principle, tranquillity may speedily be restored, and the interests of the British empire in India re-established on the firm basis of internal concord, and acknowledged public order.

(Signed) W. Hawkins,—Nathaniel Webb,—F. A. Savage,—T. Townsend,—and for A. G. Blacker,—Hugh Scott,—John Wilson,—H. S. Bowler,—G. Maidman,—H. Tod, and for F. W. Robertson.

*Masulipatam, 16th Aug. 1809.*

To this address the honourable the governor was pleased to transmit the following answer:

*To William Hawkins, Esq. &c. &c.*

SIR,—I have received, with sentiments of satisfaction and respect, the assurances of attachment to the principles of the constitution which have regulated the proceedings of this government, that are contained in the address which you have done me the honour of forwarding to me. During the prosecution of the measures, which I have found it necessary to adopt for the restoration of public order, I always encouraged a belief that the honourable principles, which you have stated, would soon recover the ascendancy, which they appeared to have lost, in the minds of some of the officers of the company's service, and I am happy to announce to you, that a considerable body of the company's officers, who were engaged in a state of opposition to the government, have declared their obedience to its authority.

The loyal and honourable ex-

ample of his majesty's troops, and of a respectable portion of the company's civil and military servants, has powerfully contributed to produce this important and gratifying result; and the best reasons exist for believing that the public interests, under this government, will be immediately re-established on those foundations of general obedience, discipline, loyalty, and virtue, which are essential to the prosperity of the British empire in India.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servt.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

Fort St. George, Aug. 30.—A report has been received by the governor in council, from the officer commanding in Mysore, stating that the troops which composed the garrison of Seringapatam surrendered at discretion on the 23d instant, delivered up their arms, and proceeded to the stations in Mysore allotted for their residence.

It has been ascertained that the Native troops, which proceeded from Chittledroog, were entirely ignorant of the real designs of their officers; and marched under an impression produced by their officers, that his royal highness, the rajah of Mysore, had commenced hostility against the British government, and attacked the fort of Seringapatam. The appearance of the Mysore horse confirmed this opinion in the minds of those troops; and when they found, in the contest before Seringapatam, which was begun by the Mysore horse, that the British force acted against them, they abandoned their arms, and endeavoured to save their lives by flight; it appears that a considerable number escaped into the fort of Seringapatam.

This explanation is due to the general conduct of the Native troops under this government; who have, in circumstances of peculiar difficulty, manifested a fidelity to the state that reflects great honour on their character. The governor in council was persuaded that it was only by deceiving the Native troops that they could be misled from their duty; and their conduct, in every



situation when they had an opportunity of being made acquainted with the true situation of affairs, justifies the high opinion which he entertained of their zeal and fidelity, and entitles them to the approbation and thanks of the government.

The governor in council greatly ascribes the early termination of the disturbances, in Mysore, to the vigilance, energy, and talents of the acting resident, the honorable Arthur Cole, and the commanding officer in Mysore, Lieut.-colonel Davis; and he judges it proper again to express his high sense of the important services which they have rendered to the interests of their country in India.

By order of the honorable the governor in council.

A. FALCONAR,  
Chief sec. to govt.

## MADRAS

### *Occurrences for September.*

SEPT. 9.—The appointment of colonel Close to the command of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, and to the general command of the subsidiary force, and of the field force ordered to assemble in the ceded districts, will not interfere with the appointment of lieutenant-colonel Conran to the special command of the latter.

Lieutenant-colonel Conran will proceed, with the force under his command, to Hyderabad, and place himself under the orders of colonel Close.

SEPT. 11.—Early this morning his majesty's ship, *Dover*, anchored in the roads, having on board the right honourable lord Minto, governor-general. At sun-rise a salute of 19 guns was fired from Fort St. George, and about 11 o'clock his lordship landed under similar honours. The whole of the troops in garrison were drawn out on the occasion, and formed a street from St. George's gate to the government-house, where his lordship took his seat, under a salute of 19 guns.

*Proclamation by the honourable the governor in council.*

Whereas in, and by, an act of Par-

liament made, and passed, in Great Britain, in the 33d. year of the reign of his present majesty, king George the Third, and entitled, an act for continuing in the East India company for a further term, the possession of the British territories in India, together with their exclusive trade, under certain limitations; for establishing further regulations for the government of the said territories, and the better administration of justice within the same; for appropriating to certain uses the revenues and profits of the said company; and for making provision for the good order and government of the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay,—it is enacted, that when the governor-general of Fort William, in Bengal, for the time being, shall find it expedient to visit the presidency of Fort St. George, or the presidency of Bombay, or any province or place in India; the powers and authorities of the governor, or other chief officer, or officers, of such presidency, province, or place, shall, from the time of the proclamation of the arrival of the said governor-general therein, be suspended, (except with regard to judicial proceedings);—and shall so continue to be suspended, until other proclamation be made to the contrary, by the order of the said governor-general; or otherwise, until the said governor-general shall depart therefrom, and no longer;—and that, during that interval, the powers and authorities of the said governor, or other chief officers, shall be vested in the said governor-general, with liberty nevertheless for such governor to sit and act as a member of the council of such presidency, and that the said governor-general in council, at either of the said presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, shall be invested with the powers and authorities, of the governor in council of the same presidency, or settlement, respectively; and also with the same ample powers and authorities as can, or may be exercised by the governor-general in council at Fort William, by force and virtue of this act; and whereas the right honourable Gilbert lord Minto, now being governor-general of Fort William in Bengal afore-



said, has found it expedient to visit this presidency of Fort St. George, and is actually arrived at the same, with intent to exercise, and for the purpose of exercising the powers so vested, and intended to be vested, in the governor-general in council, at this presidency of Fort St. George aforesaid, under, and by virtue of, the said act; and whereas such the arrival of the said right honourable Gilbert lord Minto, governor-general of Fort William, aforesaid, has been duly notified to the honourable sir George Hilario Barlow, bart. and knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, governor in council of Fort St. George, and the said Sir George Hilario Barlow, baronet, governor in council aforesaid has, in consequence thereof, ordered and directed such the arrival of the said Gilbert lord Minto, governor-general, aforesaid, to be publicly proclaimed, pursuant to the said act; now proclamation is hereby made accordingly of such the arrival of the said Gilbert lord Minto, governor-general of Fort William, aforesaid, and all persons are hereby strictly enjoined, and required, to take notice thereof.

By order of the honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George aforesaid, this 11th day of September, in the year 1809.

A. FALCONAR,  
Chief sec. to govt.

*General orders by the right honourable the governor-general.*

FORT ST. GEORGE, SEPT. 11.—The right honourable Gilbert lord Minto, governor-general of all the forces and affairs of the British nation in India, having judged his presence at the presidency of Fort St. George to be expedient for the public service, his lordship hereby notifies to the army, that he is arrived at the said presidency accordingly, and he requires all officers and soldiers under this presidency, to obey him as governor-general in council at Fort St. George, according to the provisions of the act of the 33d year of his present majesty, chapter 52.

By order of the right honourable the governor-general in council.

*To Captain Jameson, commanding the honourable company's ship, General Stuart.*

My Dear Sir,—At the desire of the officers and gentlemen, who came round from Bengal in the General Stuart, I have the pleasure to request your acceptance of a vase of the value of one hundred and fifty guineas; as a just, though small, token of the sense they entertain of your uniformly polite and kind attention towards them during the passage; to which I beg leave to add, in the name of my brother officers and fellow passengers, our most cordial wishes for the success of the General Stuart on her way home, and the happy accomplishment of all your views in life.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your's most faithfully,

(Signed) GEO. HERBERT GALL,  
Com. the gov gen's body guard.

Madras, Sept. 12, 1809.

*To Captain G. H. Gall, commanding the right honourable the governor-general's body guard.*

My Dear Sir,—I have been favoured with your very polite letter of yesterday's date, expressive of the sentiments of yourself, and the other officers and gentlemen, who came passengers from Bengal on the General Stuart, with respect to my conduct on you and them, while on board that ship; and requesting my acceptance of a vase of the value of one hundred and fifty guineas, as a token of the sense they entertain of my attention towards them.

I accept, with pleasure, this very handsome token of approbation, and beg to offer you my best thanks, and that you will have the goodness to communicate the same to the other officers and gentlemen, who have all my best wishes for their welfare and prosperity.

Wishing you every success,

I am, my dear Sir,

Your's very faithfully,

(Signed) JAMES JAMESON.

Madras, Sept. 13, 1809.



*General orders by the right honourable the governor-general.*

FORT ST. GEORGE, September 25.—

On my arrival at Fort St. George, I learnt that several important changes had taken place in the affairs of this presidency, subsequent to the events which had come to my knowledge at the period of my departure from Bengal.

The 1st act of open revolt, which had already been committed by the garrison of Masulipatam, had been followed by proceedings not less criminal and desperate at some of the most considerable stations, as well as some of the most subordinate posts of the army. These measures had been undertaken in connection with a guilty combination and concert, the extent of which I cannot contemplate without the deepest concern.

I had cherished, as long as events would yet allow me to do so, that cordial esteem for the army of the coast at large, which a long and uniform display of every military virtue had, till this calamitous season, so well justified, and which had led me, perhaps too pertinaciously, to ascribe the prevailing disorders rather to a partial, than to a general defection from duty.

This habitual regard for the army of Fort St. George, has much embittered the necessity of renouncing, even for an interval, and I trust I may now say a short one, sentiments which were once so just and are still so grateful to my mind.

It is a matter of satisfaction to reflect, that I have yielded these favourable impressions to the evidence of facts alone, and that it has required those scenes which have been acted in open day, without affecting even the decency of concealment, to extort from me the reluctant acknowledgment of a too general participation in the late criminal confederacy, which, while it casts a wider shade over the former reputation of this army, has also given to their proceedings a more serious and awful character, since the blow which the contest alone, but which success even without contest, would yet more certainly have struck

into the bosom of their country, must have been proportionally the deeper and more incurable.

The anxiety and grief, which would have attended the necessity of such a contest as this state of things appeared likely to require, has however been spared me, by the return of the officers to their duty, a final renunciation of the criminal designs which had directed their late conduct, and an unqualified submission to legal authority before my arrival at Madras.

The leading and principal facts had been placed so entirely beyond doubt or question, by the bold, undisguised character of the revolt, and the general principles of the deliberation, on which I was entering, are so plain and manifest in themselves, that a resolution might, perhaps, have been safely taken with little reflection or delay.

The consequences, however, of the judgment I had to pronounce, on one hand, to the public interest, and on the other to a numerous body, whose title to respect and regard could not be entirely effaced from my mind, even by the culpable excesses of a short and distempered period, were so momentous, that I could not consent to hazard a decision, unsupported by such previous investigation both of fact and argument, as the urgent nature of the subject admitted. It is matter of much comfort to my own mind, therefore, and will I doubt not afford satisfaction to others, that the measures, I have to announce to the army, have been the result of individual enquiry as to facts, and of the most mature, as well as anxious personal, meditation on every point of justice, public policy, and official duty, which ought to guide the deliberations and councils of a government on such a question.

I have not neglected to look back once more to the origin of these troubles, and I am constrained to repeat the sentiments I have already delivered on that branch of the subject. Nothing can justify the revolt of an army, but I have been disappointed in my search even for circumstances of mitigation in this revolt. No injury has,



in my apprehension, been done to the army, in any stage of a conflict which began in a factious attack on government. But if, in the necessary vindication of authority, any point may have arisen, which might be thought interesting to the military body at large, the regular and legitimate recourse to the ultimate authorities was not only open, but was actually in progress. Seditious combination, therefore, can find no apology in the case, neither can punishments, inflicted on individual acts of sedition, furnish a just provocation to general confederacy.

The commission of crimes draws after it the penalties attached to them, and in this process, it is government which is driven to repeat punishments and multiply restraints by the growth and repetition of offences. It does not lie in the offenders mouths to say, that they have been driven into the commission of crimes by the repetition of punishments.

Such, however, appears to have been the false and inverted principle by which this contagion has spread from a partial faction to a general revolt.

The latter excesses of the revolted officers appear to have sought a justification, and perhaps to have found support, from an error extremely similar.

The necessary, because the only effectual, means of defence which government could employ against the violence with which it was threatened, have been converted into arguments of greater violence, have been treated as crimes, and as new provocations to that very rebellion, by which these measures were, themselves, rendered indispensable.

On the other hand I have examined, with more than impartiality, that is to say, with an earnest desire to establish the most favourable conclusions for the officers of this army, all the circumstances which attended, and might be supposed to have influenced, the sudden return of the army to its duty. I am little inclined to pronounce an adverse and ungracious judgment on that interesting point. I will not, how-

ever, either on this or any other occasion, sacrifice truth to the indulgence of my personal disposition and wishes, and I have to regret that neither the particular circumstances of the moment, nor the specific information which has fallen under my observation, can warrant as clearly as I wish, the opinion I am desirous of entertaining, that the submission of the army to legal authority may be exclusively ascribed to a returning sense of duty, and the mere operation of public principle.—I am, at the same time, unwilling to probe that question more deeply than the occasion requires, and I am entirely disposed, amongst the complicated motives of an action good in itself, to discern at least the co-operation of worthy and honourable inducements. The latter sentiment has not been excluded from the considerations on which my judgment has been formed, and has been allowed a most welcome, and acceptable influence on the final measures that have been adopted.

It is not my intention to enlarge on the grounds of the opinions I have now delivered, and I have touched upon them only for the purpose of explaining one of the principal foundations of my decision.—The acts being in themselves highly criminal, I have discovered neither in the motives that led to them, nor in the immediate inducements to submission, sufficient palliation to entitle offences, so dangerous to our country and the world, to simple impunity and pardon. Clear and incapable of doubt as this proposition is, I have not yielded my implicit, and final assent to it, without a repeated review of every consideration that could oppose that conclusion, nor without many struggles of private sensibility and feeling against the lamented consequences, which must practically result from it.—But these are questions not of private sensibility but of public trust. I have in charge the discipline of future armies.—The maintenance of that fixed and imputable principle, that military bodies are subordinate to the state; in a word, the fundamental securities of human association—I cannot exclude from my mind the inti-



mate conviction that the total impunity of revolt, under all the circumstances of the present events, is not compatible with those securities ; that the silence of the law, in the case of arms turned against the government that gave them ; of fortresses seized by those who were stationed to protect them ; of troops seduced by the officers to whose better guardianship they were committed, could be ascribed to no motive, and produce on the minds of those who should witness it, even from a distance, no impression favourable to obedience and discipline. Upon what distinction shall we rely hereafter in the punishment of inferior offenders, and acts of minor insubordination, when impunity is the established result of mutiny, in which the officers of a whole army were the actors, and of which their superiors and commanders have been the principal promoters and leaders ?

This painful argument is extorted from me, not for the purpose of reproach, but to fortify my unwilling judgment in the afflicting, but inevitable, conclusion, that total impunity is forbidden by every obligation of my high trust.

There is yet, I hope, a mitigating principle in the most austere exercise of English justice ; that justice, which, while it obeys the call of public safety, is ever accessible to the interceding voice of clemency and mercy. A lenient and even a tender administration of justice is at once the boast and privilege of our glorious and happy country.

From its sterner duties I must not entirely shrink, but if I am prompted, by the best propensities of every human bosom, to infuse into the correction of subdued offences the largest measure of indulgence compatible with the ends of justice, I shall be but a faithful representative of our common sovereign, and shall but illustrate and exemplify the national character of his people. To this truly English virtue I shall appeal, if any one should think that either in the gratification of personal feelings, or in the emulation of the characteristic lenity of England, I may have given too wide a scope to indulgence, and have done too little for public discipline.

In pursuance of these views, the principle, I have thought myself at liberty to adopt, has been to limit the number of punishments, since impunity cannot be general ; and to mitigate their degrees to the utmost extent of lenity, not entirely incompatible with the public good, and the indispensable demands of justice.

In the execution of this principle it has been necessary to make a small selection from a great mass of delinquency, all subject in strictness to the penalties of the law ; and that such a choice should neither be capricious, nor subject to the suspicion of partiality, I have adopted general criterions, the principles of which are manifestly just, and the application of which to particular cases is subject to no difficulty.

The first ground of selection is the commission of some overt act of rebellion or mutiny, such as seizing on fortresses, or public treasure ; actual hostility against the troops of his Majesty, the company, or its allies ; quitting the station allotted to troops without orders, or the refusal to obey the orders of government.

This principle of selection would liberate a considerable proportion of the army ; but it would involve a much greater number than it enters into my views to exclude from pardon.

It is necessary, therefore, to select from the numerous class, already described, a smaller number comprized within a narrower head of distinction.

That selection is to consist of the officers in command of stations, or bodies of troops, commandants of corps, and persons peculiarly distinguished for a forward and violent part in the most criminal acts of proceedings of the army.

The whole of this highly criminal and peculiarly responsible, but not numerous, class, will most justly be submitted to a trial by court martial.

But as the courts martial may of necessity be bound to pass sentences of greater severity than it is in contemplation to extend, without distinction, to the whole number of those submitted to trial, a more minute sub-division will yet be made, and the officers in



command of garrisons, or considerable bodies of troops, will be separated, on this ground of higher responsibility, from the commandants of corps. The former will be subjected at all events to trial; the latter will be allowed the option of a trial, or dismissal from the service.

In order that no anxious uncertainty may remain, concerning the application of these rules of selection to individual cases, the names of all the officers intended for punishment are expressed in the following list. It will be found not to include the commandants of corps at Secundrabad, although that force fell too distinctly within the principle of selection, not only on account of the lead it assumed in the criminal combination and the violent proceedings of the army, but as having committed open mutiny, in refusing to permit the march of the 2d battalion 10th regiment to Goa.

I have, however, thought the example, which that force was the first to set to the revolted officers, of an early return to their duty, and the influence of that example upon other parts of the army, may be admitted as grounds of special indulgence and pardon.

I have abstained from looking too narrowly into the variety of possible motives that may be supposed to have actuated the senior officers of this force, in their exertions to withdraw it from further resistance to government. In my desire to restore my first esteem to the officers of this army, the better and more honourable inducements may be allowed at least their share in this commendable part of their conduct; and in my solicitude to extend the principle of clemency to its utmost allowable bounds, I have deemed the benefit derived both to the public and to the army itself, from the submission of the Hyderabad force, sufficiently important to warrant, even without regard to motives, or inducements, the extension of indulgence to that body. It will be a signal testimony that government is not unmindful of the services, which are rendered to it, and that, while it is impelled, only by necessity, to the exercise of its severer

functions, it seizes with satisfaction every opportunity to forgive and reward.

#### *List of officers to be tried.*

John Bell, lieutenant-colonel, 1st battalion, artillery, senior officer, commanding Seringapatam; John Deveton, lieutenant-colonel, 8th regiment, cavalry, commanding a detachment of the Hyderabad subsidiary force at Jaulna; Joseph Storey, major, 1st battalion, 19th regiment, Native infantry, senior officer, commanding Masulipatam; to be tried by court-martial.—Robert Munro, lieutenant-colonel, 2d battalion, 15th regiment, Seringapatam; David C. Kenny, major, 2d battalion, 19th regiment, Seringapatam; T. F. De Haviland, captain, engineers, Seringapatam; George Cadell, captain, 12th battalion, Native infantry, and town major, Seringapatam; Hugh McIntosh, captain, 1st battalion, 8th regiment, marched without orders from Chittledroog to Seringapatam; F. K. Aiskill, captain, 1st battalion, 15th regiment, marched without orders from Chittledroog to Seringapatam; A. Andrews, captain, Madras European regiment, Masulipatam; James Patterson, captain, 1st battalion, 11th regiment, Samulcottah; George Wahab, captain, 1st battalion, 21st regiment, Chicacole; James Sadler, captain, 1st battalion, 24th regiment, Ellore; J. L. Lushington, captain, 4th regiment, cavalry, Jaulna; A. McLeod, captain, 8th regiment, cavalry, Jaulna; C. Hopkinson, captain lieutenant, 1st battalion, artillery, senior officer of artillery, at Jaulna; G. W. Poignand, captain lieutenant, horse artillery, senior officer of the corps at Jaulna; G. M. Gibson, captain, 1st battalion, 10th regiment, Jaulna; Thomas Pollok, captain, 1st battalion, 12th regiment, Jaulna; Mathew Stewart, major, 2d battalion, 17th regiment, Jaulna; John Turner, captain, 2d battalion, 15th regiment, Seringapatam; to be tried by court-martial, or dismissed the service at their option.

Reduced as the numbers contained in this melancholy list have been by every consideration to which a sense



of inviolable duty has permitted me to listen; it has not been without the most afflicting agitation my mind has ever experienced, that I have affixed my final signature to the order as it now stands.

It is with corresponding satisfaction and joy, I have now to perform the more grateful office of announcing to every other officer, who has been involved in any of the criminal proceedings of the army, since the 1st of May, a general and unqualified amnesty; to the benefit of which those officers, who have hitherto declined the test, will be admitted on their signing that declaration.

This amnesty is not granted in the narrow spirit of mere pardon. It is tendered as an act of total and sincere oblivion; it offers on the part of government a full restoration of confidence and esteem; and it invites from those, who are the object of it, not a sullen discharge of constrained duty, but obedience which comes from the heart, and the cheerful, animated service of cordiality, affection, and zeal.

My sentiments, concerning the late events, have been too clearly pronounced to admit of an amnesty, thus general being so far misinterpreted as to bring in question the deep sense I continue to entertain, both of the guilt and the danger of those actions to which this indemnity is granted. It is not on a principle of justification, but of pure indulgence, unmingled with any other consideration, that I have acted on this occasion. I have recollected the proneness of our common nature to error; the dominion of the passions over reason; the influence of rank, authority, and talents over young and feeble minds; the powers of contagion, and the irresistible torrent of general example. I have considered the small and scarcely perceptible degrees by which innocent men are conducted, from the first slight transgression, to crimes, the enormity of which their minds would have revolted at, if presented at once to their view.

To resist these seductions is the part of a sound judgment and manly character. Such efforts are most honourable

to the distinguished few who are gifted with the union of these qualities, but they are, I fear, too rare to be required of all. To such considerations the extent of the present clemency must be referred.

When the officers included in this act of grace reflect on the happy change it has operated on their condition, I am sure the first sentiments of their breasts will be those of devout and fervent gratitude. It is my wish to point these acknowledgments to their proper objects.

Their first obligation is to the firm counsels and vigorous measures of that upright and honourable man, against whom their hands have been so unjustly raised. To the fortitude of his mind, which must challenge the respect and esteem even of his adversaries, and to the energy of the government of Fort St. George, the officers are indebted for their narrow escape from the guilt of a monstrous and unnatural conflict with their country, and from the ruin which, in every possible issue of that contest, must have overwhelmed themselves.

Next, for the recovery of life, honour, their own esteem, the confidence of government, the regard of their countrymen, and I trust a firm security for the perpetual duration of these blessings, their grateful benedictions are due to the benevolent genius of their country, of which I am only the organ.

If the agents of reproof have not been entirely excluded from this address, they have not been dictated by an angry or vindictive mind; and, in the full assurance that they will never recur in the intercourse between government and the army of the coast, I shall conclude with the last admonitions of a truer and safer friend than any flatterer of their passions and errors can ever be.

If in this awful moment I have acquired any title to their confidence and attention, let me implore them to think less lightly, than it is evident their minds have been accustomed to do, of violating the first, the most sacred, and the most characteristic duty of a soldier,—



fideliſty to the power he ſerves. Let them think leſs lightly of turning the arms they have accepted in truſt, againſt the government which has reſpoſed that confidence in their probity. Let this be the true point of a ſoldier's honour, which ſtamps with infamy every ſpurious pretence to that ſacred title; every pretence, which is in contradiction with this primary obligation, and which would ſtrangely and unintelligibly poſtponè, a firſt engagement for the performance of legal duties, to a poſterior and gratuitous pledge to commit crimes—Let them reflect on the guilt, the diſhonour, and the peril, exemplified but yeſterday, of this falſe caſuiſtry.

I intreat them to be perſuaded, that no man of honour, at the head of a government, will ever compromise with revolt, and that in every caſe the conflict muſt be carried to the laſt extremity.—My ſentiments on that ſubject are not equivocal, and are not aſſumed for this occaſion. They have been pronounced long ſince, and previous to any indication of troubles on the coaſt. My fixed and firm principle is, that the utmoſt evils that can flow from a conteſt with revolt, and even from defeat, are much inferior to the greater, more permanent, and more extenſive miſchief of conſeſſion. In ſuch caſes the revolted party may recede, and will always do ſo with honour, ſacrificing nothing but paſſions and crimes—The government againſt which the revolt is made has no option but to maintain the conteſt, or abandon its truſt, and fly from its duty.

My final and beſt advice is to reject the firſt ſtep that leads from the beaten track of professional demeanour, as if the worſt extreme, of ripened and atrocious guilt were propoſed at once to their acceptance.—The wiſeſt ſtride of all is from innocence to guilt. That boundary once paſſed, the gradations of crime are ſhorter and leſs ſenſible.—He who withholds his voice from early clamour, and his pen from the firſt irregular ſignature, is ſafe and blameleſs: beyond that clearly defined line, all is perplexity and danger.—With theſe friendly ſuggeſtions, prompt-

ed by a pure ſolicitude for the honour and welfare of thoſe whom I addreſs, I take leave even of admonition, and of every other form of addreſs which can imply reproof; and purſuing my mind of every painful recollection, embrace the happier proſpect, which is now preſented to our view, by the final termination of public diſcord, violence, and trouble, and the re-eſta bliſhment, on a firm, and I truſt, ſecure and permanent baſis, of tranquillity and order.

Minto.

*Fort St. George, Sept. 25, 1809.  
General orders by the right honourable  
the governor-general.*

At the moment when the ſentiments of the governor-general reſpecting the late diſorders on the coaſt, and his determination with regard to the officers of the army of Fort St. George, who have been led by a train of unhappy circumſtances to place themſelves in a ſtate of oppoſition to the local government of this preſidency, are announced to the public; it becomes the ſpecial duty of the governor-general to publiſh his higheſt commendation of the exemplary conduct of the officers of his majeſty's military ſervice, and of ſuch of the officers of the ſervice of the honourable Eaſt India company, who, in the late criſis of general agitation, have reſiſted the contagion of example, and adhering to the obligations of public virtue and professional duty, have manifeſted their zeal and fidelity in the cauſe of their king and their country.

The governor-general accordingly takes this opportunity of expreſſing in general orders his acknowledgments to thoſe highly meritorious officers, who, at ſuch a period of public danger, have ſtood forth to ſupport the dignity, and vindicate the authority of the government which they ſerve, and to maintain thoſe principles of conſtitutional order and military ſubordination, on which the exiſtence of every regular and civilized government muſt depend.

Although the governor-general deeply laments an occaſion, on which the applauſe of diſtinguiſhed loyalty and fidelity ſo juſtly beſtowed on one por-



tion of the officers of a British army, is unavoidably contrasted with the errors of another, yet he confidently believes that the same honourable spirit of patriotic zeal, which has hitherto been inseparably connected with the character of the officers of this establishment, continues to pervade the minds even of those who for a moment, already past, had ceased to obey its dictates, and that no memory or impression of this unhappy season of delusion and disorder, will remain, that should impair the esteem, or disturb the harmony which have, in all former times, united every part of this army.

MINTO.

*General orders by the right honourable the governor-general.*

From the first establishment of the British power in India, the zeal, fidelity, and subordination of the Native officers and troops belonging to the presidency of Fort St. George have been generally and eminently displayed. — On occasions of public danger and of foreign war, they have employed their exertions with distinguished honour and success in the service of that government from which they and their families derive their support; and to which they are indebted for the enjoyment of benefits and advantages unknown to the armies of the surrounding states of India. But their honourable qualities of loyalty and gratitude have never been more conspicuously manifested than at the period of the late commotion in the army of the coast; when, exposed to the severest trial, their innate sense of honour and cordial attachment to the government, has led them to withhold their concurrence in the execution of measures subversive of its prosperity, and incompatible with the principles of their professional duty.

The governor-general, therefore, has the satisfaction of declaring to the Native officers and men of the coast army, the high sense which he entertains of their exemplary conduct on the late trying occasions; a conduct which has so amply justified the unbounded con-

fidence of government in the loyalty and attachment of its Native troops.

Obedience and fidelity to the government is the common duty both of officers and soldiers; and the particular duty of soldiers is to yield implicit submission to the orders of their officers in every case in which they are not forbidden to do so by the express prohibition of government. — The governor-general is, therefore, satisfied that the Native troops will permanently maintain their claim to the applause and approbation which it is the object of this proclamation to bestow upon them, by the merit of their accustomed subordination and attachment to those who are appointed to command them.

MINTO.

*General order by government.*

FORT ST. GEORGE, SEPT. 30. — In obedience to the orders of the right honourable the governor-general of the 25th instant, officers commanding divisions, cantonments, garrisons, stations and corps, are directed to accept the signature of officers at present removed from their military functions, as well as those whose signatures have not been published in general orders to the annexed declaration, and to order such as do so, to proceed immediately to join their respective corps, transmitting lists of them to the adjutant-general's office.

The signatures of officers at the presidency, and Pulicat, will be received at the adjutant-general's office, for which purpose those at the latter station have permission to proceed to Madras, and those at Madras will repair to the headquarters of the centre division for the same purpose.

It is to be understood that any officer who shall omit to offer his signature to the declaration until the 1st day of November, 1809, will be considered as having declined to sign it, and will be reported to government accordingly.

**COPY OF DECLARATION.**

We, the undersigned officers of the honourable company's service, do, in the most solemn manner, declare



upon our word and honour, as British officers, that we will obey the orders, and support the authority of the honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which we hold from that government.

## MADRAS

### *Occurrences for October.*

*G. O. By the right honourable the governor-general.*

OCTOBER 4.—The governor-general, having attentively perused the proceedings of a court martial, assembled by the orders of major-general Gowdie, for the trial of lieutenants M-Cornick and Rowley, has judged it expedient that the crimes and sentences should be published to the army. The sense entertained by that honourable tribunal of the nature and degree of criminality attached to the offence, of which those two officers have been pronounced guilty, will be sufficiently evinced by those documents.

It has become necessary to determine whether these sentences should be carried into effect, or whether the amnesty which, with some specified exceptions, has terminated the disorder of the late unhappy period, is to be considered as embracing also the cases of these two officers.

In deliberating on this question the governor-general has observed, that the proceedings of the court martial were closed, and the sentences pronounced, some time before the amnesty was published. He was not apprized that any proceedings of that description were either in progress, or actually concluded. The case was not in his contemplation when his general order was issued, and he should not, therefore, in strictness, consider his judgment as pledged by that order on a question which he had no opportunity of considering.

The governor-general has, nevertheless, reflected, that the comprehensive terms in which the amnesty has been proclaimed, and especially the broad principles of oblivion and reconciliation

which characterize the whole measure, may appear to many sufficiently large to afford an interpretation favorable to these individuals, even under the circumstances adverted to. Averse, therefore, as he must always be, to bring even into question the faithful performance of a solemn promise, he has chosen rather to extend the general indemnity a little beyond its contemplated objects, and to incur the partial inconvenience of adding to the general mass of pardon, the impunity of these two offences against discipline, than to hazard the slightest deviation, either in letter or spirit, from the obligations of public faith.

Under these considerations, he has requested major-general Gowdie to remit the sentences, and restore the officers to the service, under a single condition, and the indispensable necessity of which, both for public and private atonement, requires no argument.—The condition is, that an ample and distinct apology shall be made to captain Campbell, their commanding officer, for the contempt of his authority, and insult to his person, of which they stand convicted.

It would not be the wish of the governor-general to burthen an act of grace with any reflections that might either wound or humiliate the objects of it; but waving all retrospective reproof, as applicable to this, or any other antecedent case, he should think he neglected the figure interests of the public and the army, if he omitted this occasion of bringing strongly to the notice and recollection of the officers of this establishment, the culpable nature and mischievous consequences of the practice which was the subject of the trials now under consideration; that is to say, concerted insult to those who have either uniformly done well, or who, having fallen, by the force of general example, into the prevailing disorders, have withdrawn themselves from former errors, and returned to a faithful discharge of public duty. Such combinations against individuals, of which examples have not been wanting in the late troubles, are always reprehensible, but assume a



much more criminal character in that state of things which has arisen out of the submission of the army followed by the amnesty announced by the general order of the 25th September.

The governor-general trusts that every disposition to this serious offence has been extinguished by these events; but as it affords the only means that now remain, either for nursing the seeds of military disorder, or for prolonging the discord of the army, some exposition of its dangerous and malignant tendency appears peculiarly seasonable.

To make a return to duty the subject of concerted affront and indignity, is in the first place a great breach of discipline. It requires a very clear cause to render such measures of personal enmity to individuals tolerated in any circumstances. No one can be ignorant of the displeasure uniformly manifested, and of the punishment invariably inflicted, in every case of such offences against discipline, by the supreme military authority of the sovereign himself; let any one imagine, therefore, what judgment would be formed on a complaint for such an injury, the excuse alleged for which should be, that the party against whom it was levelled, had withdrawn himself from a conspiracy against his majesty; or in a case arising in India, that he had renounced a further participation in revolt against the company's government.

In the next place, the continuance of such practices extinguishes all hope of cordial and general reconciliation, by which alone the traces of past calamity can be obliterated, and the individual comfort and happiness of the officers can be restored.

But last and chiefly let it be remembered, that the offences, which are the subject of these remarks, are in total contradiction with every profession of a return to duty. They demonstrate the still-subexisting spirit of military combination, which is in itself a deep and dangerous offence. The combination in this case would be, to stigmatize, by general and concerted measures, those

who relinquish criminal, and, therefore, invalid engagements, in order to fulfil the first indefeasible obligations of professional duty.

It must be recollected also, that those who persist in such practices forfeit every title both to confidence and clemency. Clemency, on the late occasion, has been founded on the hope, that the return of those, who should accept pardon, to the paths of fidelity and duty, would be sincere, and that every pledge and every combination that has the slightest reference to the late lamented period should be dissolved and abjured for ever. To continue, therefore, or to renew, similar combinations, in the very moment of accepting indemnity from the penalties of past transactions, must be felt to be a violation of public faith and personal honor, enhanced by the aggravation of the deepest ingratitude.

To sincere and cordial reconciliation, which authority alone cannot enforce, the army can only be invited and exhorted by every consideration which should influence their sounder reason, and their better feelings. But to repress every open attempt to obstruct the return of public harmony by putting indignity upon individuals, who have the merit of an early retreat from error, is a fit and indispensable object both of the vigilance and power of government.

Under these impressions, the governor-general has thought it a point of candour to apprise, thus early, every ill-advised individual who might fall inconsiderately into that snare, that no future example of this offence can be exempted from punishment, and that every officer accused of it shall be brought to trial before a court martial, or if the peculiar circumstances of the case should render it more advisable, the charge shall be submitted to the investigation of a military court of enquiry, and if established by the proceedings of the latter tribunal, the officer so offending must be suspended from the service, subject to the judgment of the honourable the court of directors.

MINTO.



## SENTENCE.

The court having maturely examined the evidence in support of the prosecution, as well as what the prisoner, Lieutenant James M'Cormick, has urged in his defence, is of opinion that he is guilty of the crime laid to his charge, viz.

For unofficerlike and highly disrespectful conduct, such as is totally subversive of military subordination towards me, while in immediate charge of the corps, in the following instance, viz.

For coming to my quarters, accompanied by lieutenant Rowley, and making use of the following expressions, viz.

"That he and lieutenant Rowley were deputed by the officers of the 2d battalion, 9th regt. N. I. to inform me that they considered my conduct to be infamous, and that I was a disgrace to the cloth I wear." Which being in breach of the articles of war, the court does therefore sentence the prisoner, Lieutenant James M'Cormick to be cashiered.

## SENTENCE.

The court having maturely examined the evidence in support of the prosecution, as well as what the prisoner lieutenant Rowley has urged in its defence, is of opinion that he is guilty of the crime laid to his charge, viz.

For unofficerlike and disrespectful conduct, such as is subversive of military discipline towards me, when in the immediate charge of the corps in the following instance.

"For coming to my quarters on the 20th August last, in company with lieutenant M'Cormick, when that officer made use of the following expressions to me, viz.

"That he, lieutenant M'Cormick, was deputed, along with lieutenant Rowley, to acquaint me, that the officers of the 2d battalion, 9th regiment, N. I. considered my conduct to be infamous, and that I was a disgrace to the cloth I wear." Which being in breach of the articles of war, the court does therefore sentence him, lieutenant Rowley to be suspended from rank and pay

for the space of twelve calendar months from this date.

*General orders by major general Gowdie.*

All officers, both of his majesty's and the honourable company's service, who have been appointed since the 20th of July last to do duty with corps of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, are to return to the corps to which they respectively belong, on being relieved by its own officers who have signed the declaration. Major General Gowdie takes this opportunity of expressing to those officers, the high sense he entertains of the advantages that have resulted to the public service from their united and individual zeal, which gives them the strongest claim to his warmest applause and acknowledgments.

## MADRAS

*Occurrences for November.*

NOVEMBER 15th.—In consideration of the inadequacy of the allowance granted to officers in command of divisions of the army under the rank of general officers to enable them to provide and carry the camp equipage requisite in their situations—the honourable the governor in council is pleased to direct, that officers in command of divisions of the army and the Hyderabad Subsidiary force, not being general officers on the staff, shall in lieu of the regimental tent allowance, now granted to them, be permitted to draw 3-4ths of the allowance granted to general officers on the staff by the regulation of 1766, for camp equipage and travelling charges, while in garrison and while in the field, accordingly as they may be situated.

In consequence of the additional allowance now granted to officers commanding divisions of the army not being generals on the staff, they are not to be considered as having any claim to public quarters at the stations where they may occasionally reside within their divisions.

NOVEMBER 25th.—An army, consisting of one regiment of European cavalry,



five regiments of Native cavalry, one regiment of European infantry, and seven battalions of Madras Native infantry, with a proportion of guns, have assembled at Jaulna. Colonel Close, who has been in command of the Subsidiary force at Hyderabad since the beginning of Sept. was to leave that station early in the present month, in order to take command of the army assembled at Jaulna, which is intended to act, should circumstances render it necessary, against Ameer Cawn, a turbulent chief, who has lately shewn an inclination to disturb the peace of the peninsula. He threatens to overturn the government of Nagpore, in obedience, as he sometimes professes, to the orders of Holkar; but at other times he gives out that his designs against the Nagpore government are undertaken with a determination to place himself on the musnud, in fulfilment of a late prophecy, which has announced the rule of Empire as his destiny.

By the latest accounts, Ameer Cawn had crossed the Nerbuddah; his force is reported to consist of 10,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry of all descriptions, and 80 guns, 16 of which are gallopers.

An efficient and well-appointed army is now assembling in Bundelcund, which is understood to have the same object with that which is already formed at Jaulna. An army is also collecting at a point, in the west of India, favourable to a co-operation with the armies in the Deckan and Bundelcund; so that unless the ambitious chieftain above-mentioned, secures an amnesty by a speedy retraction of his views, he is likely to incur the just punishment of his temerity and injustice.

The force assembling in Bundelcund will consist of one regiment (the 53d,) of European infantry, three regiments of Native cavalry, and six battalions of Native infantry.

Henry Russel, Esq. of the Bengal civil establishment, is appointed acting resident at the court of Poonah, during the absence of colonel Close.

## MADRAS Occurrences for December.

DEC. 10. The officer commanding the army is sorry to notice the number of officers, "absent from their corps," and "on their way to join," whose first duty was to repair direct to the head-quarters of their respective corps, without a moment's unnecessary delay. He therefore directs all officers to join their corps forthwith, who have not obtained special leave from head-quarters, or are detained after the publication of this order by certified ill-health, and that all officers not employed "on staff duty," or "command," who may be otherwise absent the 1st of January, 1810, be reported "absent without leave."

The officer commanding the army takes this opportunity of explaining to the officers of the army, that upon all occasions of removal from one corps to another, or on being exonerated from any duty or charge, they are required to join their corps *immediately, by the most direct route*, and that it is their duty to report their departure for that purpose to the head-quarters of their corps, that the most accurate information may be possessed relative to the absence of officers, the authority under which they are absent, and the probable time of their joining,

It is also directed that officers shall not visit the presidency, but with special leave from head-quarters, unless it be the most direct route to their station or corps, in which case they are not to remain longer than three days without express permission to do so from head-quarters.

The general orders of the 8th March, 1808, not having been sufficiently attended to in all instances, it is directed, that officers conform to that regulation, and no cause will be admitted in excuse for *personal* attendance, but that of ill health, in which case it is expected that a *personal* report be made at the adjutant-general's office at the



presidency, or to the commanding officer of an out-station, as soon as they are permitted by the medical officer attending them to leave their quarters.

All applications for leave of absence are to specify the date to which leave is solicited; and the general order of the 15th March, regarding "applications for a renewal of leave," must be pointedly attended to. Officers in command of divisions, stations, and corps of the army, are directed to return officers "absent without leave," who fail to join on the day their leave expires.

Dec. 17.—Intelligence has been received of the capture of the honourable company's ships Charlton, captain Mortlock, and United Kingdom, captain D'Esterre, on Sunday, the 19th ultimo, at 1 o'clock. A. M. lat. 6° 30' N. long. 91° 50' E. by two French national frigates, La Manche and La Venus, and a strong corvette, carrying sixteen heavy guns, after a well-contested action, which was three times renewed.

Apprehensions are also entertained for the H. C. ship, Windham, captain Stewart, the frigate La Venus having been left in chase of her.

An express received from Vizagapatam on Thursday morning announced the arrival of a brig cartel, (the Creole) having on board the passengers and crews of the captured ships.

The cartel had been ordered to proceed to Penang, but not being able to make that port, on account of contrary winds, and being much distressed for provisions and water, after beating to windward for five days, was obliged to bear up for Vizagapatam.

The following particulars have been received by this opportunity: On the 18th of last month, it appears that as the H. C. ships, Windham, Charlton, and United Kingdom, were proceeding direct on their voyage to Bengal, they espied, early in the morning, three sail, in lat. 5 north and long. 92 East, which soon proved to be two large frigates, (La Manche and La

Venus of 44 guns each) and a corvette, of 16 guns. About 10 o'clock in the morning a fire commenced between the three Indiamen, and one of the frigates, (the brunt of the action was however principally sustained by the Windham as the headmost ship) and, after an engagement of about half an hour, the enemy sheered off. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Windham, having gone ahead with every sail set which it was possible to carry, the frigate renewed the action with the Charlton and United Kingdom, who, having defended themselves in the most brave manner, beat her off a second time, and compelled her to seek the assistance of her consort, who was astern. About 12 at night both frigates came up with the Charlton and United Kingdom, when a smart action immediately commenced; but the force of the enemy being so greatly superior, and all further resistance being useless, the English colours were hauled down; and the enemy took possession of the two above-mentioned ships.

The Windham, having made all possible sail after the first action, (in which it is supposed she suffered both in loss of men and rigging) it is to be hoped ere this is safe in some British port. Some days after the capture, it was determined by the French commander to send the two ships' crews, and passengers, on board the corvette, and they have at length arrived at Vizagapatam, in a very distressed condition. Among the passengers are ten ladies, who must have suffered very considerably.

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman on board the United Kingdom.*

At daylight, on the 18th, three strange sail were seen on our lee beam, bearing E. S. E.—the United Kingdom hailed the commodore, and informed him of it, who, shortly after, asked by telegraph, if we should chase—answered in the affirmative—as did also the Charlton.

We had, a few days before, spoken with H. M. ship, Rattlesnake, captain Bremer, who, as well as the honourable captain Pakenham, advised us, in the



event of falling in which those ships to chase, and put on the best appearance, but, besides this, there was very little wind, and no apparent possibility of escaping from the ships if they should prove to be an enemy;—under these circumstances we bore up, having light, variable winds.

A few minutes before ten, one of the frigates being much nearer to our squadron than the other, and the corvette, engaged the *Windham*, the headmost ship. We continued under all sail until close to her, when we wore round under her stern, and being able to bring all our guns to bear, commenced as heavy a firing as possible. The *Charlton* commenced firing a few minutes before us, but most of her shot must have fallen short from the distance that she was from the enemy, and the light, variable winds, which did not admit of her getting nearer. At 11, A. M. the French frigate bore up to join her consort to leeward, bearing a commodore's pendant. In this action the *Windham* was the ship most engaged:—signal from the senior to come within hail, and shortly after to haul the wind on the starboard tack. *Windham* set sky sails, and every sail that a ship could possibly set. At a little after one, we went to quarters again, the same frigate nearing us very fast under our lee, the *Charlton* ahead a very short distance, the commodore a considerable distance ahead and evidently making off. At a quarter before 2 P. M. the signal was made to the commodore for him to shorten sail and join the ship in the rear—the signal was answered, but no attention paid to it. At half past three, the signal was repeated, but to no purpose; the frigate was now abreast of the *United Kingdom*, the *Charlton* still continuing the same distance ahead; we did not fire at the frigate till the last moment, although within gun shot, under the idea that the *Windham* would beat up to our assistance; the frigate, and her consort, being about a mile and half astern, and the corvette at least five miles. At a quarter before four, P. M. the *Charlton* made the signal to the commodore to bear up,

and engage the enemy's van; the signal was answered, but unattended to; the *Windham* continuing under all sail.—At four P. M. we commenced firing again, the *Charlton* being ahead, immediately bore up, to bring her whole broadside to bear, and commenced action also; we continued as heavy a fire as possible, until thirty five minutes past four; the frigate then bore up, giving us the whole of her broadside. The *Charlton* in passing, now cheered us, which we returned. At ten minutes before five the enemy's frigates were within hail of each other; shortly after boats were seen passing and repassing; the *Charlton* made the signal to the commodore to shorten sail; the signal was answered, but without complying with it. We were now employed filling cartridges, and used every exertion to prepare for the third action.

At 11 P. M. the *Windham* N. W. by N. distance five or six miles, set all sail upon the starboard tack. Both of the frigates nearing the *United Kingdom* very fast, captain Mortlock sent an officer on board to consult as to the best means for further proceedings; the *Charlton* keeping astern a shot distance, that we might make the best defence possible, both on a wind, on the starboard tack. At a quarter past midnight, the *La Manche* and *La Venus*, being within about half gunshot, commenced a heavy fire on the *Charlton*, who was astern about two-thirds of a cable's length; but we, being on a wind, were unable to bring guns to bear. The *Charlton* nobly returned the enemy's fire, which she maintained, with the greatest spirit, until about twenty minutes before one, A. M. Sunday, the 19th November, when she was under the painful necessity of striking. The frigates then passed the *Charlton*, and engaged the *United Kingdom*, both at once, in the same manner as they had engaged the *Charlton*. We continued the action, with the greatest spirit, until ten minutes past one, when, not being able to disable the enemy, and the masts, sails, and the rigging, being very much injured,



with several shots in the hull, and two of the guns rendered useless, and there being no chance of escaping, or opposing, with success, a force so very superior, we were under the necessity of striking. The *La Venus* then went in chase of the *Windham*; lieutenant Tucker, with captain D'Esterre, and officers, being sent on board the *La Manche*.

When every thing is taken into consideration, the vast superiority of the enemy's force, and the noble exertions made, the defence is highly credible to the captains, officers, and ships' companies, as well as to the passengers, cadets, and soldiers, on board of both ships, all of whom evinced the utmost gallantry.

Had the enemy attempted to board either of the *Indiamen*, I am convinced the event would have been glorious to us.

*Vizagapatam, Dec. 7, 1809.*

#### ENGLISH FORCE.

*Charlton*—26 eighteens, ship's company 109.—lascars 27, soldiers 75. Killed, James M'Gahy, private, 69th regiment. Wounded, Robert Sunman, ordinary seaman, severely. One gun rendered unserviceable.

*United Kingdom*—Ship's company 108.—Lascars 18, soldiers 50, carrying 32 guns, 12-pounders. Killed, W. Holmes, seaman, and one lascar. Wounded, four seamen, (one since dead) one lascar.

#### FRENCH FORCE,

*La Venus*—28 long eighteen pounders, 10 ditto nines, eight thirty-six pound carronades, 46 guns, and 25 swivels, 380 men; commanded by Mons. Hamelin, capitaine de vaisseau et officier de la legion d'honneur.

*La Manche*—The same number of guns and men, commanded by Mons. Donaldeguy, capitaine de vaisseau et membre de la legion d'honneur.

*A list of officers and passengers, arrived on board the Creole, French corvette, who were taken prisoners in the honourable company's ships, Charlton and United Kingdom, on Sunday, November 19, 1809.*

Captain Mortlock, commander of the *Charlton*; mates, Mr. Sennet, Mr. Martyr, Mr. Furlong, Mr. Hyter; midshipmen, Mr. Webb, Mr. Swinton, Mr. Forrester, Mr. Broker; purser, Mr. Fecon; captain's clerk, Mr. Knox; surgeon, Mr. Salkeld; assistant ditto, Mr. Stokes. Mr. Benford, chief mate, and Mr. Bocker, midshipman, were detained on board.

Captain D'Esterre, late commanding the *United Kingdom*; mates, Mr. Burne, Mr. Aikman, Mr. Ward, Mr. Randall, Mr. M'Lardie; midshipmen, Mr. Howell, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Downton. Mr. Redout, Mr. Mallet, purser, Mr. Russell, assistant ditto. Mr. Blanche, chief mate, and Mr. Ward, midshipman, were detained.

*Passengers per Charlton*—Mrs. Green, Mrs. Caldwell, Mrs. Muston, Miss Muston, Miss S. Muston, Miss Carter, Miss Denton, Miss Brietzcke, and an attendant on Mrs. Green. Major Caldwell, of the company's artillery; ditto Kinlock, of H. M. 67th regiment; lieutenant Tucker, of H. M. 24th dragoons; ensign Baxter, H. M. 12th regiment; ditto Stack, H. M. 14th ditto; ditto Gillman, H. M. ditto; Mr. Muston; Mr. Smart, assistant surgeon, H. C. service; Mr. Kage, Mr. Marriott, Mr. Newcomen, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Swinton, Mr. Hall, Mr. Gordon, and Mr. Crawford, cadets.

*Passengers per United Kingdom*—Miss Long, and Mr. Doveton, cadet; 12th regiment, 3 privates, 2 women, and two children; 69th regiment, 3 serjeants, 3 corporals, 9 privates, 4 women, and 2 children.



## BOMBAY Occurrences for JANUARY, 1809.

**JANUARY 6.** — Government has learned, with concern, the death, on the 29th of November, at Bussoia, of Mr. Charles Coore, a civil servant on the establishment, and Persian and Latin translator to his Majesty's legation to the court of Persia.

His talents and character of Mr. Coore, gave the promise of future excellence, and by his untimely death the public is deprived of the labours of a meritorious servant; and the service has lost a member, who promised to become one of its brightest ornaments.

G. C. OSBORNE,

Sec. to govt.

**JANUARY 10—1st.** The honourable the governor in council is pleased to permit lieutenant-colonel Alexander Walker, of the 1st regiment of Native-infantry, to proceed to England, according to the existing regulations; with the option of returning to or retiring from the service, at the expiration of his furlough.

2d. In thus announcing the departure of lieutenant-colonel Walker, the governor in council discharges one of the most gratifying obligations of his public duty, in recording, in concurrence with the sentiments of the commanding-officer of the forces, his unserved testimony to the distinguished merits of an officer, whose progress throughout the service has uniformly reflected the highest credit on the profession of which he has proved himself so respectable a member.

3d. The character of lieutenant-colonel Walker first attracted the notice of this government in the confidential situation which he held of secretary to lieutenant general Stuart, as commander-in-chief of the forces under this presidency; who having moreover appointed him to the office of deputy-quarter-master general in January, 1799, the lieutenant-colonel subsequently accompanied that experi-

enced officer in charge of the arduous duties of quarter-master-general to the Bombay army, that co-operated in the reduction of the fortress of Seringapatam in the memorable campaign of that year.

4th. The selection of the lieutenant-colonel to fill eventually the appointment of the assistant to the auditor-general having been communicated to the honourable the court of directors, they were pleased to direct, in the year 1801, that he should succeed to the responsible situation of auditor-general at this presidency, on the occurrence of any vacancy in the department. The several occasions, however, which the administration of this presidency has had to avail itself of the experienced talents and acquirements of that officer, having intercepted his succession to the principal charge of either of the two above-mentioned offices in the immediate line of his profession, in view to which he had thus successively been selected, and in both of which he was eminently qualified to promote the public service.

5th. Having accompanied the committee of government that proceeded to Malabar, in the year 1797, the knowledge which colonel Walker thence acquired of the state of the affairs in that province, joined to his conciliatory character, led to his being nominated a member of the commission that was formed for regulating the affairs of Malabar; at a crisis which demanded the selection of servants of approved judgment and talents.

6th. On the abolition of the commission, lieutenant-colonel Walker returned to this presidency, and would have succeeded to the office of auditor-general, pursuant to his nomination to the situation by the honourable court, had not the course of events called for the exercise of his tried abilities in promoting the national inter-



rests in a more active and delicate scene of operation.

7th. The Baroda state having solicited the interposition of the honourable company's power and authority in extricating the government from the various difficulties and distresses under which it then laboured, this officer proceeded to the northward in the year 1802, and in the short warfare which ensued, lieutenant-colonel Walker's services attracted the thanks of his excellency the most noble the governor-general in council, "for the judgment and address which he manifested in the conduct of the negotiation with the minister Rowba, and for major Walker's distinguished exertion of military talents, in the contest in which he was unavoidably engaged, with the superior force of Mulhar Row Guicowar."

8th. Having successfully engaged in the production of the active, and dangerous opposition that immediately distracted the Guicowar state, the attention of lieutenant-colonel Walker has for these last seven years been sedulously devoted, in his capacity of resident at Baroda, in co-operating with the administration of the Guicowar government towards the restoration of its affairs, after the attainment of which important object he is now, retiring to his native country with the regret of his own government at the loss of his able assistance, with the distinguished approbation of the governor general of India for the eminent services he has rendered, and the general good wishes of the sovereign and subjects in the country of the honourable company's ally at the court of which he has thus long and usefully resided.

## BOMBAY

### *Occurrences for February.*

BOMBAY, February 3.—Yesterday morning the governor inspected the brigade under the command of brigadier general Malcolm, consisting of his majesty's 65th regiment of foot, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lionel Smith,

detachments, from Madras, of horse artillery under the command of captain Poignard, of artillery under captain Shower, of cavalry under major Russel, the Bengal marine, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Shuldham, and a detachment of pioneers under the command of captain Fitzpatrick. On this occasion brigadier-general Malcolm presented the colours to the Madras cavalry, and addressed them as follows:

"Major Russel,—It is with a pride, which nothing but my knowledge of the officers and men under your command could inspire, that I present them with their standards. The greater part of them are volunteers from regiments of high and established reputation, and as such, it is impossible they should ever forget, that when they obeyed that noblest of all impulses, which leads a soldier to step forward at even the prospect of fatigue and danger, they imposed upon themselves a sacred obligation, not only to fulfil the promise they made by that act to the state they serve, but to the respective corps to which they belong, whose honour and character they became, from that moment, pledged to maintain, in all scenes, and under all circumstances, in which they might be placed.

"To men whose breasts are animated with a sense of such duties, it would be a waste of time to say more than that I commit these standards to their charge, in the assurance that they will always be regarded with those proud feelings they are meant to excite, and with the fullest conviction that, when an opportunity is afforded to the officers and men of this corps, they will more than fulfil these solemn obligations they have thus voluntarily incurred, and by doing so not only entitle themselves to the gratitude of the state they serve, but be, at their return, cheered with the welcome applause of those corps, whose glory and fame they have promoted and extended by their spirit of enterprise, discipline, and valour."

After the inspection a numerous assemblage of ladies and gentlemen



adjourned to brigadier-general Malcolm's tents, where they partook of an elegant breakfast.

*Orders by the honourable the governor.*

FEB. 3.—The honourable the governor had the greatest satisfaction in inspecting brigadier-general Malcolm's brigade under arms this morning.

The steady and orderly movement of the column, as it marched round in review, was truly gratifying.

The uniform and animated appearance of the detachments of horse artillery, and cavalry on foot, attracted particular attention, and the honourable the governor had only to regret, that he had not the pleasure of seeing them mounted.

The coast artillery have long deservedly enjoyed a high character for skill and discipline, such as there is no doubt they will continue to merit.

The soldier-like appearance, and steadiness, of H. M.'s 69th regiment was conspicuous; and the honourable the governor has the fullest confidence, that the well-established discipline of this corps will continue to reflect honour and credit on themselves and their country, whenever they are called into active service.

The Bengal battalion is a fine body of men, who will, doubtless, continue to support their distinguished reputation.

The honourable the governor was, also, much pleased with the appearance of the corps of pioneers, who have already obtained a badge of merit for foreign service. This settlement is moreover indebted to their voluntary and very useful labour, in occupying their late leisure time in the repairs of the roads in Bombay and Salsette, for which their commandant captain Fitzpatrick has already the acknowledgements of government.

Of general Malcolm his merits are so well known, that the governor has only to express his belief, that, this officer's well-earned reputation, however high, will receive new lustre by his successful exercise of the very

honourable and important command with which he is now entrusted by the supreme government.

M. KENNEDY,  
Town major.

FEBRUARY 4.—The latest accounts from the north-western frontier of Persia state, that a battle had been fought between the Russians and Persians, under the command of the heir apparent, Abbas Mirza. The slaughter on both sides appears to have been considerable; but the Russians, as usual, claim the victory; and a royal firman has directed illuminations throughout the Persian empire, in honour of the success of his majesty's arms.

Although the rumours, respecting the present state of the French embassy, at Tebraun, differ in some slight points, yet no doubt can be entertained, that the influence of our enemies in the Persian cabinet has considerably diminished, in consequence of the recommencement of hostilities with the Russians. Some private letters assert, that the French embassy has been actually dismissed; others, that a period for its departure has been fixed; but all accounts agree in stating, that his Persian majesty attributes the late irruption of the Russians to the intrigues of the French, who hoped to intimidate him into a compliance with their demands, by the pressure of great and immediate danger. The consequence of this impression has been the complete alienation of the king of Persia from the French nation. It is but reasonable to suppose, that a continuance of hostility, on the part of Russia, combined with a distrust of the French, would lead the court of Persia to solicit the assistance of the English government. Whatever may be the degree of credit to which this intelligence is entitled, or the extent to which the late news from Europe may be expected to influence the politics of the court of Tebraun, it would not be desirable, immediately, to suspend those measures of defensive policy; which it is the character of a wise nation to continue.



until the danger, that rendered them necessary, shall, have ceased to exist.

*His majesty's ship, Culloden, Point de Galle Roads.*

FEBRUARY 14.—Sir,—Having this day accidentally seen, in the Bombay courier, of the 7th ultimo, the resolutions of a general meeting of the merchants, ship owners, and underwriters, of which you were chairman, delivering the sentiments of that respectable body regarding the protection I have afforded to the commercial interest of Bombay, during the period of my command in India, I cannot leave this anchorage, from which I am now on the eve of departure for Europe, without expressing to you the satisfaction with which I have perused this public testimony of their favourable opinion; and I request, Sir, you will convey to the members of that meeting, my sincere acknowledgments on this occasion.

While I perceive the great advantages which have resulted to your commerce by a cordial co-operation in the system of convoy which I established for its protection, I think it proper to observe, that, if the same principles of liberal policy had influenced the mercantile interests of India at large, the greater part of those losses, which individuals have sustained by capture, would have been prevented by a strict adherence to such a plan of general protection, which, while it provided for the welfare of the mercantile community, imposed a wholesome restraint on that spirit of private speculation, so evidently injurious to the common advantage.

With my sincere wishes for the increase of your commercial prosperity,

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) ED. PELLEW.

To Charles Forbes, esq. chairman  
of a meeting of the merchants,  
ship owners, and underwriters,  
Bombay.

(A true copy.)

CHARLES FORBES.

## BOMBAY

### Occurrences for March.

MARCH 10.—Yesterday, at noon, a salute of 19 guns was fired, on the occasion of rear admiral Drury hoisting his flag, incident to his succeeding to the chief command of his majesty's naval forces in India.

It is with concern that the governor in council announces the death of Mr. Joseph Cumberlege, a gentleman who has, for upwards of seven years, held the respectable and important office of the honourable company's solicitor, at this presidency, the duties of which he has discharged with equal justice to the public, and credit to his own character, as well as to the entire satisfaction of government.

In consequence of the death of Mr. Cumberlege, Mr. Hungerford is appointed to the situation of company's solicitor.

*Demaun, March 17th, 1809.*

DEAR SIR,—The intended removal of the left wing of the regiment from hence to join the head-quarters of the corps at Bombay, affords us an opportunity of offering our grateful acknowledgments for the happiness we have enjoyed while under your command. The harmony and good understanding which has existed amongst us, the satisfaction we have experienced in performing our respective duties; the constant regularity and meritorious conduct of the men so justly appreciated by his excellency the governor, in his public dispatches to the presidency, we are convinced have arisen from your own well-regulated and most admirable mode of discipline, by which you have added to the reputation and character of a corps we have had the honour of serving in for many years.

We trust you will permit us to present you with a piece of plate as an emblem of our respect and esteem.

In the hope that an officer of so long a standing in the service, possessed



of such conciliating manners in command, may shortly receive the rewards such qualities entitle him to,

We are, dear Sir,

Your most faithful, and obedt. servts.

(Signed) Robert Kelly, captain;  
Charles Haynes, captain; D. Doyle,  
surgeon; P. Ramsay, captain; J.  
Backhouse, captain; W. Atherton,  
lieutenant; J. Doyle, lieutenant; H.  
Doyle, lieutenant; J. Ryan, lieutenant;  
J. Weld, lieutenant; J. Keys, lieuten-  
ant; J. Hutchinson, lieutenant;  
J. Hill, ensign; and N. Christian,  
ensign.

To *lieut.-col. Cuming, com-  
manding left wing, H.M. 47th regt.*

*To the officers of the left wing of his  
majesty's 47th regiment.*

GENTLEMEN,—I have received, with the most impressive sentiments of sincere respect and gratitude, the unsolicited testimony, and handsome manner, in which you have been pleased to distinguish me in your address of the 17th instant; the harmony and good understanding which has so happily existed amongst you; and the infinite satisfaction I have experienced in perceiving the prompt measures you have adopted in the performance of your respective duties; also, the uniform, regular, and meritorious conduct of the men, entitles you to my warmest thanks; as the latter must, in an eminent degree, be attributed to the good example and respectable demeanour you have invariably displayed since I have had the honour to command this garrison; a line of conduct which has justly merited and received the most flattering and marked approbation of his excellency the governor of Demaun; and, considerably added to the reputation and character of the corps.

The piece of plate you intend presenting me, I shall receive with pride and gratitude; and feel particularly honoured at receiving an emblem of respect and esteem from your hands.

I beg leave to assure you that I shall ever retain the most lively recollection of your disinterested kindness and at-

tention; and with unfeigned wishes for your health and happiness,

I remain, gentlemen,

Your faithful friend, and obliged  
humble servant,

JAMES CUMING,

*Lieut.-col. 47th regt.*

*Demaun, March 19, 1809.*

A singular instance of intrepidity took place at Agoada, near Goa, on Tuesday last, the 21st inst. Early in the morning a report was received at the cantonments, that a large Cheatur had been seen on the rocks near the sea. About nine o'clock, a number of officers and men assembled at the spot, where it was said to have been seen, when, after some search, the animal was discovered to be in the recess of an immense rock: dogs were sent in in the hopes of starting him, but without effect, they having returned with several wounds.

Lieutenant Evan Davies, of the 7th regiment, attempted to enter the den, but was obliged to return, finding the passage extremely narrow and dark.

He, however, attempted it a second time, with a pick-axe in his hand, with which he removed some obstructions that were in his way, and having proceeded a few yards, he heard a noise, which he conceived to be that of the animal in question. He then returned, and communicated the same to lieutenant Thew of the artillery, who also went in the same distance, and was of a similar opinion. What course to pursue was doubtful; some proposed blowing up the rock, others smoking him out. At length a portfire was tied to the end of a bamboo, and introduced into a small crevice, which led towards the den. Lieutenant Davies went on his hands and knees, down the narrow passage, which led to it, (which he accomplished with imminent danger to himself) and by the light of it he was enabled to discover the animal; having returned, he said that he could kill him with a pistol, which being procured, he entered again, and fired, but without success, owing to the awkward situation he was then placed



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in, with his left hand only at liberty.

He went back with a musket and bayonet, and wounded him in the loins, but was obliged to retreat as quick as the narrow passage would allow, the tiger having forced the musket back towards the mouth of the den. He then procured a rifle, with which he again forced his way into the place, and taking a deliberate aim at his head, fired, and put an end to his existence.

Another difficulty still presented itself: how to get him out required some consideration. Ropes were procured, but every attempt to reach him proved fruitless, till Lieut. D., with a pick-axe in his hand, cut his way into the den, and got sufficiently near to fasten a strong rope round his neck, by which means he was dragged out, to the no small satisfaction of a numerous crowd of anxious spectators.

He measured  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the nose to the tail.

### BOMBAY

#### *Occurrences for April.*

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

*General orders by the honourable the governor in council.*

BOMBAY CASTLE, April 7.—The hon. the governor in council has great satisfaction in communicating to the army the following copy of a letter from the most noble marquis Wellesley, K. P. &c. &c. to the president, giving cover to the Marquis' answer to an address in September, 1805, from lieutenant-colonel Woodington, and the officers then stationed in Baroda.

*The honourable Jonathan Duncan, esq. &c. &c.*

*Asstly House, September 8, 1808.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, transmitting to me an address from colonel Woodington, and the officers stationed at Baroda.

I have now the honour to forward my reply by major Mahony.

I request that you will have the goodness to communicate that reply to the officers who signed the address,

in the manner that you may consider to be most respectful towards them, and most expedient for the public service.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedt. and humble servt.

WELLESLEY.

(A true copy.)

F. WARDEN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

*To colonel Woodington, and the officers stationed at Baroda.*

Gentlemen,—I have received from the governor of Bombay, your obliging address, dated in the month of September, 1805, and I beg leave to return you my most grateful acknowledgments for the kind manner in which you have notified to me the expression of your personal regard, and of your approbation of the result of my administration in India.

You cannot afford to me a more acceptable proof of my kindness, than by continuing to display your accustomed zeal for the prosperity of the public service, and for the honour and glory of our country, and by maintaining, on every occasion, your established principles of just subordination to legal authority.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedt. & faithful servt.

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

*Asstly House, Sept. 8, 1808.*

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

F. WARDEN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

*To captain Colin Gibb, commander of the David Scott.*

SIR,—I have the satisfaction of communicating to you, by the desire of a general meeting of the insurance society, the high sense unanimously entertained by its members, of your spirited and judicious conduct in chasing the French privateer, which bore down on the David Scott, and the valuable ships in company with her, off Pedro Branco, to which bold manœuvre some of the ships were, in



all probability, indebted for their preservation.

In offering you the acknowledgments of the society for the service thus voluntarily and successfully rendered, I am instructed to state, that the zeal and ability, displayed in this instance, have added to the respectable professional character which you have already established in the opinion of the mercantile community of Bombay.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN FORBES,

Sec. to the Bombay ins. society.

*Bombay insurance office,*

*April 25, 1809.*

*To John Forbes, esq. secretary to the  
Bombay insurance society.*

SIR,—In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of yesterday, containing the unanimous approval of my conduct in a recent instance off Pedro Branco, by a general meeting of the members of the Bombay insurance society, I beg leave to request that you will inform the gentlemen, composing that body, how peculiarly flattering this testimony of their good opinion is to me; and that, after a residence of more than twenty years under their observation, so gratifying a mark of their esteem will always afford me the most pleasing recollection.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

COLIN GIBB.

*Bombay, April 26, 1809.*

## BOMBAY

### *Occurrences for May.*

MAY 13.—The French prisoners, who made their escape from this place some days ago, having proceeded down the coast in a small ketch vessel, fell in, on the evening of the 17th April, off the port of Poodiangady, with a pattamar boat, belonging to the Bebe of Cannanore; and after plundering her of all her rice, water, sails, &c. stood to the southward. Two days after, on the 19th, off Porcaud, they

captured a brig, the property of Charcos Macky, of Tellichery, and having sent the crew on shore, they proceeded with the brig, as is probable, to the Isle of France. She is reported to be a heavy sailer. She is valued, together with her cargo, at 60,000 rupees.

MAY 14.—The anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam was celebrated, on the night of the 4th instant, at the residency of Poonah, by the acting resident, who gave an elegant dinner to the brigadier, and officers of the cantonments at that station. The dining room was fitted up in a neat and graceful style, in which the superb and highly-ornamented sword, presented by the honourable company to colonel Close, was displayed to great effect, suspended over two sabres taken from the late Tippoo Sultan, the whole encircled in a device suitable to the occasion, and supported by the colours of the body guard.

The decorations of the pillars, with wreaths of laurel, were extremely pleasing to the eye, as also a punkah, corresponding thereto in simple elegance, bearing, in gold letters, the word "Seringapatam," together with the date of that glorious day, which added so much lustre and renown to the British arms in India.

MAY 20.—A gentleman of the name of Lunel, arrived at this place the other day, who states that, on his passage from Cochin, in a pattamar on the 30th of April, a little below Goa, he fell in with an enemy's privateer, a two-masted grab, accompanied by four pattamars, one of which the privateer had armed. After taking Mr. Lunel out of his pattamar, the enemy armed her with two large guns and two smaller ones, and then stood up the coast; the pattamars in company, and on the 3d May landed him on the coast, and stood to the northward.

While Mr. Lunel was on board the grab, they captured two more pattamars, and manned them for a cruise.

The first lieutenant, M. Dubois, being an acquaintance of Mr. Lunel, persuaded the captain to put him on shore.

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Mr. Lunel supposes the grab had about 30 guns, and was manned with above 200 Europeans.

Three Englishmen, in a military dress, were on board in irons.

## BOMBAY

### *Occurrences for June.*

#### *General orders.*

**JUNE 10.**—The honourable the governor in council, adverting to the expediency of extending the utmost protection to the honourable company's landholders and ryots within the province of Guzerat, and of inspiring them with the firmest confidence in the care that the British government is desirous to exert towards their welfare and security—is pleased to avail himself for these purposes of the provisions already in force under the presidency of Bengal; by ordering that officers, either civil or military, or any persons, to whom escorts of sepoy, or soldiers, may be allowed, when travelling through the honourable company's districts, do abstain from sending such soldiers, or sepoy, into the villages, for the purpose of procuring supplies, or of pressing coolies or carts. Every town and village, upon proper application to the comvisbar-patell, or the head person in it, will, in consequence of instruction from the British magistrates of the several zillahs, or divisions, furnish such assistance, in those respects, as they may be capable of affording; and the honourable the governor in council doubts not, that by attention to the present order, and to the observances required by the general orders of the 22d April, 1806, and 27th February, 1806, particularly in furnishing timely notice to the magistrate of the halting stations of all military parties on their march, such parties, or corps, will readily obtain the requisite supplies and assistances; and thereby render unnecessary all unpleasant and indecorous recourse to measures of coercion.

In the event, however, of the comvisar-patell, or the headman of the village, failing in any case to afford the requisite supplies on the required pay-

ment being tendered to him for that purpose, information is to be immediately sent to the magistrate of the zillah, who will not fail duly to punish, by fine or removal, according to the circumstances of the case, such inattentive and contumacious resistance to the beneficial object of the present arrangement.

In instances of supposed overcharge by the patell, or head of the village, on the party requiring assistance, the latter is to lose no time in reporting the particulars thereof to the magistrate, who will immediately cause justice to be done in the premises.

In order to allow of time for this regulation being carried usefully into effect, the date of its commencement and operation is fixed from the 1st of Sept. next.

## BOMBAY

### *Occurrences for July.*

**BOMBAY CASTLE, July 7.**—The honourable the governor in council has been pleased to appoint major-general Forbes Champagné to the command of the force subsidized by his highness the Peishwa.

**JULY 20.**—The report, which has been for some time current at this presidency, of the capture of the Minerva, captain Hopwood, by the pirates who infest the gulph of Persia, and the neighbouring seas, is at length confirmed.

On taking possession of the Minerva, it appears that the pirates mitigated something of their usual ferocity; and no lives were lost, except in the gallant defence which was made by the unfortunate captives.

They have been all, however, obliged to renounce their religion, and not an iota of the preparatory ceremony of introduction to the Mahomedan faith was abated. Much as the men must have suffered on this occasion, it is comparatively nothing to the distress of the three ladies who were on board; and who, consequently, fell into the hands of these lawless and unprincipled violators. The subject is



too painful to enlarge on. The indignities they were compelled to undergo can be easily conceived; and must excite the strongest emotions of pity in every feeling and delicate mind.

## BOMBAY

### *Occurrences for August.*

**BOMBAY CASTLE, Aug. 14.**—The governor in council has had the satisfaction to receive a communication from lieutenant-colonel Walker, of the reduction of the fort Mallia, in the province of Kattywar, by storm on the 7th of this month.

The storming party was composed of a detachment of 152 rank and file from the 2d batt. of his majesty's 56th regiment, and 48 rank and file from the remains of the Bombay European regiment, with their proportion of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, of the flank companies of the grenadier battalion, and of the 1st of the 5th, completed to 100 rank and file each, leading the attack; followed by the remainder of the grenadier battalion completed to 400 rank and file, from the 1st battalion 5th regiment.

The advance party, consisting of twenty-five Europeans, was commanded by captain-lieutenant John Mackenzie, of the Bombay European regiment; and lieutenant Newman, of his majesty's 56th regiment, who commendably volunteered their services for the forlorn-hope.

The storming party was commanded by major Dennis Mahony of the grenadier battalion.

The fort of Mallia, though within the tributary dependencies of our ally, the Guycowar, had yet afforded refuge and protection to a powerful set of banditti, who had long infested the country; and had for a century successfully opposed the utmost efforts of the Native armies that had been employed to reduce its chieftain to obedience: the fortifications are strong; and the enemy, aware of the approach of our troops, and obstinately bent on the most determined resistance, had secured the foot of the wall by a

strong embankment thrown up of thorns and earth.

The force under the command of lieutenant-colonel Walker arrived before Mallia on the morning of the 7th, after a long and fatiguing march; having summoned the Fort without effect, and the garrison having pertinaciously and vauntingly resisted every attempt to obtain peaceable possession of the place, the guns opened their fire at day light on the morning of the 8th, the breach was reported practicable by three o'clock, the storming party, under the able disposition made for the assault, moved off a little before four o'clock, when the forlorn-hope rushed on, headed by captain Mackenzie, who was the first person that ascended the breach and passed into the town; he was gallantly supported by lieutenant Newman, of his majesty's 56th regiment, and by the remainder of the party; which placed the British force in possession of the greater portion of the town in less than three quarters of an hour after entering the breach.

The severest part of the duty remained, however, yet to be performed; as the detachment advanced, resistance became more determined; the enemy retreated to the inner fort, which was strongly secured, and inaccessible to an assault; the guns were brought up; and the fire again opened; but the evening being too far advanced to admit of a complete dislodgement being effected before its close, all further operations ceased, and the storming party maintained possession of the works and of the town during the night; in the course of which, however, the enemy evacuated the place by a sally post, leaving a few of their troops in the fort to keep up an occasional fire; and at an early hour on the morning of the 9th, the fort of Mallia was completely occupied by the British detachment.

In thus narrating the circumstances that attended the reduction of the fort of Mallia, the governor in council affords the most satisfactory testimony to the able disposition that had been planned by that judicious and experienced officer, lieutenant-colonel Walker;—



and to the promptitude, vigour, and bravery, by which the plan was carried into effect by the gallant detachment under that officer's command, which has added another conspicuous exploit to those that have already so often distinguished the zeal and intrepidity of the Bombay army.

The fort of Mallia, having been esteemed as impregnable by the numerous chieftains dispersed throughout the province of Kattywar, its early reduction, and the cool and steady valour by which it was carried, filled the several vakeels of the different chieftains, who were in attendance on lieutenant-colonel Walker, and witnessed this military spectacle, with astonishment and admiration, and have afforded them a proof of the irresistible effects of British discipline and prowess, that cannot fail to operate the most beneficial consequences in the organization of so rude and uncivilized a tract of country, as is still the greater part of the peninsula of Guzerat.

The commanding officer of the forces will be pleased to communicate to the lieutenant-colonel in command of this force, and to the officers and men of his majesty's and the honourable company's forces, employed on the reduction of Mallia, the high sense entertained by government of their professional skill and gallantry in the reduction of this important fortress; and, in particular, of the orderly conduct and humanity displayed by the troops in its occupation.

The deep regret which the governor in council feels for the casualties that have occurred on this occasion, is enhanced by the circumstances under which the death of captain M'Kenzie, and of captain Wilkinson is to be deplored; having surmounted the danger and difficulties of an assault, those gallant officers died, without a wound, from the extreme fatigue and violence of their exertions in the course of an uncommonly sultry and oppressive day:—these lamented casualties prove the arduous nature of the enterprise, and exhibit the perseverance and merits of the troops in the most forcible manner.

The honourable the governor in council, having perused, with satisfaction and sympathy, the orders issued by lieutenant-colonel Walker, on the occasion of this acquisition, has the pleasure to express his concurrence in the detailed notice by that able and discerning officer, of the more minute circumstances incident to the highly-meritorious services in question, inclusive of the very honourable mention made by the lieutenant-colonel of the duties respectively performed by the different officers, who appear to have severally contributed so materially to the reduction of the fort of Mallia.

*Field detachment order by lieutenant-colonel Walker, dated Camp, at Mallia, 8th July, 1800.*

The necessity to which the obstinacy of the people of Mallia had reduced the commanding officer of attempting the place by storm, has imposed on him the obligation of paying that tribute of gratitude to the detachment, which is so eminently due to their zeal, energy, and exertion.

By the conspicuous exercise of these qualities, so nobly displayed in the proceedings before the fort, and the subsequent storm, a numerous and desperate gang of robbers has been rooted out from the country, and a considerable portion of their number annihilated, who, for nearly a century past, have plundered, and laid waste, the surrounding territory, and hitherto defied all efforts for their subjection.

The devastated extent of country through which the troops have marched, is a sufficient evidence of their depredations; but this bears but a small proportion to their actual extent.

The extirpation of this nest of banditti has been reserved for the zeal and gallantry of British troops; and the memorable example; which has been effected in the assault of yesterday, it is hoped will leave a most salutary impression in the country.

As the assault took place in the presence of several bhoomias, and of the vakeels of the chieftains of the country, a military spectacle of a column of British troops, marching, in open day, to the attack of a fort, against which



batteries had only a few hours been opened, was exhibited, of which they could have entertained previously no just conception; but which could not fail to establish, in the minds of those spectators, and throughout the country, sentiments of the highest respect and admiration.—In fact, the commanding officer is well assured that this effect was produced, in proportion to the reputation which the desperate banditti of Mallia had acquired, by their repeated success in repuling the operations of, powerful Native armies, and their daring defiance of every restraint and authority.

It is with mixed sentiments of admiration and regret that lieutenant-colonel Walker proceeds to express his gratitude and acknowledgments to the detachment for their conduct.

It is difficult for lieutenant-colonel Walker to find terms to express his feelings at the excellent behaviour of the storming party, under the command of major Mahony, for whose gallant exertions, which placed the British troops in possession of the Fort of Mallia, the expression of every sentiment that can arise from the private feelings of friendship, or the obligations of public duty, is so justly due.—The established reputation and services of major Mahony can, however, receive no additional weight from any eulogium that lieutenant-colonel Walker can express. It is equally satisfactory to the commanding officer, and in unison with similar feelings, that he return his thanks to captain Gifford: the support afforded to the storming party by the picquets, and captain Gifford's arduous duty, in preserving the position in the fort during the night, entitle him to colonel Walker's best thanks.

The whole of the troops have witnessed the display of skill, science, and exertion of captain Pierce, lieutenants Hardy, Russel, and Moore, and the whole of the artillery; and lieutenant-colonel Walker can only repeat his expressions of satisfaction at their conduct, which he has had so many occasions to acknowledge.

To captain Daley, the officers and men

of the 56th, and captain Lithgow, and the officers and men of the Bombay regiment, the commanding officer returns his particular acknowledgments; the former have nobly supported the reputation of the senior battalion, in all the characteristics of good soldiers; and the character of the Bombay regiment is too well established to require any confirmation from these gallant exertions in the affair of yesterday.

The commanding officer has equal occasion to be satisfied with the conduct of the Native troops, and he requests that major Mahony and captain Gifford will have the goodness to express his fullest approbation and satisfaction at their conduct.

When there is so much to praise, and nothing to reprehend, it is impossible to notice the conduct of every individual; but the commanding officer is satisfied he is only expressing the feelings of the whole detachment in paying this tribute of public praise to the memory of captain Mackenzie, whose gallant behaviour has excited universal admiration.

The commanding officer cannot omit the expression of his warmest acknowledgments to captains Cox and Arnot, for their exertions at the erection of the batteries, and for their conduct at the storm; and it would be injustice to withhold his thanks to lieutenant Newman, for his spirited support of captain Mackenzie in the advanced party.

To captain Room, and the officers and men of the troop of cavalry, every acknowledgment is due, that can result from activity, spirit, and alacrity.

The countenance and determination exhibited by this promising body, on the day of the arrival of the detachment before the fort of Mallia, is a sufficient evidence of the confidence that may be placed on them in the line of their profession.

The duty of the medical gentlemen of the detachment must yield them more solid satisfaction than the most cordial expressions of thanks. It would, however, be doing injustice, were lieutenant-colonel Walker to



will to notice the humanity, attention, and skill, of surgeon Sprulli, and assistant surgeons Girdon and Headly.

To the officers of the staff, and of the family, lieutenant-col. Walker begs to embrace this occasion of offering his thanks for their continued zeal and exertion; but it would be doing violence to his feelings, and the friendship and confidence which he reposes in captain Greenwood, were he to decline this public expression of his gratitude and obligation for the great assistance he has derived from his services, which have ever been directed by that gallant zeal, and ardent desire of distinction, which form the most honourable features of the military profession; and it is only giving utterance to his own sentiments, in repeating major Mahony's report of the distinguished gallantry and exertions of captain Smith, and lieutenant Macmurdo, who accompanied him to the assault.

To ensign Carnac the thanks of the commanding officer are also due, for the attention and activity with which he performed those duties, which he had to execute.

Lieutenant-colonel Walker is persuaded that these gentlemen will do justice to those motives of delicacy, which prevent a more detailed expression of his sentiments of that conduct, which he cannot view without partiality.

Deeply as the commanding officer regrets the loss sustained by the detachment, it is probably as little as could be expected, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and appears to have been solely owing to the enemy having got possession of a fortified house, which was inaccessible to an assault.

Lieutenant-colonel Walker begs leave to assure the detachment, collectively and individually, of the impression which their excellent conduct has made upon him, and which he will feel it his duty to express in due terms, for the notice and approbation of government, and the commanding officer of the forces.

August 17.—The *Teignmouth*, newly arrived from Bantora, fell in with a French privateer, having ten guns on a side, and full of small arms, before she quitted the gulph.

A severe action ensued, which would, unquestionably, have terminated in the capture of the privateer, if it had not been for the unfortunate circumstance of some powder blowing up abaft on board the *Teignmouth* which set her on fire. The action ceased while the flames were extinguishing; in the mean while the privateer was making the best of her way towards an escape. The *Teignmouth* was soon in a condition to renew the action, but after an ineffectual chase lost sight of the privateer.

The action lasted three hours and a half. The *Teignmouth* had twenty-six men killed and wounded.

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*Extract of a letter from lieutenant William Hewetson, commander of the honourable company's cruiser, Teignmouth, to William Taylor Money, esq. supt. of marine. Dated Bombay, 17th Aug. 1809.*

The following noon (the 29th of July), working between the island of Polior and the main, discovered a vessel to the northward, through the haze, close to us, standing to the westward; hoisted the distinguishing flag, which was not answered; bore up immediately for her, which she having observed, run up all her steering sails together, and kept away N. W. by W. in a slanting direction for the land; the wind at this time S. W.; fired three shots at her to bring her to; upon her finding that we were coming fast up with her, she got out sweeps, but having got so close in with the shore that she must either run aground or tack, she hauled in her steering sails and tacked, which brought us close alongside of each other about 2 P. M. when she hoisted French colours and commenced firing—wore round and returned it, and continued a smart action with her until half past five P. M. generally within pistol shot, and



sometimes within half pistol shot; about which time an unfortunate accident took place on board the Teignmouth by a box of fixed ammunition being blown up on the quarter deck—which set fire to the after part of the ship and burnt severely the men whose names are inserted in the margin.\* From this unlucky circumstance, I was obliged to haul off from the enemy to extinguish the fire, and put the ship in a fit state to renew the action, which we accomplished by half past six P. M. for our braces, bairlines, most of the running rigging, with a part of the standing rigging, was shot away; the enemy taking this advantage and making every effort in her power to escape, by standing back to the eastward with what sail she could carry.—At half past six bore up again in chase, when, owing to the thickness of the haze and darkness of the night, we lost sight of her about two A. M. the following morning; having observed about this time she altered her bearings quickly from S. E. b. S. to N. E. by E. led me to suppose she was on the other tack, I tacked accordingly, but have since every reason to suppose we lost sight of her owing to her having bore up for the Keshma channel, instead of having tacked, as we had, in nine fathoms sand upon the tail of the bank that forms the west-side of the Keshma channel.

I am happy to say that the officers, soldiers, seapoys, and European seamen under my command behaved themselves much to my satisfaction, and I feel myself much indebted to lieutenants Stewart and Blacker, who aided during the whole of the action at the great guns and small arms, and animated the crew by their good example and activity, and I am confident, had not the afore-mentioned unlucky circumstance taken place, that she, in a very few minutes more, must have been our prize, as the state of the enemy was a deplorable one; her fore topsail yard, main yard arm, spritsail yard and jib-boom were shot away, her hull much shattered, and her sails full of shot holes.—I think her loss in

men must also have been considerable; she had eight folding ports of a side, and two large bridle ports without a head, and full of small armed men who kept up an incessant and smart fire of musquetry.

I have to lament that in the latter part of the action Lieutenant Stewart received a wound in the joint of his right arm, and has suffered considerably in consequence; his arm was amputated at Muscat by the surgeon of H. M. ship, *Caroline*, and there is great hopes now of his doing well; Lieutenant Arrow, who ably assisted me on the quarter deck, I am sorry to say, is also wounded under the collar bone, but not dangerously. The following is a correct return of the killed and wounded, exclusive of the burnt, viz.

John Mathews Coffey, killed; lieutenant Josiah Stewart, badly wounded; lieutenant William Arrow, ditto; William Salter Calker, ditto in the arm; Thos. Barrow, quarter-master, slightly in the eye; Stephen Christin, ditto badly in the arm; James Norman, seamen, ditto in the shoulder; William Boatright, ditto in the back; William Wilson, ditto in the arm; William Jones, ditto in the eye, (lost); Arem Chinese, in the back; Assam, ditto in the eye; Urgee, 1st lieutenant's servant, in the side; corporal Whitley, artillery, in the neck; Patrick Green, in the thigh, and burnt; sergeant Moran, (slightly) since recovered; Richard Allen, (steward) slightly; Lewis Alves, seaman, ditto; Stephen Jefferson, ditto bruised; Pat. Brien, private artillery wounded, since dead; Rich. Holliday, ditto, slightly wounded; James Willes, ditto, ditto; captain's servant, ditto, ditto; Bappoo servant, (bruised) since recovered.

(True extract.)

W. J. HAMILTON,  
Assistant,

*General orders by his excellency the viceroy and captain general of the Portuguese possessions in Asia.*

Head-quarters, Palace Panjeem, 16th August.—On the departure of his Britannic majesty's 86th regiment from

\* Privates of artillery, William Nash, Isaac Palmer, Pat Green, and Mounley (Isaac.)



Goa, his excellency the viceroy, and captain gen. of the Portuguese in India, avails himself of the opportunity to express his sentiments of praise and admiration of the regular order and conduct which lieutenant-colonel Fraser, the officers and soldiers of that regiment, have so honourably observed during a period of upwards of three years, during which they have been employed in the territories subject to his authority, so highly creditable to the discipline of the corps.

His excellency the viceroy will never forget the inviolable harmony which has always subsisted between the subjects of his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal, and all ranks of his Britannic majesty's 86th regiment.

Finally, his excellency the viceroy sincerely hopes that his Britannic majesty's 86th regiment (whose remembrance will always be grateful to him) may continue to acquire, in whatever part of the world their services may be called for, glorious claims on the rewards of their sovereign, and on the admiration of their country.

#### *After station orders.*

CABO, Aug. 16.—In publishing to the British troops at this station, the above general orders from the viceroy of our oldest allies, lieutenant-colonel Adams has only to add that his own wishes and thanks accompany those so forcibly expressed by his excellency.

#### BENGAL

#### *Occurrences for September.*

##### *Loss of the Ardaseer.*

Sept. 15th.—On Wednesday night, the 15th instant, about half past ten, the first alarm of fire was communicated by a seacunnie to Mr. Kempt, chief officer of the *Ardaseer*, who, coming upon deck, observed the smoke ascending in great columns from all the hatch-ways.

The night was excessively dark, and Mr. Kempt, with a presence of mind uncommon on such distressing occa-

sions, immediately hailed all the ships around him, viz. the cruiser, *Teignmouth*, which was laying close to the *Ardaseer*, and his majesty's ship, *Iphigenia*, &c. and at the same time sent the 2d officer, Mr. Askwith, on shore to acquaint the captain with the state of the ship.—during this time, and before any assistance was derived, the fire was spreading very quick near the main hatch-way, and the gun-deck full of thick black smoke. Immediate preparations had seemingly been making in the fleet to render all requisite assistance, as in the course of ten minutes after the general alarm by Mr. Kempt, considerable aid was derived by the arrival of men from the *Iphigenia*, *Teignmouth*, and *Chiffone*; captain Wainwright of the latter attended in person with 100 men, and brought a seasonable supply of buckets, with an engine, which were all set to work with alacrity. Captain W. on learning that the fire had made such a rapid progress, advised five augur holes to be bored as close to the water as possible. The crew of the *Ardaseer* had been roused to their duty, and efforts were making by every one to keep the fire under; before midnight captain Riddock had arrived on board, and brought with him a large engine from the shore, which was also set to work with great spirit, and in order that its effects might be received with more advantage, the gun-deck was scuttled in 3 different places, and which for a time was attended with benefit.

The fire, however, notwithstanding all these strenuous exertions, increased, and the sudden bursts of flame, which issued out of the hold, together with the quantity of smoke, rendered it difficult to continue those exertions in the same degree with which they had commenced.—A little after twelve at midnight, Mr. Money, superintendent of marine, captain Margotty, master attendant, and Mr. Mack, his first assistant, made their appearance on board, to render all the assistance in their power. The engines had now been playing for a considerable time, and notwithstanding the quantity of water derived from this source, and the hand



buckets, and every other method devised to keep the fire under, it was found that this destructive element still gained ground; and as all further exertion in this way could be of no avail, it was resolved, upon the consultation of captain Wainwright, Mr Money, the master attendant, and captain Riddock, that the ship should be instantly scuttled, which resolution was immediately carried into execution by the carpenters of the *Iphigenia* and *Chiffone*, as the last resort for saving any part of the ship or cargo. The guns were accordingly brought over to starboard, and the stream and spare anchors cut away from the larboard side in order to facilitate this service and admit a ready flow of water. During the time these operations were going forward the master attendant, with much diligence, laid a hawser out to check the ship in shore, and prevent her sinking in deep water. At gun-fire captain Wainwright with his men left the ship; and at the same time Mr. Money, whose anxiety to preserve her valuable remains had been conspicuous throughout, sent on shore for the master builder and a gang of carpenters to scuttle her if possible; at five in the morning the buckets and engine, belonging to the master attendant, were also sent for and immediately set to work. The people were now all engaged in throwing and starting water down the hatchway, the effects of which, together with the benefit derived from scuttling, were perceptible, as the ship was gradually sinking. The fire had not so early as six in the morning made any visible havoc, nor had the flames appeared to such an extent as might have been supposed, from the length of time she had been under its influence. At seven, however, another spectacle presented itself; the flames, accompanied with a black and suffocating smoke, suddenly burst up the fore and main hatchways, and the upper and gun-decks were a short time afterwards in a complete blaze; and yet, during this critical time, such was the zeal manifested by the officers of the ship, that when the crew had abandoned her from absolute terror, these young men, considering it ad-

visable to cut away from the small bower and mooring chains to prevent her from settling upon that anchor, instantly performed this service with much activity and judgment.

The ship was now towed in shore, and at half past eight she presented a most terrific and awful appearance. At this hour the fire communicated to the rigging, which had been newly tarred, and the deck being in a blaze, fore and aft, the scene was grand beyond description. In the contemplation of this solemn spectacle, the crowd, who had gathered upon the wharf, and all the adjacent places, from whence a sight could be obtained, seemed as if to sympathise in the loss of that ill-fated ship; every one present, who witnessed the destruction of this noble piece of architecture, were put in mind of the sudden change in her destiny; in the course of a few hours this revolution had been produced; removed from her high seat, where she floated with an honest pride upon the bosom of the gentle waves, down to the lowest state of humiliation at the bottom of the sea.

### BOMBAY *Occurrences for October.*

*General orders by the honourable the governor in council.*

BOMBAY CASTLE, October 2.—It is not without considerable, and very sincere, sentiments of concern, that the governor in council sees himself on the eve of being deprived of the able and very grateful co-operation and assistance, which, for the two years past, government have not ceased to derive from the military experience, professional talents, and cordiality of manners, so conspicuously manifested, during the latter period of major-general Jones's holding the chief command of this army; such as will not fail to be brought to the notice of the honourable the court of directors, in addition to the favourable sentiments which the governor in council has already had more than once occasion to express of the uniformly acceptable



eminent services which the general has rendered to the honourable company, and his country, during the period of his extended military career in India.

Under these impressions, the request of major-general Jones to proceed to England, on the Taunton Castle, is complied with; at the same time that, should that ship be ultimately ordered to join the Madras convoy at Point de Galle, general Jones will, in due attention to his rank, and deference to his professional merits, be allowed to retain the command till the ship's leaving, or passing, that station.

*Major-general Jones's farewell orders to the Bombay army.*

In a period of near forty years in the honourable company's service on the Bombay establishment, major-general Jones has had opportunities, most ample, to ascertain the character and conduct of the Bombay army, and from experience in every rank in the service, he is enabled to declare, with the most sincere and heart-felt gratification, it has been uniformly most honourable.

In the field it has been gallant and brave, and patient in fatigue and hardships, that reflects the highest merit on the army as soldiers.

In garrison the army has been zealously active and obedient, truly loyal to their king and country, possessing a stern fidelity that has never been shaken, all of which qualifications combine to make them worthy of the highest commendation, as soldiers, as men, and as citizens.

With these sentiments of sincere approbation of the conduct of officers and men, major-general Jones takes leave of the Bombay army, and while it will be his duty to communicate his opinion of their well-earned and well-established merits before his superiors, he begs leave to assure them, it will ever be his pride and his pleasure to uphold their good name; and they will ever have his warmest wishes and support on every occasion, where their interests and welfare are under consideration.

OCTOBER 14.—The Echo Schooner, which put back from the fleet proceeding to the Gulph, brings a confirmation of the melancholy intelligence of the loss of the Strumbolo, bomb-vessel.

The commander, lieutenant Hall, and 16 persons only were saved by the Morungton; the remainder of the people on board met with a melancholy fate.

Information has been received, that his majesty's ship, Caroline, captain Gordon, who has been some time past cruising in the Gulph, fell in with 27 of those piratical dows, that have rendered so dangerous the navigation in that quarter.—A boat from the Caroline was manned, and dispatched, under the command of lieutenant Wood, who, with great gallantry, boarded one of the vessels and finally carried her.

The pirates made a desperate resistance, but nothing could withstand the impetuosity and valour of English seamen—14 of these ferocious villains, being severely wounded, were taken prisoners, those that were unhurt leaped overboard and escaped—the injury sustained by the boat's crew was trifling, a seaman only being wounded.

*General orders.*

OCTOBER 20.—The departure of major-general Jones, under date the 16th instant, on his passage to England on the Taunton Castle, leaving vacant the office of commanding officer of the forces, the honourable the governor in council is pleased to appoint major general Forbes Champaigne the next senior officer on the staff to that situation.

The promotion of major general Champaigne vacating the command of the subsidiary force serving with his highness the Poishwa, that duty is to be performed by the next senior officer with the force, to whom the major general will be pleased to deliver over the local command accordingly.

OCTOBER 28.—On Thursday morning N. H. Smith Esq. accompanied by lieutenant Pottinger, Mr. Taylor, and



Mr. Hall, assistant-surgeon, landed from the H. C. cruiser, Benares, at the dock head, on his return from an embassy to Seind. An appropriate salute was fired on this occasion.—Mr. Ellis, who accompanied Mr. Smith on his embassy, is returning on board another vessel, which is conveying a Native envoy to this presidency.

### BOMBAY Occurrences for November.

NOVEMBER 18.—Intelligence has been received of the loss of the ship, *Lovely Hannajee*, captain Henderson, on her voyage from Bengal to Bombay. On the night of the 4th October last, she struck on the little busses, and very soon afterwards fell in two. Captain Henderson, with three Europeans and twenty-five lascars, made their escape in the long boat, and landed at Batacaloo on the 8th October.

The jolly boat being dashed to pieces, captain Henderson was obliged to leave twenty-one of his lascars on the wreck.

The long boat would have accommodated ten or twelve more men, but they refused to go, allured, as is supposed, with the hope of being able to carry off with them, on pieces of the wreck, some of the valuable piece goods with which the ship was laden.

Mr Simons, collector of Batacaloo, dispatched his own boat, and a larger one belonging to the Moodeliar, to the wreck, in hopes of saving the remainder of the crew.

The *Lovely Hannajee* with her cargo is estimated to have been worth nearly three lacks of rupees, which, with the exception of about 50,000 rupees insured by private underwriters in Bombay, is all insured at Calcutta.

Nov. 23.—On Thursday H. M.'s ship, *Russell*, capt. Caulfield, having the flag of his excellency rear admiral Drury on board, anchored in the harbour.

Yesterday morning his excellency rear admiral Drury landed at the dock head under an appropriate salute. The troops in garrison were drawn up,

and formed a line from the dock-yard to the government-house.

On the same day major general, Abercrombie landed at the dock head, under an appropriate salute.

*To Francis Warden, Esq. chief sec. to the governr nt, Bom Lay: St. Paul's, 1802.*  
*Bourlon, 29th September, 1802.*

SIR,—My letter of the 16th instant, with its enclosures from commodore Rowley, will have prepared the honourable the governor in council for a detailed account of our operations since that period, and which, in justice to the steadiness, bravery, and good conduct of his majesty's and the honourable company's troops, I feel it my duty to enter into minutely, trusting that the names of those excellent officers, whom it has been my peculiar good fortune to have had the honor to command, may be noticed in proportion to the great national services, which they have performed, and the honour acquired by his Majesty's and the honourable company's forces, in an attack upon the town, batteries, posts, and shipping of St. Paul's.

2d.—His Majesty's ships, *La Neride* and *Otter*, and honourable company's cruiser, *Wasp*, with 368 officers and men, which were embarked on the 16th instant at Fort Duncan, island of Rodriguez, arrived off Port Louis, isle of France, on the evening of the 18th, and joined his majesty's ships, *Raisnable*, commodore Rowley, and *Sirius*, early the next morning. The 19th, the seamen and troops, destined for the attack, amounting to six hundred and four, were, according to an arrangement made by captain Corbet, and approved by the commodore, put on board the *La Neride*, and towards evening the squadron stood off for the isle of Bourbon. On the morning of the 20th, being off the east end of the island, the orders, of which No. 2 is a copy, were issued, which, with the plan of attack, were given and explained to the officers in charge of columns.

3d.—At five o'clock, A. M. on the 21st instant, the troops were disembarked to the southward of Point de



Galotte, seven miles from St. Paul's, and immediately commenced a forced march with a view of crossing the causeway that extends over the lake, before the enemy could discover our embarkation, or approach to the town, which we were fortunate enough to effect; nor had they time to form in any force until we had passed this strongest position; by seven o'clock we were in possession of the first and second batteries, Lamboucere and La Centiere, when captain Willoughby, of the royal navy, who commanded a detachment of about 100 seamen on shore, and to whose zeal, activity, and exertions, I feel much indebted, immediately turned the guns upon the enemy's shipping, from whose fire, which was chiefly grape, and well-directed, within pistol shot of the shore, we suffered much, being necessarily exposed to it during our movements upon the beach and through the town. From the battery, La Centiere, captain Imlack was detached with the 2d column, composed of 142 of the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment of Bombay Native infantry, and 12 Europeans, to take possession of the 3d, or battery La Neuf, deserted by the enemy. On his way there he fell in with and was opposed by the entire force of the French, who had concentrated, and taken up a very strong position behind a stone wall, with eight brass field pieces, six pounders, up in their flanks. This post was instantly charged in the most gallant manner by that officer and his men; the enemy, however, maintained their position, and captain Hanna of the 56th regiment was ordered to proceed, with the 3d column, to his support, who charged and took two of the enemy's guns. The action, now became warm, but never doubtful. The enemy, being reinforced from the hills and having also received one hundred and ten troops of the line, from the French frigate, La Caroline, and the squadron not being able to stand in to support us, our movements being endangered by their fire, except at intervals, which they always took advantage of, capt. Willoughby was di-

rected to spike the guns of Lamboucere and La Centiere, and with the seamen to man the third battery, La Neuf, continuing to fire upon their shipping: by this arrangement captain Forbes, who with the reserve had covered those batteries, was enabled to advance against the enemy, who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to give way, their remaining guns being carried by that excellent officer. A sufficient number of men were ordered to act as light troops and to pursue the enemy, whilst the 3d column, with a part of the reserve, advanced against the 4th and 5th batteries, La Piere and La Caserne, which fell into our hands, without opposition, and whose entire fire was immediately directed against the enemy's shipping. By half-past eight o'clock the town, batteries, magazines, eight brass field pieces, one hundred and seventeen new and heavy iron guns of different calibres, and all the public stores, were in our possession, with several prisoners. The instant the squadron perceived that the object in landing had succeeded, and that they could with safety to the troops effectually stand in, they immediately anchored close to the enemy's shipping, which, after a short firing, surrendered.

The entire of the batteries being destroyed, and the town completely commanded by our squadron, the troops were re-embarked by 8 o'clock the same evening.

Herewith I have the honour to annex a return of shipping, guns, and stores, taken and destroyed upon this occasion. I have also the honour to inclose a return of the killed, wounded, and missing; and though our loss has been severe, it is not equal to what might have been expected, from the nature of the attack, position, and strength of the enemy, and the number of guns to which our little force was exposed at different times during the morning.

To the judicious arrangements of Commodore Rowley, the cordial co-operation and support of the rest of the officers of his Majesty's Navy, and the personal exertions and assistance of capt. Corbet in landing the entire



force from his Majesty's ship, the *Nereide*, I impute the happy termination and ultimate success of this enterprise.

On the 23d, late in the evening, the enemy appeared in one force upon the hills, and a heavy column was observed advancing from St. Dennis, which I since understand to have been under the immediate command of general Des Bruslys. The commodore and myself now agreed upon the propriety of landing a sufficient force to destroy all public property, and accordingly the marines, with a few sailors, under captain Willoughby, were ordered upon the service; when I had an opportunity of again witnessing the steadiness and good conduct of the seamen and royal marines, who effectually burnt an extensive government store of considerable value: the remaining stores were only saved from some doubt existing respecting their being public property.

On the morning of the 23d, the entire force was put in boats to re-land and attack the enemy, whose retreat to St. Dennis, however, during the night, prevented the necessity of any further debarkation. The commandant, St. Michiel, being disposed to enter into negotiations, with the concurrence of commodore Rowley, the preliminary articles were drawn up, a copy of which is enclosed, and the commandant accompanying me on board his Majesty's ship, *Raisonable*, they were signed, subject to the confirmation or rejection of the commander-in-chief, general Des Bruslys. On the 24th, all the remaining public stores were delivered over by the head of the police, and fatigue parties from the squadron and troops were ordered to embark them on board the honourable company's recaptured ship, *Stratham*, which together with the *Europe* were placed under the orders of their former commanders.

From the 25th to the 28th the whole of the guns, &c. were finally destroyed. Our guards continuing to mount regularly in the town for the protection of the inhabitants and their property. The frigate, *La Caroline*, with the other shipping, are making every possible preparation for sea, and

it is hoped that in the necessary arrangements will be made for the troops returning to Rodrigues by the 31st of next month.

I cannot conclude this dispatch without mentioning the obligations I am under to Lieutenant Keating, the Bombay engineers, through whose exertions I was enabled to give aid of attack to the officers in command of columns, and who, upon the entire of this service has been zealous and fatigable. I beg also to mention the exertions of ensign Pearce, of the 33rd regiment, who, being attached to my personal staff, has rendered me the most essential services.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.

H. S. KEATING,

Lieut.-col. commandg.

(A true copy.)

H. S. KEATING,

Lieut.-col. commandg.

Watch-word of the night,—Forward.

On board his majesty's ship, *La Nereide*, Sept. 20th.—The object of this descent upon the town of St. Paul is to secure the batteries, and compel the enemy's shipping to surrender to his majesty's navy.

The force, destined for this attack, must necessarily, from the position of the batteries, be formed into three columns

1st. The reserve, composed of 200 men of the *pompadors*, and 80 of the royal marines belonging to his majesty's ship, *Raisonable* and *La Nereide*, under the command of captain Forbes.

2d column, composed of the detail of the 2d battalion of the 2d regiment of Bombay Native infantry, under the command of captain Imlack.

3d. The centre column, composed of 100 sailors, under captain Willoughby of the royal navy, and the remainder of the *pompadors*, and marines, under capt. Hanna. Lieut.-col. Keating will first land with the reserve to cover the debarkation of the other two columns, which, on landing, are immediately to commence their march in the following order, and with the strictest silence. The reserve is to proceed by the road leading to St. Paul's, until it passes the



bridge over the lake, when it is to change its route to the left, and take possession of the barracks, the eight brass field pieces, which are in front of the buildings, and secure the second in command, with the other prisoners; after performing this duty the reserve is to proceed to the second battery on the left named upon the plan of attack (a copy of which is given to the officers in command of columns) La Pierre, after destroying the guns and blowing up the magazine, the reserve is to proceed to La Centiere, where it will receive further orders from the commanding officer.

The 2d column, after passing the river Galotte, is to proceed along the sea side, until it reaches the rivulet that runs from the lake into the bay. Capt. Im-lack will here be very particular in directing his men to the left towards the lake, up the bed of the rivulet, until he passes the right flank of the battery, he will then move out to the right and form towards the sea, which will bring him opposite to, and within pistol shot of the rear of the battery Lamboucere, which, being open to the land, he will immediately take possession of, spike the guns, and then proceed to the battery La Centiere, where he will receive further directions from the commanding officer.

Lieut.-col Keating will proceed with the 3d column direct upon the battery, La Centiere, which is considered the main post; and a force will be detached from hence to take possession of the battery, La Neuf.

These orders are intended in the event of our debarkation not being immediately discovered, but should the enemy have time to form, which is to be expected, the commanding officer will give such other necessary orders in person, according to their position, strength of ground and numbers, as may most tend to ensure the object of attack.

The batteries are all supposed open to the land, the only thing, therefore, the officers and men have to guard against, are some long iron spikes, commonly called crows' feet, which are placed rather thick for the defence of the rear

of the batteries. The men are on no account to load until ordered; every thing is to be carried by the bayonet, which has never been known to fail when directed by Englishmen. The men to land with one day's provisions ready cooked.

(Signed) H. S. KEATING,  
Lieutenant-col. comg.

A true copy.

C. H. J. PEARCE,  
Act.-major of brigade.

*List of ships and vessels captured and destroyed in the road of St. Paul, isle of Bourbon, the 21st September, 1809.*

#### CAPTURED MEN OF WAR.

La Caroline, frigate, 300 men, 46 guns, 28 long 18-pounders, 10 long 8-pounders, 8 carronades.

Grapler brig, 11 guns, 6 carronades, 18-pounders, mounted, 5 long 6-pounders in the hold.

#### CAPTURED MERCHANTMEN.

Streatham, 30 guns, 819 tons, laden partly with salt-petre, the rest of the cargo landed.

Europe, 26 guns, 820 tons, laden partly with salt-petre the rest of the cargo landed.

Fanny, 2 guns, 150 tons, a little rice and Indian corn.

Tres Amis, 60 tons, slaves and rice.

La Creole, 60 tons, ballast.

#### DESTROYED.

Names unknown. Three chasee mares, one ship burnt on the stocks.

(Signed) J. ROWLEY,

A true copy.

H. S. KEATING,  
Lieut.-col. comg.

*Return of guns, ammunition, &c. &c. taken and destroyed at port St. Paul's, island of Bourbon, by his Britannic majesty's squadron, under the command of commodore Rowley, and a detachment of seamen and troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Keating, on the 21st September, 1809.*

Thirty-seven iron guns, 24-pounders—Six iron ditto. 18-pounders—nineteen iron do. 12-pounders—twelve iron do. 9-pounders—one iron ditto



6-pdr.—nine iron do. 4-pounders—four cannonades, 12-pounders—eight brass field pieces, 6-pounders—two 13½ inch mortars—two 8 inch ditto—one five and ½ half inch do.—320 one to four do.—260 bar shot—seventeen boxes for ammunition—eight barrels of do.—two do. of fuzes—twelve do. gun powder—200 cannisters of grape shot—fifty rounds of ditto—320 pikes—seventy-two rammers—seventy-two sponges—5170 balls of sizes—155 13½ inch shells—135 8 do. do.—24 5 and half do.—one stand for arms—two furnaces for heating shot.

H. S. KEATING,

Lieut.-col. commanding.

N. B. Five eighteen-pdrs. found, and destroyed since the making of this return.

Killed. 1 serjeant, 12 rank and file.—Wounded. 3 lieutenants, 1 Native officer, 4 serjeants, 1 drummer.

Total.—49 rank and file—Missing, 1 rank and file.

Articles of agreement entered into between commodore Josias Rowley, commanding his Britannic majesty's ships in the roads of St. Paul, and lieutenant-colonel Keating, commanding his majesty's and honourable company's troops, on the one part, and captain St. Michel, commandant militaire of St. Paul's, on the other. It is agreed, that in consequence of the town of St. Paul being in possession of the English, and the situation of the inhabitants, a mutual suspension of arms shall immediately take place under the following conditions :

Article 1. That the field pieces, taken by the English troops, and subsequently stolen by the Negroes, shall be restored to the English.—Answer. Two field pieces only were taken by the Negroes, and brought to my camp. I will refer this article to the general commanding the island.

Article 2d.—That public property of every description, such as guns, stores, merchandize and money, in the town of St. Paul shall remain in possession of the English.—Answer. Accepted.

Article 3. That the limits of the town are considered to be, the canal running near the promenade, and from thence to the cavern.—Answer. Accepted.

Article 4. That such public property as is not in possession of the English shall be pointed out to them by the commandant upon his word of honour.—Answer. If any such come to my knowledge within the limits marked I will point it out.

Article 5. That no troops of the island shall march into the town of St. Paul, or in any manner molest the English without twenty-one days previous notice given in writing to the officer, commanding his Britannic majesty's ships, and to the officer commanding his majesty's and the honourable company's troops. And the English on their part agree not to erect any batteries, or make any other military arrangements on shore, without the same notice to the commandant of the town.—Answer. Accepted for those troops under my command, the rest I will refer to the general.

Article 6. That there shall be no impediment to the inhabitants selling to the English supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, the English paying the usual price for the same, and that the sick are to be accommodated on shore, if required.—Answer. Accepted.

Article 7. That nothing here above-mentioned shall be considered as preventing the English from attacking any other part of the island either by sea or land.—Accepted under the condition that no disembarkation, or movement, of troops shall take place at St. Paul's within the limits above-mentioned.

Article 8. That all English prisoners at St. Paul's shall be given up.—Answer. I will refer this to the general.

Article 9. That no impediment shall be made to the negroes who have been accustomed to work upon the beach, assisting the English upon receiving their regular pay.

Article 10. That three days shall be given for the ratification of general Des Bruslys to these articles, and in the



event of their not being ratified, on his part, either party shall be at liberty to commence hostilities upon giving 24 hours previous notice.—Answer. Accepted.

The following articles, added on the part of captain St. Michiel.

Article 1. The French troops, under my command, are to be considered as at liberty to quit the present cantonments, and to march to the assistance of any other part of the island, that may be threatened with an attack, without giving notice to the British commandant. The commandant of the militia will remain at St. Paul's to see the foregoing articles carried into effect.—Answer. Accepted.

Article 2. The civil authorities of St. Paul's shall resume their functions, the inhabitants shall be governed by French laws, and remain in the undisturbed exercise of their religion.—Answer. Accepted.

Done at St Paul's in the island of Buonaparte, this 23d day of Sept. 1809.

(Signed) J. ROWLEY,  
Comg. H. B. M. squadron.  
H. S. KEATING,

Comg. a detachment of H.  
B. Majesty's and the H.  
C. troops. Le capitaine  
commandant militaire.

(Signed) ST. MICHIEL,  
A true copy.

C. H. J. PEARCE,  
Act.-major of brigade.

#### TRANSLATION.

To commodore Rowley, commanding his Britannic Majesty's ships, and lieutenant-colonel Keating, commanding the land force of his said Majesty.

GENTLEMEN.

The unexpected death of general Des Bruslys has not yet afforded time to his successor, at that time absent from the seat of government, to examine the articles of the suspension of arms, agreed upon between you and me, a circumstance which has unavoidably retarded my return.—As the time given has expired, I am directed to propose to you to prolong it for five days.

I have the honour to remain, with the most distinguished consideration,  
Gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

Le commandant militaire,

(Signed) ST. MICHIEL.

(A true copy) C. H. J. PEARCE,

Actg.-maj. of brigade.

St. Paul, 26th Sept. 1809.

Captain St. Michiel, commandant  
militaire, St. Paul's.

SIR,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 26th instant, explaining the unavoidable delay which occurred in your return to St. Paul's, and proposing to prolong the suspension of arms entered into between us, on the 23d instant, for five days longer, a proposition which meets with our concurrence.

We have the honour to remain,

Your obedient, humble servants,

(Signed) JOSEPH ROWLEY,

Commanding H. B. Majesty's  
squadron.

HENRY KEATING,

Lieut.-col. commanding a detachment of H. B. Majesty's and hon. company's troops.

(A true copy) C. H. J. PEARCE,

Actg.-maj. of brigade.

St. Paul's, 27th Sept. 1809.

#### BOMBAY

#### Occurrences for December.

#### BOMBAY CASTLE, DECEMBER 2.

General orders by government.

The official details, which have been received by government of the operations of part of the garrison of Rodrigues, under the immediate command of lieutenant colonel Keating of his Majesty's 60th regiment, in conjunction with the squadron under the orders of commodore Rowley, in an attack made upon the town and harbour of St. Paul, in the island of Bourbon, have afforded to government the highest gratification.

The honourable the governor in council most fully approves of the



whole of the arrangements made by lieutenant-colonel Keating for carrying that brilliant enterprise into effect; but he has remarked, with peculiar satisfaction, the judgment displayed by that officer, in the prompt and decided manner in which he availed himself of the information transmitted to him by commodore Rowley, relative to the position and force of the enemy; and admires the spirit and rapidity with which he advanced, from the point of disembarkation, to the town of St. Paul. To these measures, aided by the gallantry and undaunted courage of his Majesty's and the honourable the East India company's naval and land forces, employed on the expedition, he ascribes the honorable, and completely successful, termination of a service, from which the public have derived considerable advantage, and the British arms in this quarter of the globe, have acquired an additional lustre.

The governor in council in thus publicly declaring the high sense he entertains of the spirited and judicious conduct of lieutenant colonel Keating, and of the valour displayed by the troops in general, feels the most lively pleasure in expressing his particular approbation of the conduct of captains Forbes and Hanna, of the 56th regiment, and captain Imlac, of the 2d battalion of the 2d N. I. who commanded the columns of attack on that occasion; as well as of lieutenant Remon, of the Bombay engineers; ensign Pearce, of the 56th regiment, and lieutenant Watkins, of the honorable company's cruiser, the Wasp, for the personal assistance they afforded to lieutenant-colonel Keating, and of doctor Davies, for his kindness and attention to the sick, of which lieutenant-colonel Keating speaks in terms of commendation, in a separate dispatch to the adjutant-general.

The resolute conduct, and spirited attack, made by the detail of N. I. of the 22d, on the French force, which they unexpectedly encountered on their march to one of the batteries, does them the greatest credit.

Although it does not rest with the honorable the governor in council, to

convey to commodore Rowley, the officers, seamen, and marines under his command, the just tribute of applause due to them, for the conspicuous part they bore in the joint expedition against the town and harbour of St. Paul; still he feels, that he should be deficient in his public duty, if he withheld from captains Willoughby and Corbet, the seamen, and marines, employed on shore with lieutenant-colonel Keating, and who so eminently distinguished themselves on that occasion, the grateful acknowledgments of this government, for the signal services they rendered to their country.

By private letters from the neighbourhood of Tsbritz, in Armenia, of the date of the 17th August, we learn, that Abbas Mirza, the heir-apparent, and Mohammed Ali Mirza, his brother, had marched at the head of 60,000 Persians, to engage the Russians in Erivan. The latter are said, in consequence of the alarm which this had excited, to have sent an Ambassador to treat with the king of Persia.

The ships Diamond and Fattah Alebhoy, belonging to native merchants in this place, have been lost in the Gulph.

Dec. 6.—The honorable the governor in council has been pleased to confirm the nomination by lieutenant-colonel Keating, of ensign Charles Pierce, of his Majesty's 56th regiment, to be major of brigade to the troops stationed on the Island of Rodrigues, in the room of lieutenant O'Neil.

By order of the honourable the governor in council.

F. WARDEN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

Notice has been already taken, in an extra courier, of the successful commencement of the operation of the force under lieutenant-colonel Smith, by the taking of Rus ul Khima. The following are such particulars relative to that event as have been yet published. There is no doubt, that the whole of the service will be conducted with the



same gallantry, and be attended with the same success.

*Head-quarters, H. M. ship, La Chiffonne, off Rus ul Khima, November 14, 1809.*

HONOURABLE SIR,

I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the troops landed and took possession of the pirate town and fort of Rus ul Khima, on the 13th instant, and re-embarked this morning; the dows, boats, and stores, were all destroyed, and his town ransacked; from seventy to eighty of these vagabonds were killed, and many must have fallen in the previous bombardment.

I enclose a list (No. 1.) of the killed and wounded, and have to lament the loss of capt. Dancy, of H. M. 65th regiment, who was killed by a spear.

For my sentiments on the conduct of the troops, I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed copy (No. 2.) of orders issued on the occasion; and I request permission to recommend captain Tucker, of the marine battalion, to your notice, as a most deserving officer.

I am under the greatest obligations to captain Wainwright, commanding the squadron, for his able assistance and co-operation in every arrangement relating to the troops, particularly for the rapid manner in which he enabled us to land, in which the guns were landed, and sent forward, and the orderly manner in which the re-embarkation was effected this morning; and my acknowledgments are particularly due for the assistance of the royal marines of the Chiffonne and Caroline frigates, under the command of lieutenant Drury, as a most valuable reinforcement.

Captain Pasley, and the gentlemen of his suite, proceeding on a mission to the court of Persia, joined the armament off Muscat, and most handsomely volunteered their services on shore with me, where they were present during the whole of our operations.

I trust it will be found, that the pi-

rates at this port have received a handsome chastisement.

I have the honour to be,  
Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
LIONEL SMITH, lieut.-col.  
*The hon. the governor of Bombay.*

No. I.

*Return of the killed and wounded.*

Honourable company's artillery, wounded 2 matrosses, and 1 lascar.

His Majesty's 65th, 1 captain killed, 1 captain wounded, 1 serjeant do, and 2 rank and file.

His Majesty's 84th regiment, attached to the 65th, 1 lieutenant wounded.

Marine battalion, wounded 2 sepoy.

Total killed, 1 officer.

Total wounded, 2 officers, 1 serjeant, and 7 privates.

*Names of officers killed and wounded.*

Killed, 65th regiment, captain W. M. Dancy.

Wounded, 65th regiment, captain D. Digby; 84th regiment, J. S. Jones.

N. WARREN, brig.-maj.

No. II.

*Head-quarters, H. M. ship La Chiffonne, Rus ul Khima, Nov. 14, 1809.*

GENERAL ORDERS BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SMITH.

*Parole, Chiffonne, C. S. Wainwright.*

Lieutenant-col. Smith returns his sincere thanks to all the forces, for their gallantry in the attack on Rus ul Khima; the coolness and good order in which they debarked, shoulder-high in water, and charged the enemy in a heavy sand, was beautiful and truly soldierlike.

The commanding officer of the force is unable to particularize the merit of individuals. All were actuated with the same ardour to punish the ferocious wretches, who have committed such unexampled cruelties, and insulted the British flag. But it is distinctly due to captain Tucker, of the honorable company's marine battalion, (who had important duties imposed upon him, out of his own line of ser-



vice) to notice, with the most grateful acknowledgments, the exertions of that officer, in command of the field pieces and howitzers, which were served with the most masterly effect.

The commanding officer requests, that the officers in command of corps and detachments, will communicate to the men his entire satisfaction of their conduct of yesterday; and they will not lose a moment in giving the strictest attention to the state of their arms and appointments, and to keep them in constant readiness for the further execution of our duties in this quarter.

(Signed) N. WARREN,  
Brigadier major.

*His majesty's ship, La Chiffonne, Muscat, 1st November.*

Honourable Sir,—We beg leave to notify to your honour in council, the proceedings of the armament under our orders up to this day.

Early in the morning of the 15th of September, the honourable company's bomb ketch, *Strombolo*, foundered; by which melancholy accident two officers and fourteen men perished. The result of a court of enquiry on this unfortunate occurrence has been forwarded to the superintendent of the marine, for the information of government.

On the 3d of October, in latitude 20. 29. north longitude 68. 04. east, the honourable company's cruizers, named in the margin,\* were detached partly to Muscat, and partly to Cape Mucksa, for the purpose of completing their water; and directions were sent to captain Gordon, of his majesty's ship the *Caroline*, to join the armament off the Bombareck Rock with all the force he could collect; as well as boats belonging to the *Imaum* for the purpose of landing troops and pilots for the several ships. On the 20th of October, being fifty leagues eastward of Muscat, from an Arab ship the unpleasant intelligence was gained, that the *Caroline* was not in port five days before, neither had any of the cruizers been seen on the Arab's rout from thence. It therefore became absolutely necessary, that

the original plan of proceeding against the pirates should be departed from, and that we should proceed to Muscat for information. We were strengthened in that determination from the great reduction of water on board the transports, arising from the defectiveness of many of the casks, and because their commanders had not complied with orders to procure water at Bombay for their respective ships' companies, proportionate to the quantity which had been put on board for the troops. Accordingly the transports anchored at Muscat on the 23d instant, the detached cruizers arriving only at the same time.

His majesty's ship the *Caroline* joined from Burka two days after, and we found, that captain Gordon had sent the *Fernate* cruizer to Bombay to refit; and, on application to the resident at Bussora, he had ordered the *Vestal* to proceed off the *Euphrates*, and convoy two or three of the ships from thence, and from Bushire to Muscat. By this arrangement the armament has been unfortunately deprived of the services of a very useful vessel, and of twenty-two artillerymen, who were embarked on board her, being the whole of the detachment of that corps, except eight.

On the 24th instant, in company with Mr. Bunce, the resident, we had a conference with the *Imaum*, whereat his highness made general professions of good will and cordiality; but we fear we must not reckon upon receiving from him any essential assistance towards destroying the pirates, except trankees and pilots.

He, in fact, was very much averse to the armament attacking *Rus ul Khima*, on the presumption, that the force we had would be insufficient for the purpose.

He said, that none but small vessels could approach the town, and that not less than ten thousand men could assail it by land; because the pirates would be assisted by the Bedouin Arabs, to the number of twenty thousand men. This opinion, although given with apparent sincerity, your honour in council will conclude,



could not alter our resolution to attack the port, unless insurmountable obstacles should prevent it.

The great difficulty of procuring water has detained the ships in port till this time, but we have every hope, that on to-morrow we shall be able to put to sea, accompanied by twenty trankees, in execution of our orders.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obdt. humble servants,

J. WAINWRIGHT,

Capt. of H. M. S. La Chiffonne.

LIONEL SMITH,

Lieut.-Colonel.

*To the honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq. governor in council, &c. Bombay.*

*Extract of a letter, dated Rus ul Khima, 15th November, 1809.*

I am happy to inform you, that we arrived here safe on the 11th instant. The Minerva was then observed to be lying in much farther than we can approach; but on our anchoring, she got under weigh, and ran on the beach, when people from the shore were immediately sent to reinforce her; which, at this time, made us think we had no contemptible enemy to cope with.

She was flanked by a town full of men, with matchlocks, and a nine-pounder; however, after receiving two or three broad-sides from the Prince of Wales and gun-boats, sent in to the attack, the Arabs deserted her, and, in the course of an hour from the time the boats left the fleet, this unfortunate vessel was in flames, and completely destroyed by sunset.

It is, however, to be regretted, that the Prince of Wales, in performing this essential service, got aground and received the enemy's fire till 10 P. M. when she got off with the loss of two lascars, and her foremast slightly wounded.

The next day was passed in making arrangements to land the troops, and throwing a few shot and shells into the town from the gun boats; the enemy returned the fire with great coolness, but very little effect.

On the 13th, at day break, the attack commenced by the marine battalion, at one end of the town, to attract the fire of the enemy, whilst colonel Smith, with the Europeans, landed at the other; a very smart fire was kept up from trenches along the beach; but as soon as the troops got footing, the enemy flew in all directions before them into the strong parts of the town, where they were completely concealed from us, and fired their musquetry from the houses, which considerably retarded the progress of our men.

I shall not go on detailing what occurred on this most fortunate day; therefore you must be satisfied to hear, that the enemy were driven into the country, all their guns spiked, and the Union Jack flying in the town by noon; about seventy dows (large and small) destroyed by fire, their magazines blown up, and every injury completed by 4 P. M. This was all done with the loss of one captain of the 65th, and three or four men wounded. The troops found considerable plunder in the town; and great quantities of dates and coffee were left there from the laudable anxiety colonel Smith felt to get his men embarked off the burning shore, after the great point was settled.

The troops are now all embarked, and we expect to sail to day for Kishme, where there is another nest of pirates. The miserable inhabitants of this place are now collected on the beach, deploring their situation, and burying their dead, which we suppose to amount to 150 or 200 men.

The Sultan made his escape on the only horse in the place. Several charts, quadrants, and books, have been found with poor Hopwood's name in them.

Mrs. Taylor had sailed for Bushire some days before our arrival here.

It is supposed, by the military gentlemen, that there is an European here, who has instructed the inhabitants to throw up batteries, and dig trenches, as they are all done in our style.

It is said, in private letters from the expedition under the command of lieut. colonel Smith, that several privates of the detachments, both native and Europeans, had been fortunate in securing



considerable sums of money during the ransacking of the town of Rus ul Khina; one soldier, of his Majesty's 65th regiment, is said to have found 1,400 gold Mohurs.

The following are some of the circumstances which attended the loss of the Diamond and Fattah Allebhoy.

The vessels left Bussora, in company with the Bussora packet, on the 29th October last; and, after touching at Bushire, proceeded on their voyage to this place. On the 5th November, it began to blow a hard gale; the weather was at the same time hazy and the sea very high. At four o'clock the next morning, the Diamond found herself amongst breakers, and the next moment struck on the reef that lies at the N. W. end of the Island of Nob-flower. An attempt was made to wear the ship, but the rudder going away, the ship was driven on shore and laid on her beam ends. In about a quarter of hour the Fattah Allebhoy also struck and shared the fate of the Diamond.

Both vessels succeeded in getting all the crew and passengers on shore, with the exception of the serang and one lascar, belonging to the Diamond, who were drowned.

In the afternoon, the waters having fallen, and the sea abated a good deal, captain Benson, of the Diamond, went on board, with a few of the best lascars and the second officer, to try if they could save any of the treasure, provisions, and clothes.

They found the captain's trunks broken open, and a great many things missing, which they suspected to have been done by the Arab horse-keepers, whose conduct, in other respects, dur-

ing the time of danger and calamity, is represented as having been very mutinous. A considerable part of the treasure, the packet, and a few clothes, with some bags of rice, and about 20 gallons of water, were brought on shore.

Some of the horses were found alive; but it was impossible to get them out without cutting a hole in the ship's side; besides which, any attempt to have thus saved them, would only have exposed them to perish on shore for the want of fresh water. A few horses, indeed, did escape from the ship, and swam ashore; but, in consequence of the total want of fresh water, they either died before the people quitted the island, or were left there to perish.

The sufferers had but a melancholy prospect before them; the whole number amounted to about 200 souls; the island on which they were cast was completely desolate, not a shrub nor a drop of water to be found.

They made large fires, and slept around them during the night.

To their great satisfaction, a ship appeared in sight the next morning, which turned out to be the Bussora packet, that, at the commencement of the gale, had parted company. By the humane exertions of capt. Clement, who immediately went on shore to their assistance, they were all safely embarked on board the Bussora packet before night, except a few, which remained with capt. Clement and capt. Benson till the next morning. Before they finally embarked, they visited both ships, but found it was impossible to do any thing effectual towards saving them.

## PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND.

*Occurrences for* JANUARY, 1809.

### *Shipwreck.*

JAN. 14.—The following is an authentic account of the loss of the ship Dundee, belonging to this port.

The Dundee sailed from Port Jackson on the 12th of August last, and on the 13th, at 8 P. M. it came on to blow a very heavy gale from the S. E. the



ship at that time being about twenty-five miles off the land.

On the morning of the 14th, found the ship to be on a lee-shore; the gale still blowing with unabated violence, all possible sail was therefore made to endeavour to get off from the land, but without effect; as, notwithstanding every exertion, on the morning of the 15th, she was only about three miles to windward of Coal Island, and utterly unable to clear the island, upon any tack.

Under these circumstances, it was found absolutely necessary to bear up, in the hopes of getting safe anchorage in the entrance of Hunter's river, as the only possible means of saving the ship, and preserving the lives of the people; being, however, unable to carry such sail as was necessary to keep the ship to windward, from the violence of the gale, and a strong fresh running out of the river, it was impossible to weather the breakers on the lee sand shoals: and, at about 8 A. M. the ship struck aft, the sea at the same time making a breach completely over her, where she lay until between 1 and 2 P. M., when she went to pieces.

Notwithstanding every possible assistance was rendered from the settlement at Newcastle, after the ship had struck, two of the people's lives were unfortunately lost; and a number of them severely bruised.

The brig, Elizabeth, from Otaheite and Goro, which touched at Norfolk Island, on the 8th of Oct. last, brought accounts of a large ship, supposed to be the Port au Prince, from the coast of Peru, having been cut off by the natives of Goro, and the crew, consisting of nearly one hundred men, killed and devoured by the natives.

The same accounts mention, that the American brig, Eliza, captain Corrie, had been wrecked on a reef near the same island, and totally lost; and that one of her boats, with six men, had been cut off by the natives, while attempting to save some of the crew.

The Eliza is said to have had on board sixty thousand dollars in specie.

## PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND, Occurrences for February.

FEBRUARY 4.—On Tuesday last, the 31st ultimo, an inquest was held on the body of Elizabeth Benner, at her dwelling house in George Town.

A jury having been summoned and collected, they proceeded with a coroner, to make an inquiry into the cause of the death. The state of the corpse, as it then appeared, might be more easily imagined than described. The deceased lay stretched on the floor of the bed-room, at the foot of her couch, with her skull shot through, and completely shattered; a pistol, apparently just before discharged, (and with which it was supposed the death was occasioned) was seen hanging on the curtain.

A long and serious investigation ensued, and among the several witnesses who were examined, were Anthony Baptist, the servant of the deceased, and George Williams, a mariner.—The first of them deposed, that, in the morning he was desired, by his mistress, to go to the house of a friend of her's, and to request that she would spare her some gun-powder and pistol-balls, for the purpose of shooting some mad dogs; that the deceased often used to shoot with a pistol, at birds, for amusement. He accordingly conveyed the message, and returned with six small cartridges, which he delivered to his mistress. He stated, that he had reason to believe, that the deceased was not in her right senses; that she frequently got into temporary phrenzies, and used to hold this witness, and suddenly grow angry with him without cause; and, also, that she frequently attempted to bite him. That, after having attended the deceased, and the said George Williams at breakfast, he was sent out, by his mistress, to call a tailor, (George Williams having left the house, and she at this time being alone therein); upon his return, he found several of the neighbours in, and near, the house, who had repaired thither in consequence of the report of the pistol.—That this witness then pro-



ceeded to inform the police constables of what had happened.

George Williams, a mariner, belonging to his majesty's ship *Ceylon*, being also called and sworn, deposed, that he had breakfasted with the deceased in the morning; that she seemed to be exceedingly affected, and very uneasy; that she scarcely spoke to him; but, while at breakfast, muttered in a low tone of voice, and now and then cried; that on asking her what was the matter, she shook her head, and he heard her once exclaim, "*I am undone!*" That after breakfast he went away, leaving the deceased and the above-named witness in the house; and, upon his return, some time after, he found the deceased lying in the condition before described; and some persons who had repaired to the spot, in consequence of the alarm given on the occasion among the neighbours, were there collected.

Several other witnesses were likewise examined, as to the time the report of the pistol was heard, in which, as well as to there being nobody then seen in the house at that moment, they all agreed.

From the above examination, it appeared to the jury, that, from a paroxysm of grief, the deceased must have lost the use of her reason; and, having retired for a few minutes, they brought in a verdict of lunacy.

## PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND

### *Occurrences for March.*

*Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery,  
Court of judicature of Prince of Wales's  
Island.—Friday, March 10, 1809.*

Kamoody, a sepooy, was tried upon an indictment, which charged him with having feloniously ravished Aleema, the wife of Toole Mahomed, a tailor, on the 8th of February last, at George Town, in this island.—Aleema, the woman, swore positively to the facts against the prisoner; she lives near the draw-bridge; prisoner came to her house about two o'clock on the day of the 8th of February last,

and said he wanted her husband, who was a tailor, to make him a sepooy's hat, she told him he was not at home, and he went away, through the door leading to the street, by which he entered the house;—she had then just lain in of a child, and was confined to bed. In a few minutes after, the prisoner returned to her house, offered a dollar, which she refused to accept of, and he dragged her out of her cot, threw her down, and committed the violence, which she particularly described, and swore to all the requisites necessary to complete the crime of *rape*. He remained two hours in her house with her, and went away; there were several houses and neighbours all about her house; she said she endeavoured to cry out, but the prisoner kept her mouth stopped with a cloth the entire time, so that she could not call for assistance; her mouth was stopped with the cloth for two hours:—after the prisoner left her house, she told what had happened to some neighbours, but the prisoner was not apprehended; her husband returned that night, at midnight, and she told him all that had happened, and he and she complained to the police; soon after which the prisoner was apprehended.

Saddoolaw, who lived next door to her, deposed, that there was a passage from his house into the house of the prosecutrix, and there is another passage into her house from the road; that, about a month ago, prisoner passed through his house, conversed with him, and said he had some business with the tailor, the husband of the woman; that he went into her house and remained about an hour, and then returned through his house; and there was no noise during the time he remained there; that if there had been the least noise, or any person had cried out, he must have heard it; that soon after prisoner walked away, the prosecutrix came out, and charged the prisoner with having had forcible connexion with her; there were several neighbours and people all around, who would come to her assistance if any alarm had been given when the prisoner was in her house.



The husband of the woman swore, that, upon his return, at twelve o'clock at night, she told him what had happened; in consequence of which, he and she gave information, on the next day, against the prisoner, at the police office; he was then in the hospital, and was soon after taken, or gave himself up; many sepoys, his friends, used to assemble at his house to smoke and drink toddy, but he was not particularly acquainted with the prisoner.

Prisoner, in his defence, said, it was true the woman had sworn to the facts against him, but that, at the time he is charged to have committed this crime, he was sick in the hospital, and had not the perfect use of his limbs, from a violent rheumatic complaint; that he got leave to come to town on that day, to receive some pay, which he did, and went to the house of the woman's husband, who is a tailor, and lives near the draw-bridge, in order to get a new regimental cap made for the celebration of the mussulman's holidays, which were approaching; that the husband not being at home, and the woman having seen some money in his hands, applied to him for some, and said, when she was recovered, he should do as he pleased with her, if he would then give her the money; that he refused, and she from spite and anger, made this charge, when he was gone; and that he returned to the hospital, and as soon as he heard of the charge, he came to town and gave himself up, and refused to compromise or abscond;—these facts, as to his being an invalid in the hospital, and having surrendered, was confirmed by one of the superior officers in his regiment.

Sir E. Stanley, in his charge, told the jury, that there was no crime, the investigation of which required so much the care, vigilance, and caution, of a court and jury, as that which was imputed to the prisoner, nor any offence, in the trial of which they were more liable to be imposed upon. The crime of rape, no doubt, is a most detestable one, and as such made a capital

offence by the law of England (18 Elizabeth, c. 7.); but it is an accusation easy to be made, and difficult to be defended by the party accused, be he ever so innocent; and it does not, in the ordinary course of things, admit of that sort of negative evidence, by which other crimes may be controverted; the guilt or innocence of the party can, therefore, only be determined by the credit of the woman, and by the circumstances which accompanied and followed the transaction, demonstrating the probability or improbability of the charge; the party ravished, no doubt, is a competent witness, but the credibility of her testimony, or how far she is to be believed, must be left to the jury, upon the circumstances of fact, that concur in that testimony, for instance, if she presently discovered the offence, and made search for the offender; if the party accused fled for it; these, and the like circumstances, would give probability to her testimony; but if the place where the fact was alleged to be committed, was where it was possible she might have been heard, and she made no out-cry, or gave no alarm; if her evidence stands unsupported by others; if she concealed the injury any time after she had opportunity to complain; these, with other circumstances of the improbability of the fact, carry a strong presumption that her testimony is false or feigned; for one excellence of the trial by jury is, that they are triers of the credit of witnesses, as well as of the truth of the facts they swear to. In the present case, it is extraordinary that the prisoner should have chosen two o'clock in the day as the time for his committing this outrage; that he should have chosen an house on the high road, surrounded by other houses and neighbours, as the place; that no alarm should have been given during an hour or two, that he remained in the house; that he should have gone publicly through the house of the woman's next neighbour, who, upon the slightest complaint, might have seized him, instead of going



through the door that led immediately from the road into the woman's house ; that he should have remained there one or two hours, under the peril of her husband's return home, and of being taken upon the least alarm ;—that he should have returned after the alleged fact publicly through the next house, where he could easily have been taken, and walked away unmolested ; all those circumstances existed in the the case to shew the improbability of the fact having been committed, as sworn to ; he said it was essential to the crime of rape, that it should be committed against the will and consent of the woman, and that the jury were to determine by the circumstances :—1st, whether they believed the fact sworn to was at all committed ;—and, 2dly, if it was, whether it was *with or against her consent*. If she at all assented it was no rape, if her mouth was stuffed with cloth for one or two hours, she must have been suffocated. He then stated the improbability of a man, who was a cripple and invalid in the hospital, having chosen such a time to perpetrate an act of that sort :—and also his having selected, as the object of such violence, a woman who was only just recovering from her lying-in :—the circumstance, also, of his not having absconded when the charge was made, but having come up to town from the hospital, and voluntarily gone to the police to answer the complaint, coupled with all the others, tended strongly to rebut the probability of the charge being well founded, and to demonstrate a consciousness of innocence on his part.

The jury retired, and soon after returned with a verdict—of *acquittal*.

PENANG, March 11.—On Wednesday evening, John Macalister, esq. and captain Greaves, landed from the ship, Nancy, which they left, about seven o'clock in the morning, off Saddle Island. This ship left Malacca, on the 24th ultimo, and on the 26th, about 8 P. M. was totally dismasted, Parselar Hill bearing E. by S. 16 fathoms, supposed by lightning ; al-

though, at the time, there was a pleasant breeze, and clear moon-light, without the least appearance of a squall, excepting a little lightning over Parcelar : unfortunately one life was lost by going over with the masts. The Nancy came in last evening under jury masts.

### PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND. *Occurrences for April.*

PENANG, April 8.—Account of the loss of the brig New Endeavour, captain Joze Anthony De Coil, by fire, in Booron roads.

The brig New Endeavour sailed from Bengal river, on the 6th of December, 1808, bound for Prince of Wales's Island, in company with his majesty's ship the Culloden, captain P. B. Pellew, and the ship Europa, captain Cowan.

On the 8th of January, the brig being in tow by the Culloden, and it blowing very fresh, she strained to such a degree as to occasion her leaking ; so that she had shortly four feet water in the hold, and could hardly be kept free with both pumps going, notwithstanding she had the assistance of a boat's crew from the admiral ; they were under the necessity of throwing a part of their cargo, consisting of ghee, &c. overboard, to lighten the vessel. She continued in tow until the latitude of 5° 30', and longitude 95° 55', when she was cast off, and experienced strong currents to the westward, and the next morning saw the coast of Acheen. She continued beating against adverse winds and currents for about ten days, and with great difficulty made Diamond point ; from this place, having a south-easterly breeze, captain De Coil made an attempt to cross over ; but it shortly fell calm, and a strong current from the south-east drove them down, off Booron, on the coast of Pedier.

On the 14th of January, came to an anchor in Booron roads, being in absolute want of water, fire-wood, and lamp-oil : during the following two days got water on board, but could



not procure any fire-wood. On the 17th, at five A. M. mustered all hands to weigh anchor, while they were about which, Mrs. Yates, a passenger, observed smoke coming up the after-hatchway, and immediately called to the captain, who was at that time on the fore-castle, and who, on coming aft, took off the scuttle, when the flames immediately burst out. Every exertion was made to extinguish them, but without effect; and as every one feared a sudden explosion, from the powder in the gun-room, they instantly got into the longboat, and pushed off without water, or any thing, save the few clothes they had on; at this time the flames were issuing from the cabin windows.

They had no sooner reached the shore, than they were surrounded by Chulcahs and Malays, from the town of Booron; and the chief, after having searched the captain, ordered him to return with him to the vessel, in the hopes of recovering dollars, which they supposed to be on board; the violence of the flames, however, and the fear of her blowing up, prevented the boat going alongside, and they returned to the shore, where they found the passengers, and crew all made prisoners, after having been strictly searched for dollars, which they might have spared themselves the trouble of doing.

About noon they marched, under a strong guard, to the town of Booron, where they had each a cup of rice served out to them, the long boat had been taken from them, to prevent their going to the wreck, to save any thing; the Chuleahs and Malays, however, obtained a great quantity of cloths, a single piece of which they refused to spare to any of the prisoners, who were almost naked, even to Mrs. Yates, who escaped with only her shift and a bed gown, although they had been kept the whole day in the sun, and on the burning sand.

On the 18th Mr. Roach, the chief officer, and some of the people went down towards the wreck, which had driven on shore, in the hope of obtaining some few articles for their sub-

sistence, but they were immediately set upon by the plunderers, and did not escape without a severe beating; they continued thus, with only a little rice to support them, during four days, when the boat was returned to them, which sold for twenty-four dollars, in order to purchase a few articles for their journey to Tulosumoway, where they arrived, after a march over the sandy beach of upwards of sixty miles, during which they experienced no relief, except having a few chillies given them, and a handkerchief, which a Malay took off his head, and gave to Mrs. Yates, whose sufferings may be more easily conceived than described.

On their arrival at Tulosumoway, they were conducted into the fort, and ushered into the presence of the queen, who was very particular in her inquiries, but without offering them refreshment, informed them they would experience every relief from captain John Elliot, who happened, very fortunately for them, to be at that port, fitting out his vessel; and in which her humane majesty was not mistaken. With captain Elliot they all embarked, (except an European Portuguese, named Jozea Anthony, who took service with the king of Acheen,) and arrived safe at Malacca on the 13th of March.

We cannot close this account without mentioning the unfeeling conduct of a man named Russan, (formerly a sepoy in the service of Mr. Prince, of Tappanooly,) who, though he had saved, very unaccountably, some pieces of Boglepore and chintz, refused to let poor Mrs. Yates, although an European woman, considerably advanced in years, and almost naked, have a piece of either, even on the promise of double the value; nor was the seacunney Jozea more humane; for though he had saved four pair of shoes, and had a good pair on himself, he suffered her to walk sixty miles on the sandy beach barefoot, sooner than part with a pair on similar terms.

Mrs. Yates, together with captain De Coil, and several of the people, have arrived at this port on the brig Joseph, captain Alcantara.



## PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND

### *Occurrences for May.*

PENANG, May 2.—The following proclamation was published at Manilla in the month of February last.

#### DECLARATION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

*To the inhabitants of the Philippines.*

The abdication of our lord, king Charles the fourth; the subsequent elevation of our beloved king and lord, Ferdinand the seventh, to the illustrious throne of Spain and the Indies, the deplorable misfortunes which have befallen the royal family, and originating in the treachery of a favourite, whose crimes have outstripped even the prodigal bounty of his sovereign; the duplicity and perfidy of the emperor of the French, who, under cover of the closest alliance, has sought to impair the independence, the greatness, and the true succession of the Spanish monarchy, by tearing from the bosom of his country (though not, indeed, from the hearts of Spaniards) our beloved master, Ferdinand the seventh; finally, the heroic efforts of the nation, in support of the sacred rights of their king, and in token of the love and loyalty which they bear him; these are the events, which have now, all at once, been made known to the faithful and affectionate subjects of his majesty, living in these remote regions.

What an assemblage of objects, all calculated to excite the most lively emotions of the heart of every loyal Spaniard! Yet, at one and the same instant, every other feeling has been absorbed in the more tender and ardent sensations of joy, excited by the new dignity and splendour which these events have imparted to the throne of our beloved king and lord, Ferdinand the seventh; and in the eagerness with which we have joined, in pronouncing our solemn vows of fidelity on the occasion of his proclamation. We have never ceased to hope and believe, with a confidence approaching to certainty, that the divine protection will

still continue to attend on a cause so just and holy, on a cause which has no object but our king, our religion, and our country. We have never ceased to think of the heroic exploits achieved in so admirable a manner, and almost at the same instant, for the chastisement and expulsion of an enemy, who already thought that he had subdued, by force of arms, the whole country of Spain, and who still detains our beloved Ferdinand the seventh, a prisoner in his dominions. And, we have only lamented, that, separated as we are by an immense ocean from the scene of action, we have no opportunity of contributing our personal aid, to bring so just a cause to a glorious and successful issue.

In those effusions of loyalty, to which every bosom gave loose, amid the solemn ceremony of the proclamation, we may congratulate ourselves on having furnished an unequivocal testimony, that we are the same people, the same devoted subjects of the king, with those who now actually tread the illustrious soil of Spain, and who, animated only by one wish and by one view, and united by the most just and sacred bonds, steadfastly pursue the single purpose of rescuing their august and beloved sovereign, and upholding him on his throne, surrounded with a splendour and glory, worthy of Spain and her generous inhabitants,—a splendour, which nothing but a long series of adversities could in any manner have obscured.

Such are the sentiments, such are the sincere desires, which universally possess the subjects of his majesty in the Philippine Islands. And, although it is not in our power to march in person to the relief of the metropolis, there yet remain to us two methods of contributing to the success of the sacred cause. The one is, generously to lay open all the means at our disposal, with the view of assisting and relieving the wants, which are inseparable from great military undertakings: the other, carefully to preserve among us that unanimity, so essential to the great end in view, and to be more than



ever vigilant in the maintenance of good order and justice in this happy soil. So, may we say to our beloved Ferdinand the seventh; "Sire;—the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands have deplored, with bitter sorrow, the calamities which have afflicted your majesty. But, at the same time, while your majesty has never been one instant absent from their hearts, they have forgot their grief, in the confidence, that the great and generous nation of Spain have known how to beat down, to confound, and to extinguish the perfidy and colossal power of our enemies. The Philippine Islands have never ceased to observe the laws of concord, regularity, and justice; in order that, when your majesty shall return to the bosom of your beloved country, your majesty may know, what fidelity, loyalty, and affection, are to be found in this valuable portion of your dominions."

What a delightful spectacle it is to behold all the orders of the state united together in sentiments so loyal! The government itself,—the superior and inferior tribunals,—the ministers of the altar,—the numerous bands of the army,—every individual, in fine, down to the meanest native of these territories, joins in common voice of acclamation, and, with sincerity of heart, offers up incessant prayers to heaven, that his dear and beloved king, Don Ferdinand the seventh, may be blessed with many and happy years, for the welfare and glory of the Spanish monarchy.

MARIANO FERNANDEZ

DE FOLGUERAS.

*Manilla, Feb. 14, 1809.*

## PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND

### *Occurrences for October.*

*Extract of a letter from Malacca, Sept. 22, received per Mornington.*

"The market for opium in this quarter is at a stand, owing to the non-arrival of the Bouggiese prows. A late unfortunate occurrence has had the effect of preventing any of these vessels from coming to this port. About a month ago, a fleet of twenty-one

Bouggiese prows, on their passage up the straits to this place, fell in with the Piedmontaise frigate, off Mount Formosa. The frigate conceiving from their appearance, that they were pirates, and it is often extremely difficult to distinguish vessels of that description from trading prows, sent her boats armed to attack the fleet of supposed pirates. The Malays, it is said, perceiving the mistake under which they were likely to be attacked, endeavoured to explain that they were not pirates, but traders, peaceably proceeding to Malacca and Penang. They could not make themselves understood, and the attack proceeded. On this, the Malays made a most desperate resistance; determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, many of them ran amuck; and rushing headlong with their cresces on the Europeans, compelled a number of the seamen to leap over-board. After a smart conflict, unequal from the greater number of Malays who were engaged, the boats were obliged to return to the frigate, the prows made off, and returned to Rhio and Lingin.

"In this unfortunate affair we had two seamen killed, five officers, and about 30 seamen severely wounded, some of these are desperately mangled.

"The commanding officer of this settlement has dispatched messengers and letters to Rhio, assuring the Raja, that the attack on the fleet of prows, originated entirely in mistake, and inviting them to resort to this port as usual, under the assurance of a cordial reception. The Malays are obstinate, and refuse to visit an English port. Forty prows from different Malayan islands, hearing, upon their arrival at Rhio, of the attack off Formosa, declined continuing their voyage to Penang and Malacca, to which ports they were bound, and they now remain at Rhio. Mr. Keok, a gentleman of this place, possessing much influence with the Malays, has written to the Raja, and principal people at Rhio, in the hope of effecting a reconciliation, so desirable to our commercial interests.

"Opium here is nominally 900 dollars per chest; but is in no demand;



and if the sale be forced it will not produce 800."

## PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND

### *Occurrences for November.*

On Thursday, the Troubridge, captain Gourlay, arrived from China, whence she sailed the 10th Sept. and came down the inner passage.

The markets were not the most favourable, but the arrival of some Americans, with dollars, had put fresh spirits into the merchants.

The Ladrões were very numerous and daring, 101 sail were lying at the second bar, when the Troubridge passed, seemingly with the intention to attack her. They had attacked the Auspicious and Dadaïoy, going in, and did them some damage.

An American brig, with four lacs of dollars on board, was attacked, and nearly carried, but from their bad manœuvring, she escaped, and took refuge under the guns of his majesty's ship La Dedaigneuse, then lying in the Tiper, who has since gone against them.

The Mercury, of this port, had been taken up by the Chinese government, at 2000 dollars per day, and fitted out as a privateer:—fifty Americans had volunteered their services on board. Captain Williams, late of the Palmer, was in command of the Mercury.

The Britannia, also of this port, had been taken up by the Manilla government, at a very handsome rate, for the purpose of visiting the Philippine islands, and collecting the revenues. Captain Court, remained on shore, to dispose of the cargo. The markets at Manilla are stated to be very bad.

### *Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, Thursday, 16th day of November.*

It being intimated to the court, on behalf of the prisoner, that John Lyon Phipps, Esq. one of the grand jurors, was a minor, therefore incapable; the recorder declared that the prisoner could only avail himself of this objection, if the fact was so, by way of a plea in abatement; and that before

any other plea pleaded; however, he was willing to give him the full benefit of it, and to remove all doubt. Mr. Phipps was sworn upon oath, as to his age, and having admitted he was a minor, the recorder observed, that a minor ought not to be returned by the sheriff, and that, in point of law, if any one of the grand jury, who find an indictment be an incapable person, or not such a lawful juror as the law acknowledges, he vitiates the whole, though never so many unexceptionable persons join him in finding the bill; he would, therefore, in the present case remove all objection at the prisoner's desire, and for his own benefit, permit him to withdraw his former plea, and allow his plea in abatement of the indictment, which he accordingly quashed, on account of the minority of one of the indictors:—he then ordered a grand jury to be re-sworn, from the same pannel, leaving out the incapable person, and new bills of indictment were served to the grand jury, which being found, the prisoner Thomas Courtney, was arraigned and having pled not guilty, the court proceeded upon his trial.

The recorder said he did this upon the authority of Foster and Hall, and a case of the king against M'Dermot, which happened within his own recollection before the late lord Avonmore, and another very able judge, who allowed a plea in abatement on account of the incapacity of one of the grand jurors, upon which the indictment was quashed, a new bill found before another grand jury, and the prisoner tried, convicted, and executed.

Thomas Courtney, a young man of about 21, in the artillery service, was tried upon two indictments;—the first for the murder of Thomas Shields, a corporal of artillery, who was shot by him, when he came to relieve him on guard in the fort, on the 18th of last October, in consequence of resentment declared by the prisoner against the deceased, for having confined him in the guard-house that morning for drunkenness, and the other for the murder of Akow, an industrious China carpenter, who was killed in conse-



quence of a wound from the same fire-lock and by the same ball at the same time; the trial was a most interesting one, not only on account of the atrocity of the acts, but on account of the youth of the prisoner, who, from the history of his birth and family, given by him in his defence, seemed destined for a better fate: and, after a very long trial, which lasted till five in the evening, he was convicted upon both indictments, upon very clear evidence; and after a very pathetic and affecting speech from the honourable the recorder, he passed judgment of death upon him.—After which the court adjourned until this day, when another trial for murder, of a very interesting nature, committed in one of the southern districts of Soonghy Teram, will be proceeded upon.

*Court of Judicature, Thursday, 23d day of November, 1869.*

Aming, a Chinese, was indicted for the wilful murder of Sycheit, a Chinese, at Soonghy Teram, on the 28th of August last. It appeared that the prisoner and the deceased, together with one Keong, resided together in the same house for years, near a pepper garden, 13 miles distant from George Town; that the deceased was missing from his residence, and no account could be obtained of him for some time; that the prisoner had informed those who had enquired for the deceased, that he had gone away from the neighbourhood, and that he expected him back in three or four months; so the matter rested for about a month, when a neighbour passing through the jungle, near the house of the prisoner, and Keong, perceived a noisome smell and some earth newly turned up, with a spear stuck in it, upon which he informed a relation of the deceased, who went there with the constable of the district, and found the body of the deceased buried a cubit under ground, wrapped up in the mat on which he usually slept, and in his curtains, all stained with blood; this led the constable to the house of the prisoner, where the deceased had resided. The

prisoner was apprehended, and Alock, a labourer, in the house; Keong had fled a few days before. It appeared by Alock, the labourer's evidence, that he was awake from his sleep about twelve o'clock at night in August last, and that he saw the prisoner and Keong come out of the room where the deceased slept, each with a bloody knife in his hand, and that they threatened the witness with immediate death if he did not take an oath of secrecy, not to divulge what he had seen, which he did take under terror; and he swore that the prisoner and Keong locked him up in the cookroom, while they took the body out and buried it in the jungle where it was found. It further appeared, that the prisoner, when taken up by the constable, first said he did not know what had become of him who murdered the deceased, and that he did not know who had murdered the deceased, or what had become of him; and, afterwards, declared it was by Keong: the avowed cause of the murder was resentment, which Keong entertained against the deceased, for some threats alleged to have been made by the deceased against him.

Sir. E. Stanley delivered a clear and explicit charge to the jury, in which he pointed their attention to the principal circumstances, which confirmed the evidence of Alock, and particularly the contradictory accounts of the deceased, given by the prisoner, when he was missed from the neighbourhood, and afterwards admitting that he was murdered by Keong; and he explained to them that in point of law, although the mortal wounds may have been given by Keong, that if the prisoner was present, aiding and assisting, or privy to it, and joining him in the secret burial of the deceased, he was as much a principal in the murder, as if he had given the mortal wound himself. The jury retired, and returned a verdict of guilty against the prisoner, about six o'clock in the evening.

This was one of the most interesting trials for murder which has hitherto occurred.



## PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND

### *Occurrences for December.*

**PENANG, December.**—By the arrival of the *Daphne*, captain Hall, from Manila, whence he sailed the 8th ult. the following particulars are received relative to the shipping, which have quitted India on speculation to Luconia, since the opening of the Spanish trade.

The under-mentioned vessels were laying at Manila, when the *Daphne* sailed.

The Barring, Elliot; Sidney, Collingwood; Eagle, Webster; Experiment, Cripps; Union, Thomas; Mary, Smith; Commerce, Chapman; Balfour, Eaton; a brig, Berley; Portuguese ships *Activo*, *Marrianne*, *Primo*, and two others.

The French national grab *Entreprenant*, arrived on the 3d September, under a flag of truce, with duplicate of the *La Mouche*'s dispatches, and some numbers of the *Times*, several of which with paragraphs, or passages, cut out: the grab sent a boat on shore with masters of biscuits, &c. requesting a supply of provisions; the boat was detained, and the crew imprisoned, mean while the vessel was cruising about with the flag of truce flying, and on the next day came to an anchor in Centascido, when some of the English and Portuguese vessels firing on her, she cut and ran out under easy sail; the day after, her people were sent off, but too late to reach her. There were from fifty to seventy gun boats laying in the river, but no attempt made against her. The crews of two American vessels, taken by her on the coast of Pedier, were on board her.

Captain Winther, officers, and crew of the H. C. vessel *Margaret*, belonging to this port, were landed from her at Mauilla.

Prior to the sailing of the *Daphne*, accounts having been received, through the channel of the mutilated *Times* before noticed, of the retreat of the British arms, from Spain, and of the subsequent successes of the French in that quarter; the government had fitted out the packet-boat *La Mouche*, for the purpose of conveying dispatches to

Spanish America; but she had not sailed when the *Daphne* came away.

## BENCOOLEN

### *Occurrences for 1808.*

**BENCOOLEN, Feb. 6.**—Affairs at this settlement, and the different subordinates along the coast, are in a state of profound peace and good order.

The season has proved unhealthy at Fort Marlborough; Mr. Parry, the resident, and Mr. Siddons, have been both seriously indisposed, but are entirely recovered.

The stores of rice and provision have fallen rather low; this circumstance, however, gives no room for uneasiness, as, besides the supplies from Bengal, which are soon expected, the crops of grain upon the ground promise a harvest of unusual fertility.

**MARCH 15**—Some years ago the nutmeg and clove trees were brought from the Molucca islands, and introduced at this place. The trees are loaded with fruit, and the younger plantations are in such prosperity, that in the course of a few years the produce of Sumatra will be competent to the supply of the Europe market in its demand for cloves, nutmeg, and mace; and thus a valuable branch of trade, long monopolized by the Dutch, and considered necessarily dependent on the possession of the Molucca islands, has been transferred from a foreign country, and already opens to Great Britain a new source of national and private wealth.

The soil and climate of Sumatra are particularly favourable to the clove and nutmeg; but no small part of the extraordinary success of the plantations established, must be ascribed to the fostering care with which they have been nursed in their earlier stages.

The nutmeg, mace, and cloves, in appearance, and the more essential point of quality, are, at least, equal to those produced in the Molucca islands.

*Extract of a letter from Benconlen, dated July 21, 1809.*

"I presume you are by this time



acquainted with the total destruction of Padang, by fire; a settlement, laying to the northward, formerly belonging to the Dutch; but which is at present subject to, and entertained by, the English government.

"The consequences of this melancholy catastrophe, which occurred in February last, were dreadful: private property having been consumed to a great amount, though that of the public did not suffer so much on the occasion.

"The fire continued increasing so very rapidly, as to have admitted but little to be saved; and the whole town was, in the space of two hours, levelled to the ground. It is consolatory, however, to observe, that few lives were lost.

"In order to alleviate the distressful effects of this unfortunate disaster, as far as it lay in the power of government, whose compassion and humanity, was greatly excited on the occasion, a subscription was raised on account of the relief of the poor sufferers, which amounted to 1866 dollars.

"The company, exclusive of this, advanced loans of money to the extent of some thousand dollars, towards enabling the distressed to rebuild their houses, and carry on the cultivation, &c."

—  
FORT MARLBOROUGH, Aug. 17.—

"We have got here a French lieutenant-colonel prisoner. He was aide-camp to the governor or commander-in-chief at Batavia, and had gone to sea for the benefit of his health in a Prow, but, meeting with bad weather

from the southward, he was obliged to bear up for Pulo Penang, opposite Cooe, where he delivered himself up to the acting resident, who sent him to this place. He will, I suppose, arrive in Calcutta at the same time you receive this, as I believe it is proposed to send him in the Lord Castlereagh. In the latter end of April last, we had a visit from the Cannonier and Laurel. They stood in much nearer than Rat Island: but, gaining information, I suppose, that there was no vessel in Pulo Bay, stood off afterwards to the northward. We were greatly afraid, they would have fallen in with the Castlereagh and Anna; and, had these ships come the inner passage, they certainly would have been captured, as the French vessels were at anchor off Padang for the space of four days.

"As soon as our two ships arrived, they were put into the Bason, at Rat Island; and measures were taken for repairing and planking the old platform there, and for building a furnace for heating shot. That is now finished, and we have two 24 pounders and an eight-inch mortar mounted on the island. Soon after we had got every thing in readiness, two strange sail were seen, when we instantly cleared for action, both ashore and on board.

"They did not come in, however, but stood to the southward. On a second occasion, every thing was again cleared for action; but the vessels proved to be the Procris and Dasher, brig and sloop of war. They remained four days, to get water and bullocks."

## CEYLON Occurrences for JANUARY, 1809.

### General orders.

JANUARY 1.—The establishment of the civil branch of the ordnance in this island having been considerably altered, by orders from the master-general and the honourable the board of ordnance,

lieutenant-general Maitland is pleased to publish the following appointments, which have taken place in that department.

Kenelm Chandler, esq. to be store-keeper; Alexander Gordon, esq. to be



clerk of the survey; P. O. Elbard, to be clerk of the cheque.

In consequence of a communication from the respective officers on this island, lieutenant-general Maitland has been pleased to publish, until further orders, the following appointments, made by the master-general and the honourable the board of ordnance.

Mr. Robert Smith to be assistant commissary to the field train department on Ceylon; Mr. James Walker and Mr. George Higgins to be clerks of stores to ditto.

GALLÉ, Jan. 6.—The following list of promotions, by brevet in the army serving in Ceylon, is published, by the commander of the forces, for their information.

Colonel Charles Baillie, of the 3d Ceylon regiment, to be major-general, date April 25th, 1808.

Lieutenant-colonel John Wilson, deputy quarter-master-general, on the half pay of the late 5th garrison battalion, to be colonel, date April 25th, 1808.

Brevet major George Herbert Adams, of the 66th regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel, date April 25th, 1808.

Lieutenant-general Maitland announces the above promotion of major-general Baillie to the forces under his orders, with a mixed feeling of satisfaction and regret.

He does now and ever shall experience the most lively satisfaction at any increase of the major-general's military rank graciously conferred on him by his sovereign, which, by enlarging the scale of his military command, will extend his ability of rendering essential service to his king and country.

But it is with the most sincere regret, the lieutenant-general reflects, that the major-general's promotion will deprive him, and the force in this island, of the further benefit of the major-general's valuable services—Services which have most deservedly acquired him the distinct approbation of his majesty, and his royal highness the commander-in-chief—which have secured to him the respect and esteem of every officer

with whom he has served, and the friendship and affection of all his majesty's civil servants under this government.

The lieutenant-general feels himself particularly called on to return his personal thanks to the major-general, for the very able assistance he has afforded him as second in command, of which he can with truth say, he will ever retain a due and permanent recollection.

Major-general Baillie will receive the honours of a major-general in command during his further residence in the island, and all orders coming from him are to be strictly obeyed.

Lieutenant colonel Bridges, royal engineers, is appointed commandant of Colombo, vice brigadier-general Baillie promoted.

(Signed) H. Q. BROWNRIGG,  
Dep. adj.-gen.

*General orders, Head-quarters, Tangalle, January, 12, 1809.*

The general court-martial, of which the honourable lieutenant-colonel P. Stuart, of the 19th regiment, is president, is approved and dissolved.

#### CRIME.

Captain Charles Henry Steel, 2d Ceylon regiment, ordered in arrest by lieutenant-colonel Kerr, commanding the 2d Ceylon regiment, for behaviour infamous and scandalous, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman—in the following instances:

1st. For his having, on the evening of the 19th ult. gone uninvited into the quarters of lieutenant Thomas James Rodney, of the 2d Ceylon regiment, who was with a party of officers of the navy and army, and having, on that occasion, made use of language so indecent and improper, as induced lieutenant Rodney and another officer, then present, to call captain Steel an impertinent fellow, or words to that effect, and further induced lieutenant Rodney to desire him to quit his house.

2d. For having, after drawing on himself the above treatment, so disgraceful to an officer, condoned



to patch up matters by his proposing to make, and by making an apology to lieutenant Rodney before the said officers of the navy and army, instead of first calling on that officer to atone for having so insulted and disgraced him, thereby rendering his character as an officer contemptible.

3d. For having given in to the officers of the regiment, who called him to account for his conduct as above stated, a partial, and incorrect statement thereof.

(Signed) H. Q. BROWNRISE,  
Dep. adj.-gen.

*Dep. adj.-gen.'s office,  
Columbo, Dec. 20, 1808.*

#### SENTENCE.

The court, having fully and maturely considered and weighed all the evidence brought forward by the prosecutor in support of the first charge (as stated above), as well as what the prisoner has adduced in his defence, is of opinion, (though it can by no means approve of the proceedings stated to have taken place on the 19th November,) that he is not guilty of behaviour infamous and scandalous, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, as is set forth in the charge. It, therefore, does fully acquit him of the same.

With regard to the second charge, (as above stated) the court is of opinion that he is not guilty of behaviour infamous and scandalous, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and gentleman in this instance, and does honourably acquit him thereof.

With regard to the third charge, (as above stated) the court is of opinion that he is not guilty of behaviour infamous and scandalous, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman in this instance, and does acquit him thereof.

The court, having thus given its opinion on the charges exhibited against captain Steel, feels itself called upon to notice a circumstance which arose pending the trial, as extremely irregular towards a witness, which, without imputing to the prosecutor motives of defeating the ends of justice, appeared to the court to have had

the effect of influencing the mind of the witness, who is a very young man, and intimidating him in his subsequent evidence; and which obliged the court to decline hearing any more evidence from that witness.

(Signed) P. STUART,

Lieut.-col. 19th regt. prest.

(Signed) FRED. HANKRY,

Capt. 19th regt. offg. judge-advo.

Approved.

(Signed) T. MAITLAND,

Lieut.-gen.

Lieutenant-general Maitland has read, with much pain, the proceedings of the above general court-martial, and completely concurs in the opinion of the court, as specified on the first charge, that proceedings of the nature of those stated to have taken place on the 19th of November, are, in all instances, not to be approved of, and are extremely improper; but he wishes particularly to allude to a paper signed by the officers at the head-quarters of the second Ceylon regiment, which he feels it his duty unequivocally to state, in his opinion, to be in principle most erroneous, in language most improper, and in its application and consequences most subversive of military discipline and justice. For the younger officers, who signed it, some apology may be drawn from their youth and inexperience, and the example of their seniors; but the captains are deprived of the first of these pleas, and the commanding officer, lieutenant-colonel Kerr, can plead neither. The lieutenant-general must, therefore, state, that it appears to him, the conduct of that officer, whether in the instance of the point so judiciously and very moderately stated at the end of the sentence itself, or in the instance above alluded to, is extremely reprehensible; and he trusts that no suppositions, or mistaken ideas of humanity, or no momentary impulse of feeling, will again induce lieutenant-colonel Kerr, or any other officer, to deviate from the direct and obvious line of military duty; or to violate the observance and respect eminently due to the court, before which he was a prosecutor.



This order will be read, the day it is received; at the head-quarters of every regiment on the island, on the public parade.

Captain Charles Henry Steel, of the 2d Ceylon regiment, will immediately join the head-quarters of his regiment.

(Signed) H. Q. BROWNRICE,  
Dep.-adj.-general.

*General orders.*

MOUNT LAVINIA, January 21.—Major-general Baillie having been absent at the period his promotion appeared in general orders, the lieutenant-general has extreme satisfaction in now publishing the following order, which the major-general has requested may be communicated to the troops who have been under his immediate command.

*Orders by Major-general Baillie.*

COLOMBO, JAN. 22d, 1809.

Major-general Baillie, previous to his quitting the island, begs to return his sincere thanks to the officers in command of corps, and to the officers and troops in general, whom he has had the honor immediately to command, during a period of above eight years, for the uniform attention, good conduct and discipline they have observed and maintained.

The zeal they have always displayed, the cordiality amongst the corps which has constantly existed, and the readiness they have ever manifested to meet his wishes, at the first moment, have equally contributed to their own honor, to the good of his majesty's service, and to the comfort and happiness of the major-general.

He begs leave to add, that the sentiments he has now stated will remain indelibly impressed on his mind.

CEYLON

*Occurrences for February.*

To the editor of the Ceylon Government Gazette.

SIR,

I beg leave to enclose an abstract of the number of patients vaccinated

throughout the different districts on Ceylon, during 1808, amounting to 20,207, which exceeds the proportion of any former year, and when added to 76,823, the number previously vaccinated, makes a total of 103,035 persons, who have been officially reported to me, as having regularly passed through the vaccine disease, since its first introduction into this island in 1802.

The dreadful ravages which the small pox usually committed on Ceylon, previous to the introduction of vaccination, must be in the recollection of every one; and it affords me infinite pleasure to observe, that, agreeable to the most certain information I have been enabled to procure, that destructive malady has not existed in any part of the British possessions on this island, during the year 1808, except in the district of Galle, into which it was brought on the 31st of January, by a Maldivian boat, last from Bengal.

A large proportion of the crew of this boat died, and the disease was communicated by a fisherman who visited it, on its first arrival, to two or three inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Galle, but spread no further, which must be attributed chiefly to the favourable influence of vaccination, which has been so extensively diffused in that, and the other districts of the island.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THOS. CHRISTIE,

Med.-supt.-gen.

Colombo, 10th Feb. 1809.

*General orders.*

HP-ARS. MOUNT LAVINIA, 25th FEB.

Lieutenant-general Maitland, having just received private information that the detachment of his Majesty's 3d Ceylon regiment, now serving on the coast, have in an attack, the first in which they were ever engaged, conducted themselves in the usual manner which all his Majesty's regiments have ever done when called upon to serve their king and their country, directs that the part of that regiment on this island do receive an extra allowance of arack, as a testimony at once of his



approbation of the conduct of the detachment on the coast, and his conviction that, whenever the rest of the regiment is called into action, it will behave with similar zeal, and similar advantage to the public service.

FEB. 15.—On Tuesday, at 3 P. M. his Majesty's ship, *Belliqueux*, with the H. C. ships, *Lady Jane Dundas*, *Jane*, *Duchess of Gordon*, and *William Pitt*, under convoy, sailed from these roads, to join the remainder of the fleet, consisting of the H. C. ships, *Hugh Inglis*, *Sovereign*, *Calcutta*, *Bengal*, *Bensaley*, *Harriet*, *Euphrates*, *Indus*, *Northumberland*, *Earl St. Vincent*, *Lord Eldon*, and *Huddard*, under convoy of H. E. Vice Admiral *Sir E. Pellew*, Bt. in the *Culloden*, and H. M. ship, *Terpsichore*, which had left *Point de Galle* on the same day.

His excellency lieutenant-general *Macdowall*, during the short stay he made at *Colombo*, resided with the governor, and was received amongst his old friends at *Ceylon* with every mark of affection and respect; and the usual honors, due to his rank, were fired on his landing, and re-embarkation.

In addition to the passengers, proceeding to *England* in the above fleet from the several presidencies of *India*, the following embarked from this island:

The hon. *Alexander Johnston*, esq. puisne justice of the supreme court of judicature, on the *Island of Ceylon*.

*Mrs. Johnston* and family, *Miss Mary Twisleton*, Major General *Charles Baillie*, the reverend *Wm. H. Heywood*, *Renelm Chandler*, esq.

The honourable *Alexander Johnston*, esq. puisne justice of the supreme court of judicature on the *Island of Ceylon*, and second member of council, being on the eve of his departure for *Europe*, on his Majesty's service, the most respectable Dutch inhabitants and burghers of *Colombo*, and the native headmen, the president and members of the *Dutch consistory of Colombo*, the priests and members of the *Roman catholic religion*, and the officers of the supreme court of judicature, waited upon him severally with

addresses, expressive of their high admiration of his character, and their earnest wishes for his prosperity and happiness.

The unanimous address of his Majesty's civil servants, on the *Island of Ceylon*,

*To major-general Charles Baillie, colonel of H. M. 3d Ceylon regiment, and late commandant of Colombo.*

SIR,

After having had the gratification of living with you for many years, on terms of the most cordial intercourse and good will, you cannot be surprised if, on the occasion of your return to *Europe*, we unite to express our regret at your departure, our respect for your character, and our attachment to your person.

In you, Sir, we lose one of the greatest ornaments, and one of the best supports, of our society. By your unbounded hospitality, it has been earnestly promoted; by your cheerfulness, constantly enlivened; and by your genuine worth, and engaging manners, eminently improved. But the diminution of our social enjoyments is by no means the whole extent of our loss;—while we have felt the influence of your private virtues, we have also partaken of the benefit of your public conduct. To your unremitted attention, we consider ourselves greatly indebted for the strict order and discipline of the troops under your command, which has rendered the residence of a military station as quiet and regular as that of the best constituted civil government.

Under the impulse of these feelings, we beg leave to express our anxious solicitude for your future welfare, and for the perfect re-establishment of your health, and to request your acceptance of a piece of plate, with an inscription that may perpetuate the sincere sentiments of our lasting esteem and regard.

That you may long live to devote to your country those talents and services, by which your active and useful life has been so honourably distinguished, is our concluding and ardent wish.



To which the major-general answered as follows:

GENTLEMEN,

This unexpected tribute of your esteem and regard, I receive with the purest impressions of gratitude and respect.

Flattering as such an address, with the token of remembrance which accompanies it, must have been to any person in my situation, they become infinitely more valuable to me, who have lived in the most intimate and social habits with you, for so many years of uninterrupted cordiality.

They convey the opinion of those who are endeared to me by mutual ties of friendship and affection, with whom my feelings are reciprocal, and who have impressed me with every sentiment which so honourable a testimony of approbation merits, and of which a warm and grateful heart is susceptible.

• CEYLON

*Occurrences for March.*

*To captain Jones, commanding the honourable company's ship, Walthamstow.*

SIR,

We cannot permit you to depart from Colombo, without expressing the strong sense we entertain of the politeness, hospitality, and gentlemanly attention, experienced in the Walthamstow.

Though our stay with you was for a short period, we beg you to accept our sincere wishes for your future happiness; and should the service allow the opportunity of meeting you again, we shall feel the truest satisfaction.

We are, Sir, with every respect, your obedient, humble servants,

D. M'BEAN, maj. 89th regt.

And the officers of the 89th regiment, who were on board the Walthamstow.

*Colombo, March 12, 1809.*

*Answer from captain Jones.*

SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yesterday, conveying your sentiments, and that of the officers of your corps I had the pleasure of bringing round from Trincomallee to this place, which flattering testimony of your esteem for me, and good opinion of my conduct, I beg leave to assure you, has afforded me the highest gratification, and to add, that I shall always have much satisfaction in accommodating, to the best of my ability, not only the officers of his Majesty's 89th regiment, but also any of his Majesty's officers in this country; and only lament, that circumstances prevented me from giving you better accommodation during our passage round.

I am your most obedient servant,

THOMAS JONES.

*To major M'Bean, and the officers of the 89th regiment.*

*Colombo, March 13, 1809.*

*Correspondence.*

COLOMBO, March 29.—The honourable Edmund Henry Lushington, esq. late puisne justice and provisional chief justice of the supreme court of judicature on this island, having resigned his office of provisional chief justice, and being on the eve of returning to Europe, the principal, and most respectable, of the Dutch inhabitants of Colombo, waited upon him, and presented the following address:

*To the honourable Edmund Lushington, esq. chief justice of the island of Ceylon.*

Honourable Sir,—We, the undersigned Dutch inhabitants of Colombo, urged by your sudden and unexpected resignation of your important situation, with an intention to return to your native country, feel it a duty incumbent upon us to impart to you our unfeigned sorrow on the occasion.—It is impossible for us to express ourselves in a language equal to our feelings; for, whatever reason we may have to excuse



ourselves, that your successor will follow up your example in the laborious duties of that very high office, which you have fulfilled, with the most strict zeal, precision, and unshaken perseverance; nevertheless, our having so long experienced the great advantage, derived from your equal and most impartial administration of justice, we cannot see you depart from this, without expressing the deepest and most heart-felt regret, and, as a tribute due to your uncommon merit, and in token of our sincere gratitude—we have to beg your acceptance of our warmest thanks, for the indefatigable and unremitting vigilance you have so strictly manifested in our behalf; and we sincerely wish that your voyage to Europe may be prosperous, and nothing can ever afford us more infinite pleasure than to hear, from time to time, of your future welfare in life;—and have the satisfaction to subscribe ourselves.

*Colombo, March 6, 1809.*

*To which the honourable chief justice answered as follows:*

Gentlemen,—Allow me to assure you that the expression of your esteem, and good wishes, upon my approaching departure, is not the less gratifying to myself, because, till yesterday evening, it was altogether unknown, and unexpected, by me. You will allow me, also, to add, that it is the more gratifying from the honourable motives from which alone it can arise.

If my endeavour to administer justice, according to those pure principles which form the common basis of law, in all the countries of Europe, have procured me your esteem, it can be owing only to your disinterested regard for those principles. The good opinion which so many respectable gentlemen have done me the honour to express, flowing from a source so truly honourable to themselves, must ever be remembered by me with the highest satisfaction.

*Colombo, March 15, 1809.*

## CEYLON

### *Occurrences for April.*

#### *General Orders.*

*Head-quarters, Mount Lavinia, April 8, 1809.*

Lieutenant-general Maitland takes the earliest opportunity, after his return to the seat of government, to express to lieutenant-colonel Morrice, and the officers and men of the detachment of the 3d Ceylon regiment, lately returned to this island, his marked approbation of their conduct when detached on service.

He naturally did expect, where a regiment had been formed under the immediate eye, and under the happy auspices, of major-general Baillie and lieutenant-colonel Morrice, that any part of it would conduct itself, under any circumstances, with equal propriety and gallantry. In this expectation he has not been deceived, and he directs, that part of the regiment, returned from the coast, be struck off all duty for the three ensuing days, and do receive double rations of every kind.

In regard to those who may have suffered during their late service, his excellency the governor requests, that lieutenant-colonel Morrice will submit to him a list, upon the occasion, of such men as he deems deserving such indulgence, as it is his excellency's intention, that they shall be discharged, conditionally, from the regiment, and receive an allotment of land, and a provision for life, each.

The respective officers of the ordnance department will assemble, immediately, for the purpose of submitting, to the lieutenant-general, their opinion upon the most eligible mode of constructing permanent sheds, both at Colombo and Trincomalee, for the field train, &c. at each of those places, and to frame such instructions, as they may deem fitting, for the clerk of the cheque at Trincomalee, and the senior clerk of stores, of the field train, about to proceed there, for their guidance, in conformity to the concluding para-



graph of the letter transmitted, by the respective officers, to major Edwards, military secretary, under date the 7th of March.

The 59th regiment will be inspected, by the lieutenant-general, on the 24th instant, on the Galle face. The regiment to be taken off all duties on that day, and to parade in light marching order.

Second lieutenant Edwards, 3d Ceylon regiment, is appointed to act as extra aid-de-camp until further orders, and is to be obeyed accordingly.

*Memoandum relative to the interment of Major Beaver, of his majesty's 59th regiment.*

THE FUNERAL PARTY,—With the drums and tines of the 59th regiment, and the band of the 3d Ceylon, under the command of major McBean, 59th regiment.

#### THE BODY.

PALL BEARERS,—Lieut.-colonel Morrice, 3d Ceylon regiment; major Chaplin, 2d ditto; major Edwards, 3d ditto; captain Foote, his majesty's ship Piedmontese; major Wilson, deputy barrack-master-general; major Colebrooke, royal artillery.

CHIEF MOURNER,—The governor.

Members of his majesty's council,—Mr. Wood, and the hon. J. Rodney.

#### AIDES-DE-CAMP.

#### THE COLONIAL OFFICERS.

The officers of his majesty's ship, La Piedmontese.

The officers of the general staff.

The commandant of Colombo, with his staff.

The civil servants according to their rank, the senior in front.

The commandant will direct a proper number of non-commissioned officers to attend, to prevent any crowding, or undue interference.

The senior officers of corps, not included in the above list, will march their officers, on the firing of the first gun, in regular order, according to their rank, to the quarters from which the body of the late major Beaver is to be carried. They are requested to observe the utmost regularity, and to take care that no officer, upon any ac-

count, deviates from the spirit of that propriety and regularity which ought to be observed upon such an occasion.

Major Beaver has left a widow and three children, in England, to lament his loss; and the only consolation that can be offered, under the afflicting misfortunes which his death has entailed upon them, is the grateful, though melancholy, record of the general esteem and regard that was entertained for him when living, and of the just and well-merited tribute of regret, which was paid to his memory when dead.

### CEYLON

#### Occurrences for August.

*Regulation of government; present, his excellency the governor in council.*

*Regulation for ascertaining the persons holding the employs, or titles, of Native headmen in the Cingalese districts, and for preventing the assumption of the authority, or title, of headmen, by persons not duly appointed for that purpose.*

Whereas, in order to ascertain the persons actually holding the employ, or entitled to the rank of Native headmen, in the Cingalese districts of Chilaw, Colombo, Culturr, Galle, and Matura, it has been necessary to call in all ancient acts, granting such employ or rank; and new acts have been issued to all persons duly entitled thereto.

His excellency the governor in council is pleased to enact and declare,—

1. That all acts, effective or titular, granting the employ or rank of Mohandiram, and upwards, to any person whomsoever, and bearing date at any time previous to the 4th day of June instant, shall be null and void to all intents and purposes; and no persons shall be entitled to hold such employs or rank, except by virtue of an act of the English government, dated on, or after, the said last-mentioned day.



2. That all acts appointing effective, or titular, Cingalese headmen; under the rank of Mohadiram, and bearing date at any time previous to the first day of May last, shall be null and void; and no act for the said purpose shall be valid, unless signed by the commissioner of revenue, and dated on, or subsequent to, the first day of May last.

3. That any person, assuming the rank or title of a Cingalese Native headman, whether effective or titular, of whatsoever degree, without such proper act as aforesaid, shall, on proof thereof, before any court or magistrate, be subject to a heavy fine according to the nature of the rank or title so assumed, and also to imprisonment or corporal punishment, and shall further, on being reported by the magistrate, before whom they are tried, be declared, by government, to be incapable of ever serving his majesty in any capacity whatsoever.

4. And whereas great abuses have been practised by persons having merely the rank, or title, of Cingalese Native headmen, assuming the functions and authority of headmen actually employed, it is hereby declared, that all persons guilty of such fraud shall be liable to the like penalties, as are provided by the next foregoing clause.

5. And, in order to encourage the detection of persons assuming the rank, or title, of Native headmen, without a proper act for that purpose, or assuming the authority of office without any actual employ, it is hereby declared, that the person by whose information such fraud be discovered, and the offender brought to justice, shall receive one-third part of the fine levied on his conviction.

6. That the Cingalese Native headmen, whether effective and in actual employ, or only titular, shall, according to their respective ranks, wear such dress as is specified in the schedule bearing date herewith, and any headman assuming the dress of a rank to which he is not entitled, shall be liable to lose the employ, or rank, which he may actually hold, and to be further

punished by the magistrate for such misdemeanor by fine, imprisonment, or corporal punishment.

By order of the council.

(Signed) THOMAS EDEN,  
Sec. to the council.

By his excellency's command.

(Signed) JOHN RODNEY,  
Chief sec. to govt.

Colombo, August 19, 1809.

*Schedule of the dress of Native headmen in the Cingalese district, from Chilaw to Matura inclusive.*

Rank, description, or class of headmen.—*Wellale cast.*

1. Mahamodliars; coat, velvet, silk or cloth, trimmings, gold or silver, lace loops and buttons; sword, hilt, and scabbard of pure massive or wrought gold, or of silver inlaid with gold. Belt, of gold or silver lace, or of silk embroidered, or spangled, with gold or silver.

2. Modliars of the Attepattoe, Modliars of the Chiles, &c. Mahotliars of the guard and Attepattoe, and Mohandirams of the guard; coat, silk or cloth, trimmings, ditto; sword, hilt and scabbard of silver inlaid with gold; belt, do.

3. Mohandirams of the Attepattoe, the Basnaike, Padikare Mohandirams, and the Mohandirams employed as interpreters in the courts of the several provincial judges; coat, silk, or cloth, trimmings, ditto; sword, the hilt and scabbard of silver, and the eyes and tongue of the lion's head may be of gold; belt of gold or silver lace, but not spangled.

4. The Corals, Corle Mohandiram, and Mohandirams, employed as interpreters in the courts of the sitting magistrates; coat ditto, trimmings ditto; sword, the hilt and scabbard of silver, in the middle of the scabbard must be a plain silver plate; belt ditto.

5. Arrachies; coat, cloth, or linen, trimmings, silver buttons and loops; sword, the hilt and scabbard of silver, with 2 plain plates of tortoise-shell on the scabbard; belt, of coloured ribbon embroidered with flowers of gold, or silver, thread.

6. Canganyies; coat, ditto, trim-



gings, ditto; sword, the hilt of the sword of horn inlaid with silver, the scabbard of horn or wood, with 3 silver bands; belt, of coloured ribbon without embroidery.

*Fisherman and Chandos Cast.*

1. Modliars and Mahavidahn Modliars; coat, silk or cloth; trimmings, silver buttons and loops; sword, the hilt and scabbard of silver, and the eyes and tongue of the lion's head may be of gold; belt, of gold or silver lace, but not spangled.

2. Mahavidhans, Mohavidhan Mohandirami, Pattengatyn Mohandirams, all other Mohandirams of the same casts; coat, cloth or linen, trimmings, ditto; sword, the hilt and scabbard of silver, but in the middle of the scabbard must be a plain plate of tortoise-shell; belt, of gold or silver lace.

3. Arrachies; coat ditto, trimmings, silver buttons and silk loops; sword, the hilt of horn embellished with silver, with three tortoise-shell plates belt, of coloured ribbon embroidered with silk.

4. Canganies; coat linen, trimmings ditto; sword the hilt of horn embellished with silver, the scabbard of horn or wood, with two silver plates; belt of plain-coloured ribbon.

**BLACKSMITHS AND WASHERMEN.**

1. Mahavidhans, Mahavidhan Mohandirams; coat, cloth or linen, trimmings, silver buttons and loops; sword, the hilt, and scabbard of silver, must be

one plate of tortoise-shell on the scabbard, and two plates of tortoise-shell to be worn by the washermen; belt of ribbon, embroidered with flowered gold or silver thread.

2. Arrachies; coat linen, trimmings, silver buttons and silk loops; sword, the hilt of horn, embellished with silver, the scabbard of horn or wood, with three silver bands; belt of plain coloured ribbon.

3. Canganies; coat, linen, trimmings, horn or covered linen buttons; sword, the hilt of horn, the scabbard of horn or wood, with three copper bands; belt, of plain ribbon.

**BARBERS CAST.**

1. Vidhan Mohandirams; coat, cloth or linen, trimmings, silver buttons and loops; sword, the hilt and scabbard of silver, but on the scabbard there must be two plates of tortoise-shell; belt of coloured ribbon, embroidered with flowers of silver thread.

The titular headmen of each rank are to be dressed in every respect as the headmen of the rank and cast to which they belong, but as a distinguishing mark the word "Titular", is to be engraved on the hilts of their swords.

By order of the council.

(Signed) THOMAS EDEN,  
Sec. to the council.

By his excellency's command.

(Signed) JOHN RODNEY,  
Chief sec. to govt.

Colombo, Aug. 19, 1809.

*CHINA Occurrences for 1808-1809.*

Translation of the chop, which the Isontoe of Canton addressed to the senior commander, captains, officers, petty officers, and others belonging to the English ships at the port of Whampoa, and which was delivered to the said senior commander, captain Milliken Craig, of the Elphinstone, by the Mandarins, deputed by the Isontoe, under a canopy of state, surrounded by Chinese guards under arms—erected for the occasion on

French island, on the side of a hill, having a Chinese camp, on each side, on hills, each about one mile distant, and all in view from the Van ships of the hon. company's fleet, moored in line of battle within gun shot.

I, the mandarin Fu, by favour of my prince Isontoe of the two provinces of Quang-tong and Quang-si, member of the tribunal of war, &c. direct this letter to the captains, officers, passengers and others, belonging to the



English ships to warn you, that being certain that your bad kingdom is situated on an island of the sea, and that you originally employed yourselves in making watches to enable you to pay your taxes; afterwards, by the especial and profound goodness of our great emperor, who was desirous of benefiting you, he granted you permission to come to this empire to trade. Behold what exalted and profound virtue belong to him!!! Notwithstanding this, the admiral of your kingdom, regardless of the laws, has brought here, for the first time, foreign soldiers, and without leave, introduced them into Macao, and your chief *supra* cargo, uniting with him, they are, with one accord, making disturbances. This being the case, I informed the emperor, from whom I have just received a decree, in virtue of which, I again send Mandarins deputed to inform them, that if they persist in detaining the soldiers, a great many troops shall be immediately dispatched to destroy and extinguish them, and to terminate this business, for the consequences of which the admiral and chief *supra* cargo will be responsible. But you captains, officers, passengers, and other people of the ships, shall be free from all responsibility if you remain quietly in the observance of the laws, and after the soldiers of your nation shall be entirely withdrawn, I shall feel it my duty to inform the emperor, praying him to have the goodness to permit you to carry on your trade as formerly. But if you, giving ear to, and obeying the admiral and chief *supra* cargo, unite yourselves to them to create disturbances, when afterwards our innumerable soldiers shall arrive, who shall destroy and burn you, even if you are as hard as stone or jasper, I shall then not be able to use you with any indulgence, nor free you from the net of the law in which you will be ensnared, and in order that you may be obedient, and discreet, I direct this chop to you.

In the thirteenth year of the emperor Ria King, on the 17th day of the 10th moon, 3d Dec. 1808.

Memorandum. — Received on the

4th Dec. 1808, from the hands of the Mandarins, delegated by the Isontoe, who were the brigadier Mandarin Chang, and the Quang-choufoo, governor of the city of Canton.

#### COPY.

*To his excellency the viceroy of Quang-tong and Quang-si.*

May it please your Excellency.—We, the undersigned commanders of the honourable English East-India company's ships, at Whampoa, for ourselves, our officers, and our men, have the exalted honour to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's most gracious letter delivered to us on French island, on the 4th Dec. 1808, by the two Mandarins, whom we are informed it was your condescending pleasure to send for that purpose.

Our object of visiting this country is purely for commercial purposes, to continue in the same manner that friendly and useful intercourse which has existed for centuries, and now become from its magnitude of the very first importance to both our vast empires.

We are taught in our own country, that obedience to our laws is the first essential to the well-being of the state; the same must apply to all countries, and we are, therefore, ordered, and endeavour to venerate and obey your's; but such is the nature of our own laws and constitution, that we dare not, even in a foreign country, depart from allegiance to our own country, nor to those who are dignified with its most exalted representation.

We understand that our admiral, who is an officer of high rank, at the request of the Portuguese, landed some troops at Macao, to help them to defend it against attacks from the French. This wicked nation, ever since they murdered their sovereign, have waged war upon all nations within their reach, and, we understand, are now marching by land to make war upon the celestial empire, as the British navy prevent them by sea.

We, of course, wish to have no concern with any disturbances in the cele-



tial empire. And we, therefore, most humbly implore your excellency to order the trade to be opened, that we may thereby find employment in the quiet habits of industry, which we conceive would prevent our services being required for other purposes: but which, if called for, our laws and our honour would compel us to obey, whatever might be the consequences.

With sentiments of the most profound veneration, and prayers for your excellency's welfare, we beg leave to subscribe our names.

(Signed) M. Craig, senior officer—C. E. Prescott—H. Moffat—H. Meriton—J. Locke—W. Dunsford—R. H. Brown—J. J. Williamson—C. B. Gribble—Luke Dolds—F. Armitage, chief officer for W. A. Montague—J. Strachan, ~~chief~~ for R. Nisbett—John Lochner—William Patterson.

H. C. S. Elphinstone,  
Whampoa, Dec. 7, 1808.

*Copy of the translation.*

I, Isontoe, &c., in reply to your letter, have to inform you, that I first thought that you, like your merchants, came to carry on trade, and that you would not have joined with your superiors, I mean the admiral and chief, to make disorders. Under this idea I sent you a chop; but seeing now that you do not think proper to alter your way of thinking, taking as a pretence the protection of the Portuguese, I plainly know that you have joined your opinions with those of the above superiors; remaining in the same vain hope, I, the Isontoe, have repeatedly sent my chops, declaring, that as long as there remained a single soldier at Macoa, and you would not obey my orders, I absolutely will not consent to your continuing to carry on your trade. If you do not wish to trade you may take away your ships as you think proper, but if you are desirous of pursuing your mercantile negotiations, it is necessary to remain peaceable, and to obey the laws; relying with certainty that after your troops shall have entirely evacuated Macoa, that your trade shall be granted you as formerly:—as your letter declares, that you must, of course, obey the laws of the imperial

dynasty, this shews that you have respect and veneration for them; therefore, I have directed to you this chop, with all the efficacy possible, to open yet a way for you: but after this dispatch, if your admiral and you all will not change your sentiments, and send any more letters, I have given orders that they shall not be received.

In the 13th year of Kia King, 21st day of the 10th moon. (7th December, 1808.) Received 9th December, 1808.

(Copy.)

*Captain Craig, senior officer of the honourable company's ships, at Canton.*

*Russel Chuenpee, Dec. 19th, 1808.*

SIR,—I have received your various communications, and have great pleasure in assuring you, every part of your conduct has met my entire approbation, and evinced most fully the experienced officer and able seaman, prompt, vigorous, and obedient.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servt.

(Signed) W. O'B. DRURY.

(Copy.)

*On the service.*

*To William O'Brien Drury, esq. rear admiral of the white, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,—I had the honour to receive your address of the 19th inst. wherein you have been pleased to express your approbation of my official conduct, in terms that I shall ever be proud to merit. I beg leave to assure you, that I shall ever most zealously endeavour to merit a continuance of your good opinion, and that of any of his majesty's officers, under whom I may have the honour to serve.

With sentiments of the highest respect and consideration,

I have the honour to remain,

•

Sir,

Your most obedient,  
and faithful servant,

(Signed) M. CRAIG,

Senior officer of the hon.  
company's fleet in China.

*Elphinstone, Whampoa,*

*24th Dec. 1808.*



(Copy.)

*On the service.*

*To captain Colin Gib, of the ship, David Scott, and senior commander of the country ships.*

SIR,—As the first fleet of country ships will soon leave this port for India, and as I understand that your ship will be one of them, I have much pleasure in feeling it to be my public duty to express to you, thus officially, previous to your departure, my warm thanks for the ready manner in which you, and all the other commanders of the country ships, now here, attended to my requisition of services in aid of the late public cause in which we were involved with the Chinese government.

Be pleased to communicate the above to your brother commanders, and with sentiments of real esteem,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) M. CRAIG,

Senior officer, in command  
of the H.C.'s fleet.

*Whampoa, Elphinstone,  
28th Dec. 1808.*

(Copy.)

*To Milliken Craig, esq, senior officer in command of the honourable company's fleet, at Whampoa.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your official letter, of the 28th inst. in which you have directed me to make known to the different commanders of the country ships, now at Whampoa, your approbation of, and thanks for, their prompt compliance with your orders, in the late unpleasant difference with the Chinese government.

I have made known your sentiments to them, and we feel gratified in having gained the favourable opinion of an officer of such distinguished zeal and experience; and although we are happy at the amicable termination of the dispute, yet had it been otherwise, under the direction and auspices of an officer, on whom we had the firmest reliance, and that officer commanding so formidable a force as the honourable company's ships now compose at

Whampoa, we could not, for a moment, doubt of a favourable issue to the contest.

I have the honour to be, in the name of my brother commanders, with the highest sentiments of respect,

Sir,

Your most obedt. humble servt.

(Signed) COLIN GIB.

*Whampoa, ship, David  
Scott, Dec. 29th, 1808.*

(Copy.)

*To Milliken Craig, esq. captain of the Elphinstone, and senior officer of the H.C.'s ships.*

SIR,—As the fleet that arrived, under your convoy, are now about to separate; we, the commanders of the country ships, which formed a part of it, deem it an indispensable duty in us, before that event takes place, to return you our most sincere thanks for the unremitting care and attention which you, at all times, manifested to the ships under our commands, from the time of your receiving charge of the convoy, from captain Ferrier, off Acheen; but more especially for the very handsome manner in which you so readily acquiesced with our wishes, by taking us under your convoy from Malacca to this port.

We shall only add, that, to the best of our judgments, a fleet, under similar circumstances, could not have been more ably conducted; and that the most eligible track was pursued to ensure a safe and speedy passage to this port.

With best wishes for your welfare, and with the sincerest esteem,

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your very obliged, humble servts.  
(Signed) W. Denneston,—commander of the Bombay; James M. Robertson, Shaw Pherrie; N. L. Purves, Gangava; James Purefoy, Resolution; John Angus, William. Canton, 24th Jan. 1809.

(Copy.)

*To captains W. Denneston, commander of the ship Bombay,—James M. Robertson, do. Shaw Pherrie,—N*



*L. Parves, do. Gangava,—James Purefry, do. Resolition,—John Angus, do. William.*

Gentlemen,—I had the honour to receive your address of yesterday, whereia you have deemed it necessary to thank me, before your departure from this port, for India, for the protection and convoy which I gave you, and your approbation of the track which I took up the China seas.

At all times it must be pleasing to a man in a public situation, to have his conduct and measures approved, but when this approval proceeds spontaneously from men, who are, from their long professional habits, the most competent to appreciate their merits, it becomes a gratification more easily felt than expressed.

When it has been in my power I have always been ready and willing to give my aid and protection to the country ships of India, as much from natural inclination as from a duty which I conceive British subjects owe to each other.

To you, gentlemen, I have been only a few months personally acquainted, but I have much pleasure in saying, for the information of the owners of your ships, that you uniformly attended, with the greatest precision, to my orders and signals, and to the general welfare of the fleet.

With wishing you safe and prosperous voyages,

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) M. CRAIG.

Senior officer of the H. C.'s Fleet, China.

Canton, 25th Jun. 1809.

" Canton,—25th Aug. 1809.

" In the middle of May last, the new viceroy of Canton, named Pauk Toy En, arrived at Macao. A piece of silver was given, in the name of the emperor, to each of the soldiers at Macao, as a compliment on the occasion to the Portuguese. This governor is invested with more extensive powers than any of his predecessors.

" Both the governor and Hoppo, who were last year in office, have been

dismissed from their public employments; and the former has been cast into prison in consequence of his misconduct, in the negotiations with the English, at the time when their troops were at Macao.

" Two interpreters have been appointed by the new viceroy, to reside at Macao, for the purpose of reporting to him all arrivals from sea. On the 17th of May, shortly after this arrangement took effect, the Baring came in from Bengal, with a cargo of 450 bales of cotton; and was followed by the Cumbrian on the 29th, and the Troubridge on the 2d of June. These three ships were detained at Macao until the 6th of June, when a general permission was at length granted, for all country ships to go up the river,—Pilots were immediately received on board, and the ships anchored in safety at Whampoa on the 9th.

" The Hong merchants at Canton had, in the mean time, entered into a combination for keeping down the rates of the market; and had established the following regulations:

" 1. That it shall be determined by lot, what Hong merchant shall become security for each ship.

" 2. That the merchant, who shall be security for the ship, shall also be the purchaser of the cargo.

" 3. That the valuation of the cargo shall be fixed by the Congso, before they proceed to draw lots.

" 4. That the agent for the ship shall be allowed to purchase her return cargo from her security only.

" 5. That all persons, taking freight on the ship, shall, in like manner, be compelled to purchase their goods from the ship's security.

" 6. That all payments shall, if possible, be made, two thirds in goods and one third in cash; but, if otherwise, that the time of payment shall be fixed at four months credit.

" In conformity with these resolutions, all the merchants assembled at the Congso house on the 12th of June; and Inqua, Mowqua and Newqua, were severally assigned by lot, as securities to the three ships, Cumbrian, Baring and Troubridge; the price of the



Cumbrian's cargo of cotton having been previously fixed at 10 taels per pecul, that of the Baring at 10, 5, and that of the pepper and tin imported on the Troubridge, at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  and 20 dollars per pecul. On the day following these arrangements were made public; and the price of cotton began immediately to fall in the market.

"The proceedings of the Congo, being reported to Mr. Roberts at Macao, the committee of Supracargoes took every step in their power to break the combination. No immediate satisfaction, however, being obtained, the commanders of the ships, after a delay of fourteen days, entered a protest against the Congo, on account of the detention of their vessels. At length, on the 25th of May, in consequence of a strong remonstrance from the Supracargoes, the Hong merchants gave up their regulation.

"The emperor has written a letter to his excellency the viceroy, expressing his wish, that the chief supracargo should address a petition to the presence, relative to the events of last year; on which, the company's trade should be restored to its former footing,—the men of war, of course, always remaining beyond the Boca Tigris, and the Indiamen at Whampoa, conforming to the regulations of the Chinese government.

"The viceroy has fitted out a number of vessels of war against the Ladrones; and, by laying an embargo on all mandarin boats, has detected a number of the merchants, engaged in supplying those pirates with rice, and other articles of provision.

"The cotton cargo, of the Bengal ship, Russell, consisting of 7400 bales of the best quality, was sold so low as 10, 7 per pecul; and the cargo of the Baring did not bring more than 10, 5. The tin, imported on the Russell, was sold for 20 dollars, the pepper at 6 dollars, and the rattans at 4 dollars per pecul. In short, the depreciation of every article in the market is beyond example. The pepper, by the Troubridge, brought  $7\frac{1}{2}$  and that by the Mercury  $6\frac{1}{2}$  dollars per pecul.

"The company's cotton, which was purchased last year; by Hong mer-

chants at 14 5, and including duty, cost them upwards of 16 taels, is now selling at from 12 8 to 13 2. Mowqua's loss, on the purchases of the year, will exceed four lacs of dollars; that of Howqua will not be less than two lacs; and all the other Hong merchants have suffered more or less, according to the extent of their concerns. The interruption of the trade, last year, bore very hard on many of the Hong merchants; and they have now their warehouses full of Europe articles, and no purchasers.

"Mowqua was last year desirous of retiring from the Hong, but the viceroy would not permit him. Another merchant, who had withdrawn in a former year, would have been compelled to enter it again, had he not compromised the matter by undertaking to pay two lacs of taels towards the expenses of the government.

"In the month of April, last, a Hong merchant, named Fonqua, failed for the sum of 325,000 dollars, which he owed principally to the Bombay merchants. A representation having been sent in on the subject, Fonqua was taken into custody; but no final settlement has yet been made with his creditors.

"The Bombay fleet, consisting of nine ships, together with the ship, Mornington, from Bengal, arrived in safety at Macao, on the 2d of August. They were detained there for pilots until the 6th, and did not reach Whampoa until the 9th. The king's ship, which gave them convoy, remains at Chunpa. The cotton, imported by this fleet, was sold, after a long detention, at from 10, 5 to 10, 15. The grab, Duda-loy, arrived on the 20th.

"The trade with America has been re-opened to the great joy of the Chinese. Six American ships have arrived already at Whampoa, and have imported a large sum in specie. Many more are daily expected.

CANTON, 29 September, 1869.

"Since the date of my last communication, eleven American ships have arrived, with a large supply of dollars.

"The fleet of Indiamen, from England direct, under convoy of his



Majesty's ship, *St. Albans*, arrived in Macao roads on the 17th current. All the Hong merchants are endeavouring to prevail on his excellency the viceroy to allow them pilots, to conduct them into the river.

"The *Mercury*, a vessel belonging to Penang, has been engaged in the service of the Chinese government, and has been fitted out from Whampoa as a ship of war. She sailed on the 15th current, under the command of captain Williams, accompanied by sixty mandarin junks, on an expedition against the La-

drones. No sooner had she made her appearance, than the whole Ladrone force quitted the river, and took to flight. The Ladrone had previously committed great depredations on the adjacent country and villages. Three mandarins of rank went out on the *Mercury*, from whom the most favourable reports of captain Williams's success, in the destruction of the Ladrone, have been daily received.

"The two Indiamen from Madras, arrived at Macao on the 24th current."

### GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATIONS.

**FORT WILLIAM, JULY 8, 1809.**—The governor-general in council is pleased to direct, that the following regulation, for the support of the police, in the cantonments and military bazars; for defining the powers of the civil and military officers in the performance of that duty; and, for fixing the local limits of the said cantonments and bazars.—Passed by the governor-general in council, on the 13th March, 1809, corresponding with the 2d chyte 1215, Bengal era; the 11th chyte 1216 Fasilly; the 3d chyte 1216 Willairy; the 12th chyte 1866 Sumbut; and the 22th Mohurram 1224 Higeree; be published, in general orders, for the information of the army.

I. Under the existing regulations, the charge of the police, in the cantonments and military bazars, is vested in the magistrates and their officers. This arrangement, having, however, been in some instances attended with inconvenience, the following rules have accordingly been issued, for the more effectual support of the police, in places of that description; for defining the powers of the civil and military officers in the performance of that duty, and for fixing the local limits of the cantonments and bazars.

II. *First.* The support of the police, and the maintenance of the peace within the limits of the cantonments and military bazars, (which are to be fixed in the manner hereafter stated) are thereby vested in the officers commanding the troops quartered at such places.

The commanding officers will accordingly adopt the necessary measures, by means of the troops under their command, for preventing, as far as possible, the commission of thefts, robberies, murders, and other public crimes, within the limits of the said cantonments and military bazars, and for the discovery and apprehension of persons who may at any time, be guilty of any such acts.

*Second.* Nothing contained in the preceding rule shall however be construed to authorize the commanding officers of cantonments, or the persons acting under their authority in the support of the police, to interfere with respect to assaults and petty affrays, or other offences of inferior magnitude, unless the persons, guilty of those offences, shall be apprehended in the actual commission of such acts.

*Third.* Any person, apprehended under the preceding rules in any of the cantonments or military bazars, on account of the commission of any public crime or offence, shall be delivered over, with all practicable expedition, to the magistrate of the district, in which such cantonments or bazars are situated, and the magistrate shall proceed against the accused in the manner prescribed by the general regulations.

III. *First.* If any person shall have a charge or complaint to prefer against any individual, resident in any of the cantonment or military bazars, who may not have been already apprehended by the persons entrusted therein with the support of the police, or if the charge, or



complaint, be of a nature not to authorize those officers, under clause second of the preceding section, to interfere in it, the party, deeming himself aggrieved, is at liberty to prefer his charges, or complaint directly to the magistrate, who is hereby authorized and required to proceed with respect to it under the general regulations, in the same manner as if the alleged crime, or offence, had been committed in any other part of his jurisdiction.

*Second.* Under the foregoing clause, the magistrates are, of course, empowered to issue their warrants, and summonses against any person residing in the cantonments and military bazars, in the same manner as if such persons resided in any other part of their jurisdiction; and the commanding officers of stations are hereby required to afford every protection to the officers of the judges, magistrates, and justice of the peace, in the discharge of the duty entrusted to them, whether any special application shall have been made to them for such aid or support, or otherwise.

IV. On receipt of this regulation, the limits of the cantonments, including the military bazars attached thereto, at which any division or corps of the army, or any considerable detachment, not being less than half a battalion, may be quartered, shall be fixed by the commanding officer in concert with the magistrate. The commanding officer at each of those stations will accordingly submit to government, through the usual channel, as soon as circumstances may conveniently admit, a report, framed in concert with the magistrate of the districts, in which the cantonments may be situated, upon the local limits of the cantonments. forwarding, at the same time, any separate remarks which the magistrate may wish to make on the subject, for the final orders of the governor general in council.

V. The above rules shall be considered applicable to all cantonments, in which a considerable body of the troops, being less than half a battalion, is quartered, whether the cantonments be situated at the place of residence of the judge and magistrate, or in any other part of the district.

lieutenant Edward Gwatkin, of the

7th regiment of Native infantry, to be Aide-de-camp to his lordship, in the room of lieutenant Mathew Stewart, from the 6th of May last

*General orders, by the honourable the vice-president in council.*

G. O. FORT WILLIAM, Oct 17, 1809. Ordered, that the following paragraphs of general letters from the honourable court of directors, dated the 6th, and 21st April, 1809, be published in general orders.

*General letter, dated 6th April, 1809.*

68. Having maturely considered the representations from the officers of the engineer corps, and being convinced that the promotion in that branch of our service has been unusually retarded; some of the captain lieutenants and subalterns having served from 24 to 26 years. We have agreed to the following establishment for the engineer corps, which is to take place from the 1st of January, 1808, but the officers promoted in consequence, are to receive the difference of pay only from that date.

Present establishment. 1 colonel. 1 lieutenant, colonel, 1 major, 4 capt. lieuts. 8 lieutenants, 8 ensigns; total 27. Establishment now directed: 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colos, 2 majors, 9 captains, 8 lieutenants. 8 ensigns. Total 30.

FORT ST. GEORGE, Feb. 21, 1809.—The honourable the governor in council is pleased to direct, that when commanding officers of corps shall be absent on duty, they shall be permitted to draw the full batta of their rank, without deduction, and that the allowance granted under these circumstances by the general order of the 9th of december last to the next senior officer in the temporary command of such corps, shall be considered as a public charge.

The honourable the governor in council is pleased to direct, that from and after the 1st of March next, the allowance of 36 fanams per month, granted to officers commanding, or in charge of, troops of cavalry, European and Native, for providing shoes, head and heel ropes, gram bags, &c. &c. for each regimental horse, shall be converted into



das, at the rate of 45 fanams per pagoda, and discharged as such by the different paymasters.

**Aug 18, 1809.**—The honourable the governor in council is pleased to cancel the 1st and 2d paragraphs of the G. O. under date the 13th October 1807 and to establish the following rules instead;

1st. Every officer, proceeding on duty on board a ship of war, Indiaman, or country ship, shall receive, during the period he continues on board, the difference between the half and full batta of his rank, and four rupees a day as passage, money, exclusive of his ordinary garrison allowances.

2d. Officers proceeding on duty on board Indiamen or country ships, shall pay to the commanders of these vessels the allowance of 4 rupees per diem above-mentioned, in consideration of which the commanders shall supply the officers with accommodation, and a suitable table.

Officers of corps being in command of a division, detachment, [consisting of not less than three corps] or brigade of the army, shall be considered entitled to the difference between the half and full batta of their regimental rank, notwithstanding the regiment or battalion may be stationed within the division, or composing a part of the detachment or brigade of the army commanded by the senior officer of such corps; and that, when in the field, the officers above-mentioned shall be considered entitled to superior batta, agreeably to the G. O. of 10th June, 18.

Frequent applications being made to the military board for supplies of stationery from the import warehouse, for the use of officers and departments not authorized to receive it, the honourable the governor in council is pleased to publish, for general information, that the following departments only are in future to receive stationery without payment, on indents passed by the military board.

Commander-in-chief's office, military board office, military auditor general's, military paymaster general's, adjutant general's office, quarter master general's, chief engineer's, superintending engineers of divisions and

stations.—To be applied for through the chief engineer, commandant of artillery, commissary of stores in charge of the arsenal at the presidency, town-major's office.

The G. O. of the 4th October, 1806, direct, that adjutants of corps in the company's service shall receive a certain quantity of stationery at prime cost, and it is not intended that this order should prevent a continuance of that indulgence.

#### *General orders by government.*

**FORT ST. GEORGE, Oct. 13.**—The attention of government being unnecessarily interrupted by the frequent applications for advances of cash, made by officers about to rejoin the corps from which they were removed by the general orders, dated August 5th; the right honourable the governor in council is pleased to direct, that every officer, proceeding to join his corps at the distance of 150 miles, shall receive an advance of cash in proportion to his rank, at the rates under-mentioned for every hundred miles exceeding the distance above specified.

#### *Distance.*

150 miles	} One month's pay and fixed allowances.
250 . . .	
350 . . .	} Two months' pay and fixed allowances.
450 .	
550 .	
650 .	} Three months' pay and fixed allowances.
750 .	

Every officer proceeding from the presidency to join his corps, and requiring an advance of cash, is to address the military and/or-general by letter (stating the distance of his corps and amount of advance), who is authorized to pass an order upon the military paymaster at the presidency, to issue the amount.

Officers proceeding from out-stations are to make similar application to the paymasters within whose range of payment they may be situated, who are authorised to pay the amount.

These advances are to be made in the usual manner on regular abstracts, which are to be entered in the disbursements of the paymaster, who is directed to make them.

Paymasters, making advances as



above directed, are to furnish the officer with a certificate, specifying the amount of the advance, and the date of which it is made, which shall be a voucher for the paymaster, from whom he is to receive his next pay and allowances, to issue them.

**PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.**—The right honourable the governor-general in council, having taken into consideration the peculiar circumstances in which a portion of the subscribers to the loans of the 10th June, 1808, and 5th May, 1809, are placed, in consequence of the measures of government for discharging the debt of this presidency, has come to the resolution of making a return of 3 per cent. on all cash subscriptions to the loan of June, 1808, which were, according to the 4th clause of that advertisement, subjected to the payment of a premium to that amount; provided that the bond, at the period of its discharge at the treasury, continued to be the property of the original subscriber.

A similar return of premium will

be made to all those creditors who made transfers of the public securities, and who paid the premium of two per cent. prescribed by the 6th clause of the same advertisement.

The premium of 4 per cent., taken from the original holders of bonds issued for cash subscriptions to the loan of the 5th May, 1809, will be repaid, on those bonds being discharged at the treasury, provided that they continue to be the property of the original subscriber: the accountant-general, on application, will issue the necessary certificate for the return of premium to the parties entitled to it by this advertisement.

In the event of any question arising regarding the return of premium under this advertisement, the governor-general in council reserves to himself the right of determining the same.

Published by order of the right honourable the governor-general in council.

A. FALCONAR,  
Chief sec. to govt.



## BENGAL CIVIL APPOINTMENTS,

For 1809.

### JANUARY.

The hon. J. R. Elphinstone, 3d judge of provincial court of appeal, &c. at Dacca.  
 J. Ahmury, judge and magistrate at Behar.  
 C. Dumbigton, do. at Goruckpore.  
 J. W. Grant, collector at Cawnpore.  
 G. Hartwell, collector of Rageshahye.  
 F. Morgan, assistant judge of Jessore.  
 N. B. Edmonstone, chief secretary to government.  
 H. St. George Tucker, secretary in the public department.  
 R. Beecher, salt agent at Tumlook.  
 C. R. Crommelin, do. at Hidgellee.  
 C. Sweedland, commercial resident at Benares  
 R. Brooke, do. at Luckipore, &c.  
 C. Hayley, do. at Santipore.  
 J. Ewer, assistant salt agent at Tumlook.  
 W. B. Gordon, do. at Hidgellee.

### FEBRUARY.

B. Crisp, senior member, board of revenue.  
 J. Stuart, Puisne judge of Sudder Dewanny, and Nizamut Adawlut courts.  
 W. Leycester, 3d judge of court of appeal and circuit, at Benares.  
 J. M. Rees, judge and magistrate of Rungpore.  
 F. Law, collector of Sarun.  
 C. Suttie, collector of Purneah.  
 F. Morgan, reg. Zillah court, Sylhet.

### MARCH.

G. Oswald, judge, &c. of the Zillah of Moradabad.  
 R. Graham, do. do. of Dinagepore.  
 R. O. Wynne, do. do. of Juanpore.  
 R. Turner, assist. judge, do of Jessore.  
 E. C. Lawrence, register at Mirinapore.  
 C. W. Warde, do. at Cuttack.  
 E. Parry, do. at Allyghur.  
 F. D. Gordon, do. at Bareilly.  
 C. W. Steer, do. at Etawah.  
 H. Barton, do. at Bareilly.  
 W. Thomas, assistant magistrate, Shahabad.

C. Shakespear, collector of land revenue at Chittagong.  
 G. Warde, assistant secretary to board of revenue.  
 W. Money, deputy collector of Calcutta town duties.  
 W. J. Harding. — R. Barlow. — H. Robertson. — J. Lyon. — W. Forrester, and J. Furneaux, assistants in the office of the register of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and Nazamut Adawlut.  
 T. J. Plowden, assistant secretary to the board of trade.  
 H. Chippendale, assistant to the collector of government customs.  
 G. Tod, and R. H. Tulloh, assistants to the secretary to the board of revenue.  
 Mr. Moore, and R. Chamberlain, assistants to secretary to the board of commissioners.  
 T. B. S. Wilder, assistant to the collector of Mooradabad.  
 T. Brown, assistant to collectorat Cawnpore.  
 T. Inglis, assistant to commercial resident at Soanamooky.  
 N. McLeod, assistant to commercial resident at Patna.  
 P. Brady, marshal of vice admiralty court.  
 J. Wordsworth, proctor of do.  
 J. Stanley, attorney and proctor, supreme court.

### APRIL.

Mr. M. Ricketts, deputy collector of customs at Mirzapore.  
 N. McCleod, assistant commercial resident, Patna.  
 C. Muncton, 2d commercial assistant, Rungpore.

### MAY.

E. Pond, assistant to salt agent at Cuttack.  
 R. Morrison, assistant to register of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, &c. &c.  
 D. Morrison, assistant judge at Juanpore.



J. O. Oldham, collector of Beharunpore.  
 Mr. W. W. Bird, register of the Dewanny Adawlut, Benares.  
 Mr. F. Barnett, register of the Dewanny Adawlut, of Beerbhoom.  
 Mr. C. Carey, register of the Zillah court, of the 24 Purgunnahs.

## JUNE.

Mr. W. Lindsay, assistant to the resident with Scindeah.  
 Mr. W. Rennell, deputy collector of customs, Allahabad.

## JULY.

Mr. J. Rathay, judge and<sup>a</sup> magistrate of Dacca.  
 Mr. W. B. Bailey, judge of Dacca Jelapore.  
 Mr. Campbell, do. of Hooghley.  
 Mr. G. Ravenscroft, collector of Moorsheadabad.  
 Mr. J. T. Shakespear, register of the courts of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and Nizamut, &c.  
 Mr. A. Campbell, sub-sec. to board of revenue.  
 Mr. G. Warde, 1st assistant to do.

## AUGUST.

Mr. N. B. Edmonstone, secretary to the governor-general, during his lordship's absence.

Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, deputy secretary.  
 Mr. H. Shakespear, assistant judge at Nuddea.  
 Mr. C. Chapman, register to do.  
 Mr. G. Saunders, secretary to commissioners Fort St. George.  
 Mr. A. G. J. Todd, sub-sec. to board of trade.  
 Mr. A. Revely, assistant to collector of 24 Purgunnahs.  
 Mr. R. Barlow, assistant secretary of board of commissioners.  
 Mr. R. Martin, judge of the 24 Purgunnahs.  
 Mr. J. Hunter, collector of Dignapore.

## NOVEMBER.

Mr. J. Digby, collector at Rungpore.  
 Mr. T. Pakenham, register of Dewanny Adawlut.  
 Mr. R. Leny, private secretary to the vice president.

## DECEMBER.

Mr. J. Thornhill, collector of customs, Benares.  
 Mr. J. Adams, secretary to government, military department.  
 Mr. C. Lushington, deputy secretary to government.  
 Mr. H. Ellis, head assistant.

## BENGAL MILITARY PROMOTIONS,

1809.

## JANUARY.

Capt. W. Franklin, regulating officers, of the invalid Tannaba, at Bhaugulpore, and Tirhoot. Capt. L. Wiggins, 20th N. I. to be deputy paymaster at Chunar. Capt. Sherwood commissary of stores. Capt. M. W. Brown, assistant to do. Lieut. M. C. Webber, 7th N. I. to be aid-de camp to the governor general. Hon. Lieut. J. T. Aylmer, 8th N. I. do. Lieut. J. Maling, 9th N. I. Supernumerary, do.  
*E. Reg.* Capt. lieut. E. Morris, to be capt. Lieut. H. Wood, to be capt. lieut. En. Irwin, to be lieut. Ensign P. Carleton to be lieut.  
*22d Reg. N. I.* Capt. lieut. L. H. Davy to be capt. Lieut. J. F. Blackney, to be

capt. lieut. Ensign E. Jeffreys, to be lieut.  
*26th Reg. N. I.* Ensign W. Walker, to be lieut.

## FEBRUARY.

*8th Reg. N. I.* Capt. lieut. W. P. Anderson, to be capt. *vice* Duff, retired. Lieut. H. W. Frith, to be capt. lieut. Ensign C. F. Webb, to be lieut.  
*9th Reg. N. I.* Capt. J. Ainsley to be major. Capt. lieut. F. Fernyhough, to be captain. Lieut. W. N. Fontaine to be capt. lieut. Ensign T. Dickenson, to be lieut.

## MARCH.

Colonels S. Watson; R. Rayne; R. Macan; G. Hardymau; to be major generals.



## APRIL.

Major-Gen. F. Fuller, to be a general on the staff.

secretary to the Vice-president; and Captain J. Greenstreet, 15th N. I. to be assistant deputy clerk to the Vice-president.

## JUNE.

Lieutenant-Colonels Kirkpatrick, Macintyre, Gardiner, D'Castro, Marley, Burn, Hawkshaw, Marshall, Cunningham, Bradshaw, and Wood, to be colonels.

## OCTOBER.

Major-Gen. S. Watson, to the staff.  
Major-Gen. Sir E. Baillie, J. M'Donald, and W. Palmer, to the staff.

## AUGUST. °

Major D. Lumsden, 7th N. I. to be military

## DECEMBER.

Major-Gen. Champagne, to be Major-Gen. on the staff.

## MADRAS CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

1809.

## JANUARY.

Mr. A. Macdonel, assistant under the assay master.  
Rev. Mr. Dunsterville, chaplain at Bangalore.  
Capt. J. Marshall, to be paymaster at Vizagapatam.  
Hon. Lt. G. K. Murray, military paymaster general.

## FEBRUARY.

Mr. A. D. Campbell, assistant collector at Bellary.  
S. Skinner, judge of the provincial courts of appeal, northern division.  
C. M. Lushington, acting judge, Zillah court, Rajahmundry.  
A. Falconar, to be chief secretary to government, in the absence of G. Buchan on public duty.  
Capt. G. E. Barlow, to be acting private secretary during the absence of G. Buchan.  
J. Kenworthy, second member of board of trade.  
G. G. Keble, sub treasurer, and post master general.

## MARCH.

Mr. R. Fullarton, member of the board of trade, and superintendent of investment.  
Mr. D. Hill, head assistant to the chief secretary to government.  
Mr. T. Fraser, accountant general.  
Mr. J. M'Dowall, civil auditor.  
Mr. J. H. Piele, secretary to government in the military department, and superintendent of stamps.  
Mr. J. Sullivan, acting assistant to the resident in Mysore.  
Mr. W. Hawkins, collector in the zillah of Masulipatam.  
Mr. F. W. Ellis, collector of land customs at Madras.

Mr. G. Gregory, collector in the zillah of Bellary.

Mr. F. Gahagan, secretary in the revenue and judicial department of government.

Mr. C. Smith, 3d judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit for the northern division.

Mr. E. C. Greenway, acting junior puisne judge of the court of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut.

Mr. C. M. Lushington, 2d assistant to the register to the court of Sudder adawlut and Foujdary adawlut.

Mr. T. Newnam, register to the court of Sudder adawlut and Foujdary Adawlut.

Mr. W. G. Keene, register to the zillah court of Rajahmundry.

Mr. E. Wood, judge and magistrate, and collector of Seringapatam.

Mr. J. A. Casanajor, register to the court at Seringapatam.

Mr. F. A. Grant, judge and magistrate of the zillah court of Rajahmundry.

Mr. T. Townshend, ditto, ditto, of Masulipatam.

Mr. George Strachey, ditto, ditto, of Cuddapah.

Mr. S. Skinner, acting 3d judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit for the centre division.

## APRIL.

C. Harris, 1st judge of the provincial court of appeal for the centre division.

G. Read, 2d judge.

S. Skinn, 3d judge.

H. Coombe, head assistant in the secret and political departments.

Mr. R. Andrews, judge in the provincial court of appeal, southern division.

J. Read, judge of Sudder adawlut and Foujdary adawlut court.



## MAY.

G. Gregory, collector in the zillah of Cuddapah.

W. Chaplain, ditto, ditto, of Bellary.

J. B. Travers, acting judge of court of appeal and circuit for the northern division.

A. D. Campbell, examiner to the secretary to board of revenue.

A. R. McDonnell, assistant to the collector of Cuddapah.

J. F. Lane, assistant to the collector at Bellary.

E. Powney, judge, &c. at Salem.

T. Watts, acting reg. to the court of appeal in the southern division.

N. Sheffield, acting judge, &c. at Combaco-num.

## JUNE.

J. Kenworthy, esq. senior member of the board of trade.

Rob. Fullerton, esq. second ditto, ditto.

J. Casamajor, esq. a member of the board of trade.

Mr. G. Garrow, accountant general.

Mr. C. Hyde, collector in the zillah of Chinglepur.

Mr. H. Spottiswood, ditto, ditto, of Ganjam.

Mr. T. Fraser, ditto, ditto, at Nellore.

Mr. G. F. Travers, ditto, ditto, at Trichinopoly.

Mr. W. Mackenzie, assistant to the assay master.

Mr. F. A. Grant, 3d judge of the provincial court of southern division.

Mr. J. B. Travers, 3d ditto, ditto, of the northern division.

Mr. T. T. Wensend, acting 3d judge of ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. P. R. Cazet, judge and magistrate of the zillah of Rajahmundry.

Mr. A. G. Blake, assistant judge at Masulipatam.

Mr. S. Baulflower, register to the zillah court at Rajahmundry.

Mr. H. G. Keene, ditto, ditto, at Vizagapatam.

## JULY.

Mr. D. Hill, deputy post master general. •  
Lieut.-colonel Symons, superintendent of police, &c.

Mr. J. Smece, 2d judge of provincial court of appeal, &c. in the western division.

Mr. H. Clephane, 3d judge of ditto, ditto.

Mr. C. Bird, assistant to the register, Bellary.

Mr. H. Dickenson, assistant to the secretary of government in the revenue and judicial department.

Mr. E. Sullivan, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. E. T. Gomonde, assistant to the collector, Bellary.

Mr. W. Campbell, ditto, ditto, Canara.

Mr. F. H. Bruce, assistant to the collector, Vizagapatam.

## AUGUST.

Mr. R. Rogers, assistant to the chief secretary to government.

Mr. J. King, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. T. Gahagan, deputy secretary to board of revenue.

Mr. J. M. Heath, examiner to the board of Revenue.

## MEDICAL PROMOTIONS.

Dr. T. Gahagan, physician general, and president of the medical board.

Mr. A. Watson, 2d member of the board.

Dr. W. Ainslie, superintending surgeon in the southern division.

Mr. J. Hay, surgeon to the 2d battalion of artillery.

## SEPTEMBER.

Mr. S. Harris, commercial resident, Cuddalore.

Mr. J. A. Casamajor, judge and magistrate at Seringapatam.

Mr. J. Newham, ditto, ditto, at Cuddapah.

Mr. E. Wood, register of the court of Sudder and Foujdary adawlut.

Mr. E. P. Blake, assistant judge, Combaco-num.

Mr. J. Stokes, assistant to the register of the Sudder adawlut.

Mr. J. Hugg, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. H. Russell, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. F. Holland, assistant to the chief secretary to government.

Mr. J. K. Jessop, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. S. Thacker, assistant to the secretary to the board of revenue.

Sir J. Home, barr. ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. T. C. Chase, assistant to the secretary to the board of trade.

Mr. J. C. Welsh, assistant to the chief secretary to government.

Mr. B. Curdiffe, ditto, ditto, ditto.

Mr. H. Sewell, ditto, ditto, ditto.

## OCTOBER.

Mr. E. Sullivan, assistant to the collector of Malabar.

Mr. J. Russell, ditto to the collector in the southern division of Arcot.

Mr. J. Munro, register to the zillah court of Salem.

Mr. J. O. Tod, to be judge, &c. at Masulipatam.

Mr. C. May Lushington, to be assistant judge at Rajahmundry.

Mr. S. Baulflower, to be assistant judge of Madura.

Mr. W. O. Shakespear, to be assistant judge at Canara.

Mr. C. Fullerton, to be register to the zillah court at Masulipatam.

Mr. E. H. Woodcock, to be register to the zillah court at Cuddapah.

Mr. W. Montgomerie, to be register to the zillah court at Ganjam.



Mr. E. H. Cruikenden, to be register to the zillah court at Trichinopoly.

Mr. W. A. Fraser, to be register to the zillah court at Rajahmundry.

Mr. R. H. Young, to be acting judge at Tinnevely.

Mr. J. B. Travers, to be second judge, and Mr. Thomas Townsend, third judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit for the northern division.

#### NOVEMBER.

Mr. F. Gahagan, French translator to government.

Mr. H. G. Keene, second assistant under the register to the court of Sudder adawlut and Foujdary adawlut.

#### DECEMBER.

Mr. R. C. Ross, collector at Cuddapah.

Mr. M. D. Cockburn, first assistant to the collector in the southern division of Arcot.

Mr. Thomas Chase, second assistant to the collector of Nellore.

Mr. Henry Sewell, assistant to the collector of Rajahmundry.

Mr. George Gregory, acting judge and magistrate of the zillah court of Salem.

Mr. S. H. Greig, sheriff of Madraspatnam.

Mr. J. L. Heilke, agent of the government lottery.

Mr. G. Cherry, register to the zillah court at Madura.

## MADRAS MILITARY PROMOTIONS.

1809.

#### JANUARY.

Major Gen. F. Gowdie, to the command of the Madras army.

Lieut.-Colonel Clarke, to be commissary of stores, Fort St. George. Lieut. J. Beaumont, 5th reg. Native infantry, to be adjutant.

Ensign H. Dixon, 3d reg. Native infantry, to be Fort adjutant at Tanjore.

Captain A. Balmis, 7th Native infantry, brigade major, Travancore.

Lieutenant H. Lindsay, T. T. Paske, and lieutenant F. W. C. Black, to the horse artillery.

Capt. Lieut. W. Shirop, to ditto.

#### FEBRUARY.

Senior major of Infantry, P. Bruce, 18th Native infantry, to be lieut. col. *vice* Darley deceased.

18th Native Infantry—Capt. E. Boardman, to be major. Capt. Lieut. W. F. Blackmore, to be captain. Lieut. H. E. Somerville, to be Captain lieutenant. Ensign A. Aitkin, to be lieutenant.

16th Native Infantry—Ensign B. M'Master, to be lieutenant.

8th Native Infantry—Ensign G. Muriel, to be lieutenant. Mr. A. M'Donald, to be ensign.

Lieutenant colonel J. Cuppage, to be adjutant general. Captain S. M'Dowall, to be deputy ditto. Lieutenant F. N. Balmain, 6th reg. Native cavalry, to be assistant ditto. Captain W. Morrison, secretary to the military board. Captain J. Carfrac, paymaster at Hyderabad. Captain R.

Hughes, 24th Native infantry, to be military secretary to General Gowdie.

Lieutenant J. Wilson, 15th Native infantry, and Ensign R. Wilson, 11th Native infantry, aids-de-camp to General Gowdie.

Lieutenant colonel Leith, to act as agent of supplies. Lieutenant colonel Lockhart, his majesty's 30th regiment, to command Pondicherry.

Captain H. Townshend, 6th Native infantry, to be major of brigade to the honourable Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger. Lieutenant P. Cameron, quarter master, 2d Native cavalry. Ensign M'Master, 2d battalion 6th Native infantry, to be adjutant. Ensign Murcott, adjutant, 2d battalion 18th Native infantry. Lieutenant-colonel Munro, to resume the office of Persian translator.

#### MARCH.

Captain H. Munt, to be agent for purchase of remount horses. Captain S. M'Dowall, general agent for cavalry supplies. Captain-lieutenant T. H. S. Conway, to be deputy adjutant general. Captain C. Addison, deputy adjutant general, with the Hyderabad force.

Lieutenant J. Wilson, assistant adjutant general, northern division. Lieutenant A. Walker, aid-de-camp to General Gowdie. Lieutenant T. Maclean, deputy secretary to military board, &c.

Major-general Pater, to command the northern division.

Colonel Wilkinson, to command the south-



ern division. Colonel Croker to command the ceded districts.

Major Hankey, of his majesty's 19th regiment, to act as assistant adjutant general to the troops in Travancore.

Captain Cranston, 2d Native regiment, to be brigade major to the officer commanding the troops in Travancore. Captain Robertson, 4th Native regiment, commissary of grain and provisions. Captain Clapham, 4th Native regiment, to act as paymaster. Captain Crausson, 2d Native regiment, to act as superintendent of Bazar. Captain McIntosh, 1st battalion of artillery, to act as commissary of ordnance and stores.

The force serving in Travancore, under lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, being formed into two brigades, Lieutenant colonel Picton, of his majesty's 19th regiment, to command the 1st brigade.

**STAFF.**—Captain Buch, 4th Native regiment, major of brigade, and Ensign Jenkins, of his majesty's 19th regiment, quarter-master of brigade.

Lieutenant-colonel, the honourable ——— Stuart, of his majesty's 19th regiment, to command the 2d brigade.

**STAFF.** Captain Wais, of his majesty's 19th regiment, major of brigade; and Lieutenant Elphinstone, 2d Native regiment, quarter-master of brigade.

Captain R. Hughes, to command the 1st battalion of pioneers. Major J. Vernon, 6th Native infantry, to be military secretary to General Gowdie.

**Cavalry.** Senior lieutenant col of cavalry, K. Macalister to be lieutenant col commandant. Senior major of cavalry, J. Rowles, from the third regiment, to be lieutenant col.

**2d Reg.** Senior capt J. Russel, to be major. Capt lieutenant W. C. Campbell, to be captain of a troop. Lieutenant H. Rainsford, to be captain lieutenant. Cornet J. Boyn, to be lieutenant. Cadet F. J. Davenport, to be cornet.

**Corps of Engineers.** Senior ensign, S. Russel, to be lieutenant.

**Infantry.** Senior major of infantry M. Wilks, from the 6th N. I. to be lieutenant col.

**6th N. R.** Senior capt. J. Vernon, to be major. Capt. lieutenant J. Hackett, to be captain of a company. Lieutenant F. Bows to be captain lieutenant. Ensign Gilbert Scott, to be lieutenant.

Senior lieutenant col of infantry, J. Chalmers, to be lieutenant col commandant.

Senior major, W. Dwyer, from the 8th N. R. to be lieutenant col.

**2d N. R.** Senior capt J. Colebrooke, to be major. Capt. lieutenant J. G. Bellingham, to be captain. Lieutenant H. Davie, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign J. Carr, to be lieutenant.

Senior lieutenant col A. Dyce, to be lieutenant col commandant.

Senior major, Sir D. O'Neil, bart. from the 9th N. I. to be lieutenant col.

**3d N. R.** Senior capt J. P. Keasberry, to be major. Capt. lieutenant. R. Bye, to be

capt. Lieutenant. A. McLeod, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign W. H. Kewley, to be lieutenant.

**24th N. R.** Ensign John P. Godfrey, to be lieutenant. Ensign C. W. Lane, to be lieutenant. Senior major of infantry J. Leath from the 1st N. I. to be lieutenant col.

**21st N. R.** Senior capt. C. Farran to be major. Capt. lieutenant H. Bowdler, to be captain. Lieutenant J. Rimmington, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign J. King, to be lieutenant.

Senior major of infantry, P. Bruce, from the 11th N. I. to be lieutenant col.

**18th N. A.** Senior capt. E. Boardman, to be major. Capt. lieutenant. W. F. Blackmore, to be captain. Lieutenant. H. E. Somerville, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign A. Aitkin, to be lieutenant.

Senior major of infantry C. Kingston, from the 2d N. I. to be lieutenant col.

**22d N. R.** Senior capt. A. McIntosh, to be major. Capt. lieutenant C. Ferner, to be captain. Lieutenant T. Traynor, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign Edward Leach, to be lieutenant.

Senior major of infantry C. Trotter, from the 2d N. I. to be lieutenant col.

**25th N. R.** Senior capt. C. Aldridge, to be major. Capt. lieutenant T. J. Palmer, to be captain. Lieutenant S. Gummer, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign G. ——— to be lieutenant.

Senior lieutenant of infantry C. Corrier, to be lieutenant col commandant.

Senior major of infantry R. Barclay, from the 1st N. I. to be lieutenant col.

**11th N. R.** Senior capt. J. M. Gregor, to be major. Capt. lieutenant J. W. Hale, to be captain. Lieutenant J. Simpson, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign F. W. Cook, to be lieutenant.

Senior major of infantry A. Bryce, from the 1st N. I. to be lieutenant colonel.

**12th N. R.** Senior Capt. W. H. Vaughan, to be major. Capt. lieutenant. G. Cadell, to be captain. Lieutenant E. Conroy, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign H. Reid, to be lieutenant.

**17th N. R.** Capt. lieutenant. J. Wahab, to be captain. Lieutenant J. Lucas, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign H. Douglas, to be lieutenant.

**20th N. R.** Capt. lieutenant J. Waters, to be captain. Lieutenant B. W. Lee, to be captain lieutenant. Ensign W. Marshall, to be lieutenant.

**2nd N. R.** Ensign R. Swyer, to be lieutenant.

#### APRIL.

Lieut. Morrill, 10th N. I. adjutant to 2d bat. Capt. T. Douglas, 5th N. I. to be quarter-master of brigade to colonel's uppage.

Lieut. col Forbes, his Majesty's 80th regiment, to command in Malabar and Canara.

**8th Reg. N. C.** Cadet R. Gordon, to be cornet.

**Artillery.** Lieut. Fireworker, C. R. McCausand, to be lieutenant.

Capt. Lee, his Majesty's 1st royal regiment to command Poonamallee.

Lieut. Bullman 2nd battalion 11th N. I. to be fort adjutant, and paymaster of certificates at Vellore.

**4th N. I.** Capt. lieutenant. W. M. Robertson, to



be captain. Lieut. B Baker, to be capt.  
lieut. T. Walker to be lieut.  
Lieut. Powell, his Majesty's 30th regiment,  
to be brigade major to col. Wilkinson  
Lieut. H. S. Hall, to be adjutant to 2nd bat.  
4th reg. N. I.

## MAY.

Lieut. col Irton, 9th N. I. to command in  
Travancore. Lieut. H. J. Bowler, 16th  
N. I. to be Aid de-Camp to major general  
Pater.

Ensign Macintosh, assistant to engineer, in  
North division. Ensign Milbourne, do.  
in the South division.

2nd Bat. 5th N. I. Lieut. C. Herbert, to be  
adjutant.

Lieut. col. Macleod. His M.'s 60th regi-  
ment, to command at Wallajahbad.  
Major T. H. S. Conway, to be adjutant  
general. Capt. P. V. Agnew, to be deputy adjutant general. Lieut. col.  
T. Clarke, to be commandant of artillery,  
with a seat at the military board.  
Major Sir J. Sinclair, bart. to be com-  
missary of stores, at Fort St. George. Lieut.  
A. E. Patullo, to command the govern-  
or's body guard.

Capt. J. Doveton 7th N. C. to be pay mas-  
ter at Vizagapatam. Lieut. col. H. Con-  
ran, His Majesty's royal regiment, to  
command the garrison of Fort St. George.  
Lieut. J. Beaumont, to be assistant quarter  
master general, in Mysore. Lieut. col.  
Rumley, from 5th to the 7th regiment  
cavalry. Lieut.-col. Rowles, from 1st to  
the 5th regiment cavalry. Lieut. col.  
Fletcher, from 8th to 24th regiment N. I.  
and 1st bat. Lieut. col. J. G. Graham,  
from 20th to 8th regiment N. I. and 2nd  
bat. Lieut. col. Marriott, from 24th to  
20th regiment N. I. and 2nd bat. Major  
Keasherry, of 9th N. R. from the 2nd to  
1st bat. Major Fraser, of 9th N. I. from  
the 1st to 2nd bat. Capt. H. F. Smith, of  
14th N. I. from 2nd to the 1st bat. Lieut.  
col. H. Hall from 10th to the 14th reg.  
N. I. and to the 2nd bat. Lieut. col. C.  
Godfrey from 14th to the 19th reg. N. I.  
and to the 2d. bat. Major Muirhead, of  
18th N. I. from 2nd to the 1st battalion.  
Major Boardman, of 18th N. I. from 1st  
to the 2nd bat. Lieut. West, from 1st  
to the 2nd bat. 13th N. I. Lieut. Dun-  
combe, from 2nd to the 1st bat. 13th N. I.  
Lieut. col. S. Irton, to 9th N. I. and 2d.  
bat. Lieut. col. W. Macleod to 21st do.  
and 1st do. Lieut. col. J. Cuppage, to  
15th do. and 1st do. Lieut. col. A. Muir-  
land to 13th do. and 2nd do. Lieut. col.  
J. G. Graham to 22nd do. and 2nd do.  
Lieut. col. T. Wilson, to 8th do. and 2nd  
do. Lieut. col. J. Leith, to 17th do. and  
2nd do. Lieut. colonel R. Munro, to 2nd  
bat. 15th N. R. Lieut. col. Robertson,  
to 1st bat. 14th N. I.

## JUNE.

Colonels, G. Roberts. — U. Vigers. — A.

Brown. — R. Croker, — F. Torrens, and C.  
Laland, to be major generals.  
Captains, P. H. Keay, and D. M. Holford,  
to be majors.  
2nd N. I. Capt. lieut. F. W. Wilson, to be  
capt. Lieut. J. Ford, to be capt. lieut.  
Ensign G. Strachan to be lieut.

## JULY.

European Reg. Ensign P. Brown, to be  
lieut.

Lieutenant colonel Hare, 22nd light dra-  
goons to command the centre division of  
the army. Col. Close, to command sub-  
sidiary force Hydrabad. Lieut. C. Cro-  
ker, 39th regiment, to be A. D. C. to gene-  
ral Croker. Lieut. E. Waller, 2nd N.  
C. assistant quarter master general to the  
centre division. Lieut. R. Creevy, 25th  
N. I. assistant adjutant general. Lieut.  
L. Hooke, 2nd light dragoons brigade  
major to col. Hare. Lieut. E. H. Leith,  
adjutant, 2nd bat. 22d N. I. Lieut. J. W.  
Oliver, adjutant to 1st bat. 22d N. I.

Lieutenant G. Jackson, 19th N. I. assistant  
adjutant general, Southern division. Lieut.  
J. Vonerde 2nd N. I. fort adjutant Trichi-  
nopoly. Lieut. Oldhall, to be fort adju-  
tant, Seringapatam.

## AUGUST.

Lieut. col. Macleod, H. M.'s 69th reg. to  
command the garrison of Fort St. George.  
Lieut. col. Conran, H. M.'s 2nd bat. royals,  
to command the ceded districts.

E. P. Senior major F. Pierce, to be lieut. col.  
Capt. F. Thompson, to be major. Capt.  
lieut. R. Phillips to be capt. Lieut. D.  
Forbes to be capt. lieut. Ensign P.  
Brown, to be lieut.

11th N. I. Capt. lieut. G. Moore, to be  
capt. Lieut. W. Brown, to be capt.  
lieut. Ensign W. Birch to be lieut.

Senior lieut. col. R. M. Strange to be lieut.-  
col. commandant.

17th N. I. Senior major W. H. Hewitt,  
to be lieut. col. Captain C. M. M. do.,  
to be major. Capt. lieut. J. Waller to  
be capt. Lieut. J. Lucas to be capt.  
lieut. Ensign H. Douglas to be lieut.

17th N. I. Capt. lieut. C. Lucas to be capt.  
Lieut. A. N. Bettram to be capt. lieut.  
Ensign J. H. Hoby to be lieut.

13th N. I. Senior major J. Hamilton, to be  
lieut. col. Capt. A. Both, to be major.  
Capt. lieut. John W. Wyte to be capt.  
Lieutenant W. Moore, to be capt. Lieut.  
Ensign C. Bounfield, to be lieut.

European Reg. Ensign B. Baker, to be lieut.  
15th N. I. Ensign W. Sales, to be lieut.  
Capt. L. to be lieut. and major to col. Con-  
ran. Major P. V. Agnew deputy adjutant  
general, to be superintendent of Buzars,  
with col. Conran's detachment. Lieut.-  
col. S. Irton, to command the Vizagapatam  
and Gingam districts.

The hon. lieut. col. P. Stuart, to command  
the subsidiary force at Travancore.



Capt. F. Thompson, to be military secretary, and interpreter to col. Hare.

## SEPTEMBER.

*2nd Reg. N. C.* Corner E. P. Samuel, to be adjutant. Capt. J. T. Trewman, 22nd N. I. to be Hindoostanee instructor to the cadet company. Capt. A. Grant, 24th N. I. to be commissary of grain, &c. to the field force, under colonel Wilkinson. Capt. J. Moonhouse, art. to be public agent for gun carriages at Seringapatam. Major R. Brice, to command Palamcottah.

## OCTOBER.

*Cavalry, 7th Reg.* Capt. A. D. Montearth, to be major. Capt. lieut. J. Collier, to be capt. Lieut. R. Bryan, to be capt. lieut. Corner R. James, to be lieutenant. A. Kerr to be cornet.

*2nd Reg.* Corner J. Smith, to be lieut. W. H. Budd to be cornet.

*Infantry, 21st Reg.* Capt. G. Wahab, to be major. Capt. lieut. J. Rimeington, to be capt. Lieut. C. Stewart, to be capt. lieut. Ensign R. Calvert, to be lieutenant. Senior major of infantry, R. Brice, from the 21th N. Reg. to be lieut.-col.

*24th Reg.* Capt. A. Grant, to be major. Capt. lieut. J. Sailer, to be capt. Lieut. C. Wulbier, to be capt. lieut. Ensign G. Grant to be lieut.

*Madras European Reg.* Ensign J. Cursham, to be lieut.

*Artillery.* Capt. lieut. J. J. Mackintosh, to be brigade major of artillery. Lieut. F. King, to be adjutant of the 1st bat. of artillery. Lieutenant G. O'Connell, to be adjutant of the 2nd battalion of artillery. Lieut. Murray, to be quarter master of the 1st bat. of artillery. Lieut. Hockley, to be quarter master to the 2nd bat. of artillery. Capt. Nixon of the 2nd bat. artillery, to be commissary of stores at Seringapatam. Mr. deputy commissary Penn, to be commissary of stores, St. Thomas's Mount.

*Madras European Reg.* Ensign J. Cursham, to be lieut.

Lieutenant colonels, James Dunn, to 5th reg. N. C. James Rowles, to 4th regiment N. C. J. Innes, to 2nd bat. 10th reg. N. I. C. Godfrey, 2nd do. and 2nd do. H. Webber, 1st do. and 7th do. E. O'Reilly, 1st do. and 2nd do. W. Orrok, 1st do. and 10th do. W. McLeod, 2nd do. and 15th do. R. Munro, 1st do. and 13th do. S. W. Ogg, 1st do. and 15th do. J. Cuppage, 1st do. and 5th do. A. McCally, 2nd do. and 10th do. S. Kingston, 1st do. and 18th do. N. Forbes, 1st do. and 10th do. R. Brice, 2nd do. and 24th do. H. Nash, 1st do. and 6th do. Robert Barclay, 2nd do. and 3rd do. R. Fletcher, 1st do. and 21st do. S. Irton, 2nd do. and 17th do. W. H. Hewitt, 2nd do. and 8th do. T. Wilson, 2nd do. and 5th do. J. H. Symons, 1st do. and 24th do. J. G. Graham, 2nd do. and 6th do.

P. H. Vesey, 1st do. and 8th do. G. Hamilton, 2nd do. and 25th do. J. Dighton, 2nd do. and 22nd do. G. Martin, 1st do. and 14th do. and J. Leith, 1st do. and 17th do.

## NOVEMBER

Colonel B. Close, to command the British forces serving in the territories of their Highnesses the Nizam, the Peishwa and Rajah of Berar.

Lieutenant Col' Couran to command the Hydrabad subsidiary force.

Major general Wardie, to command the forces serving in the Mysore division.

5th N. I.—Captain lieut. A. R. Hughes, to be captain. Lieutenant Sir M. Blackstone to be captain lieutenant. Ensign B. Pratt, to be lieutenant. Lieut. C. E. Peille to be muster master to the troops in Berar. Ensign C. Trapaud, adjutant of the corps of engineers. Captain Carroll, assistant adjutant general, and captain Munro, assistant quarter master general of the centre division. Lieut. W. Jones, to be adjutant of the

Lieut. col. F. set, of his Majesty's 86th regt. to command a brigade of infantry. Lieut. Creech, to be brigade major. and Lieut. Maclean, 86th regt. to be quarter master of brigade.

Major M'Kellar, royal regt. to command the 2d brigade of infantry.

Major M'Bean, 86th regiment to command the brigade of Ceylon troops: Capt. Dodgin, to be major of brigade, and Lieut. Jordon, to be quarter master of brigade to major M'Bean's brigade Lieut. Rothwell, to be brigade major to the 2nd brigade of infantry, with Col. Couran's force.

*Co. of Engineers.*—Cadet T. Davis, to be en-

15th N. R. Ensign A. M'Cormick to be Lieutenant.

10th N. R. Captain J. Hay, to be major, Capt. lieut. J. W. H. Howell, to be capt. Lieut. A. Grant, to be capt. lieut. Ensign A. Wilson, to be lieutenant.

15th N. R. Capt. lieutenant. T. Wren, to be captain. Lieut. H. Y. Kent, to be capt. lieutenant. Ensign S. Yates, to be lieutenant.

2d N. R. Ensign J. Dalziel, to be lieutenant. Lieut. Garrard, to be superintending engineer at Seringapatam. Captain J. L. Caldwell, of the engineers, to be superintending engineer at the presidency. Capt. lieut. R. Fotheringham, of the engineers and lieut. T. Johnson, of the 19th regt. N. I. to be superintendents of Tank repairs, in the room of captain Caldwell, on a salary of 200 star pagodas each agreeably to the orders of the honourable the court of directors. Lieut. Brooke, of the 20th N. I. adjutant of the 2d battalion.

## DECEMBER.

Major George M'Gregor, to be agent for public cattle. Cadet of cavalry, W. Bowness to be cornet. Ensign John Marr, to be



lieutenant. Ensign J. Burnside, to be lieutenant. Captain lieut. E. Conry, to be captain. Lieutenant. P. Robertson, to be Captain lieut. Ensign M. Hall, to be lieutenant. Messrs. Patton and Bennett, calculators of artillery, to be lieutenant fireworkers.  
 18th Regt. N. I. Captain E. P. Long, to be major. Captain lieut. H. L. Monerville, to be captain. Lieut. J. S. Fraser, to be capt.

lieutenant. Ensign R. Murcott, to be lieutenant. Captain J. T. Trewman, to command the company of gentlemen cadets. Lieutenant Z. T. Trewman, to be first assistant to the cadet company. Lieutenant M. H. Davidson, to be second assistant to the cadet company. Lieutenant S. Irton Hodgson, of the 2d N. I. to be adjutant to the 1st battalion of that corps.

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## BOMBAY CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

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1809.

G. V. Drury, deputy warehouse keeper. E. Lloyd, assistant to military board. S. Marriott, paymaster at Goa. Lieut. R. Taylor, asst. envoy to the court of Spain. Ensign P. Long, Supernumerary envoy. H. W. Diggle, Judge and magistrate at Kera. B. Rowles, collector do. Mr. Ironside, register at do. Mr. Dunlop, asst. to

register. E. Nash, Esq. sheriff of Bombay. J. Palmer, Esq. Judge &c at Broach. Mr. J. Sutherland, reg. of Adawet do. S. Boucher, Esq. Judge, &c Surat. Mr. B. Long, reg. do. D. Ramsay Esq. to be chief at Surat. H. Agar, Esq. resident at Victoria N. Crow, Esq. to be 4th. member in council.

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## BOMBAY MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

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1809.

*European Regt.* Ens. I. Brough, to be lieutenant.

*Artillery.* Lieutenant McIntosh, to be adjutant. Major H. S. Osborne, to command Broach.

Capt. Baker, commissary of receipts and issues of provision, and garrison storekeeper. Lieut. S. Prendergast H. M. 84th reg. to be A. D. C. to major gen. Jones.

Capt. S. Greenwood, to be paymaster in Kallgoar. Capt. H. Smith commissary of bazars, do. Lt. J. Preston deputy. Lieut. D. A. Willis, 9th N. I. to be fort adjutant of Bombay, &c. &c. Capt. J. A. Kempe. 4th N. I. commissary of bazars in Attadecy.

*European Regt.* Capt. lieut. A. Brown, to be captain. Lt. J. S. Crofts, to be capt. lieut. Ensign J. Sherriff, to be Lieut. Ensign G. Melville, to be Lieut. Ensign F. Steele, to be lieutenant.

*Artillery.* Lieut. W. H. Sealy, to be commissary of stores to Lt. Col. Smith's detachment.

4th N. I. Capt. Lt. J. Kendersly, to be captain. Lt. H. J. Lester, to be capt. lieut. Ensign W. E. Hurst, to be lieut. Capt. Hay, to be military auditor general. Lt. Hughes, deputy to do.

5th N. I. Capt. Lt. J. Sutherland, to be capt. of a company. Lt. A. Logie, to be capt. lieutenant.



## CEYLON CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

1809.

R. Plasket, Esq. to be civil auditor. T. Eden, Esq. dep. sec. to govt. A. Beato-lacci, Esq. compt. general of customs. H. Layard, Esq. collector of Matura. W. H. Kerr, Esq. collector of Galle. J. Sadger, Esq. do of Chiraw. S. Sawyers, Esq. do. of Batticaloa. W. Orr Esq. assistant collector of Colombo. J. Gray, Esq. asst. in the paymaster general's office.

C. Scott, Esq. 2d assistant in the office of commissioner of revenue. J. Downing, Esq. assistant to the treasurer. W. Greensdale, and R. Sneyd, Esqrs. assistants in the chief secretary's office. R. Boyd, Esq. member of council. A. Cadell, Esq. comptroller of customs. J. Nares, sitting magistrate, Colombo.

## CEYLON MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

1809.

Major Edwards, H. M. 2d Ceylon regt. to be A. D. C. to the govt.  
19th Regiment. Major Chaplain, from the 2d Ceylon regiment, to be major, vice Beaver 20th April, 1809.  
2nd Ceylon Regiment, Captain Frederick

Hankey, from the 19th regiment, to be major, vice Chaplain, removed 20th April, 1809.  
3d Ceylon regiment, 2d Lieutenant Bell, to be 1st lieutenant, vice Clifford, removed to 96th regiment:

## NAVAL PROMOTIONS.

*By his Excellency the Commander in Chief.*

1809.

Lieut. William. Hext, of the Culloden, to be commander of the Wilhelmina, vice capt. Flint, removed to the Arrogant. The Jena corvette, captured by H. M. ship Modeste, purchased into the Navy, as a sloop of war; and lieut. Edward Stopford of the Modeste, appointed commander. Mr. George Craispe, to be lieutenant

of H. M. ship Victory: Mr. Charles Robinson, master's mate of his H. M. ship, Doris, to be lieutenant of the Victor, Mr. Beckett, midshipman of the Phaeton, to be lieutenant of the Blanche, Mr. Charles Jefferies, midshipman of the Culloden, to be lieutenant of the Rattlesnake.



## CALCUTTA MARINE APPOINTMENTS.

1809.

C. Thornhill, esq. Member of Marine Board. Capt. J. Hayes, Master attendant,

and member of do. Lt. R. Scott, Deputy master attendant, and Sec. to M. B.

## BOMBAY MARINE.

1809.

2d Lt. W. Maxfield, to be 1st Lt. Jun. Capt. L. Phillips to be Sen. Captain. 1st. Lt. J. Meckie, to be jun. captain. 2d Lieut. T. D. Ballantine, to be 1st Lieut. First Lieu-

tenants, G. Barnes, C. Court, W. J. Hamilton, R. Scott, W. Hewitson, T. Smce, D. D. Conyers, R. Deane, to be Commanders.

## BENGAL MARRIAGES.

1809

### JANUARY.

Mr. J. Whitear, to Miss L. Drummond—J. Sago Esq. to Miss E. Robinett. Colonel Wood, H. M. 8th L. D., to Miss S. St. Leger, 4th daughter of Major General St. Leger. C. W. Price, Esq. to Miss M. Dameron. J. C. G. Blagrove, Esq. to Miss J. Bolvin. J. C. Tucker, Esq. to Miss Middleton. Captain G. R. Mockler, 7th Reg. Cav. to Miss F. C. Smith. Mr. E. Johnson, to Miss B. Wallenton. P. Cochran, Esq. to Miss M. D. Fearon. Mr. N. Rairy, to Miss S. Macdonald.

FEBRUARY.—J. Du Pre, Alexander, Esq. Madras civil service, to Miss M. Bracken. Mr. P. Rodrigues, to Miss S. Vanas.

At Patna, N. McLeod, Esq. to Miss E. Dennis. Francis Law, Esq. to Miss Jeffreys. Mr. F. L. Barber, to Miss M. Hare. Mr. T. Clarke, to Miss E. Wilson. Mr. R. Dowcott, to Miss A. M. Wesp. Mr. J. Morgan, to Miss D. Dubordieux. Mr. J. Rondo, to Miss B. Augier. E. Brown, Esq. to Miss I. M. Schorn. Mr. P. G. Sinclair, to Miss E. Hadderly. Mr. H. D' Souza, to Miss E. Anderson. M. T. Astep, Miss C. Drew. Capt. Cumberlege, major of brigade, to Miss Friend.

MARCH.—W. B. Bayley, Esq. to Miss A. Jackson. Mr. N. Youngs, to Miss E. Andrews. Mr. W. Bristow, to Miss Sarah

Higgins. Mr. J. Owen, to Mrs. M. Smith. Mr. M. P. Dessa, to Miss Maria D'Cruze. E. Brightman, esq. to Miss M. Holland. J. F. Plusker, esq. to Miss E. Andrews. Mr. J. McCaura, to Miss M. Tonnochy. Mr. T. Gardiner to Miss M. Mc Clare. Mr. J. Osborne, to Miss S. Ohrien.

APRIL. R. Ingles, esq. to Mrs. Maillardet, J. Fombelle, esq. to Miss Crump. Mr. John McLeod, to Frances, daughter of J. Elliot, esq. Ensign D. Maizon, 25th regt. N. I. to Miss J. Forster. Captain Hans Car Brokager, to Miss S. A. L. de Breija. Mr. S. Birch, to Miss E. Blake. Mr. R. Pauling, to Miss A. Leinnox. Ensign D. Maizon, 25th N. I. to Miss J. Forster.

MAY.—R. Jenkinson, esq. to Mrs. M. L. Dawes. Capt. H. Howorth, 6th N. C. to Miss C. Rider, Ensign R. Roabe, 25th N. I. to Miss M. L. Plusker.

JUNE.—Mr. J. Spencer, marine, to Miss C. McCaul. Mr. F. Ward, to Miss C. Creek. Mr. J. Elton, to Miss A. Blin. S. Bird, esq. to Miss L. C. Bleanisop. Mr. W. Davis, Hon. Com ship Asia, to Miss H. Shepherd. Mr. F. N. sky, to Miss T. Martin. Mr. O. Williams to Miss A. Parker,

JULY.—Mr. J. W. Panch, o Miss A. L. Lankeet Mr. W. Hudson, to Miss E. Philbrow. Mr. P. Reymour, to Mrs. D.



- O'Connor, Captain G. W. Walker, H. M. 8th Light Dragoons, to Miss M. M. Patton. E. R. Barwell, Esq, to Miss S. Elliot.
- AUGUST.—Ensign G. Sunbolf, of his majesty's 56th regiment, to Miss B. R. Fort. Captain C. Fagan, 18th Native infantry, to Miss A. Buldock. D. E. K. Gilchrist, Esq, to Miss Elliot. Mr. T. C. Delany, to Mrs. Dennis.
- SEPTEMBER.—Mr. J. A. Nash, to Miss S. Fraser. Mr. G. H. Hardy, to Miss C. Hall. Mr. G. Brown, to Miss A. Davis. J. Crawford, Esq, to Miss C. Nicholson. Mr. J. G. Bennett, to Miss M. Mc Waine. Mr. J. Fenwick, to Miss P. Mayer. Mr. T. Gepp, to Mrs. Cover. Lieutenant R. Rich, 3rd Native infantry, to Miss Trench.
- OCTOBER.—Mr. W. Wallace, to Mrs. M. Wickens. Mr. J. Harwood, to Miss E. Lennox. C. Hunter, Esq. Surgeon, to Miss A. Light. Captain I. R. Purley, to Miss C. Wilkinson. Mr. W. Black, to Miss A. Daniel.
- NOVEMBER.—Cornet G. Hilliard, to Miss L. A. Anstruther. Captain E. Bunker, to Miss M. Mc Farlane.
- DECEMBER.—J. Dunningham, to Miss L. Reeves.

## BENGAL BIRTHS.

1809.

- JANUARY.—Lady of Hector Cockrane, Esq. of a daughter. Lady of captain Benjafield, of his majesty's 67th regiment, of a daughter. Lady of Charles Becher, Esq. of a daughter. Mrs. Downelly, of a daughter. Mrs. Smilie, of a son. Mrs. Andrews, of a son. The lady of J. Orr, Esq. of a daughter. The lady of S. Ewart, Esq. of a son. The lady of J. B. Birch, Esq. of a daughter. The lady of brigade major Bristow, of a son. Mrs. J. Simpson, of a daughter. The lady of P. J. Lund, Esq. of a daughter. The lady of lieutenant Kennedy, of the 5th regiment cavalry, of a daughter. Mrs. R. B. Lloyd, of a daughter. The lady of captain M. W. Browne, of the artillery, of a daughter. The lady of major D. Sioane, of a son. Mrs. A. Francis, of a daughter. The lady of captain B. Ferguson, of a daughter. Mrs. G. Driver, of a son. The lady of Carrapit Sarkies, Esq. of a son.
- FEBRUARY.—Miss S. Greenway, of a daughter. Mrs. Osborne, of a son. Lady of captain Yates, of a daughter. The lady of William Trower, Esq. of a daughter. The lady of Charles Confield, Esq. of his majesty's 17th regiment, of a daughter.
- MARCH.—The lady of J. Harvey, Esq. of a son. The lady of captain Young, of the artillery, of a son. The lady of captain Ross, of a daughter. Mrs. Hughes, of a son. Mrs. Chater, junior, of a daughter. The lady of colonel Wade, of his majesty's 25th dragoons, of a daughter. The lady of John Cosar, Esq. of a son. Mrs. George Dacosta, of a son. The lady of captain Miling, of a son. The lady of J. Shakespear, Esq. of a daughter. The lady of lieutenant George Moore, second battalion, Native infantry, of a son. The lady of lieutenant J. Gwatkin, of the first battalion, 7th Native infantry, of a son. Lady of captain W. Shaw, of his majesty's 22d regiment, of a son. Mrs. E. Hard, of a son. Mrs. Latrop, of a daughter. Mrs. A. Keymer, of a son. The lady of captain Gibbs, of a daughter.
- APRIL.—Lady of E. Sirettle, Esq. of a son. Lady of captain R. Campbell, of a daughter. Lady of the Rev. W. Robinson, of a son. Lady of the Rev. Mr. Marsham, of a daughter. Lady of J. H. Harrington, Esq. of a daughter. Lady of Thomas Plowden, Esq. of a son. Lady of the honourable C. A. Bruce, of a daughter. Lady of M. Law, Esq. of a daughter. Lady of G. Tyler, Esq. of a daughter. Lady of J. A. Deverel, Esq. of a son. Lady of G. Baring, Esq. of a daughter. Mrs. M. Lakersteen, of a son. Lady of captain J. Carige, of a son. Lady of captain Browne, of his majesty's 8th Light Dragoons, of a daughter. Lady of captain Swinton, of a son. Lady of captain J. Scott, of a daughter.
- MAY.—Lady of Dr. Hare, of a son. Lady of captain M. Smith, of a son. Mrs. G. W. Chisholm, of a daughter. Lady of captain C. R. Forest, of a son. Lady of colonel John, of a daughter. Mrs. N. Baldwin, of a daughter. Lady of W. Hobbings, of a daughter. Lady of lieutenant W. Hare, 60th regiment, twins. Lady of Captain Johnston, 2d N. C. of a son.
- JUNE.—Lady of Lieutenant-Colonel M<sup>r</sup> Gregor, 14th N. C. of a son. Lady of Lieutenant Burrows, 8th L. D. of a son. Lady



of J. Baretto, junior, of a daughter. Mrs. P. Read of a daughter. Lady of J. Mainwaring, Esq. of a son. Lady of D. Bagley, Esq. of a daughter. Mrs. Porter of a son. Lady of N. B. Edmonstone, Esq. of a son. Mrs. B. Rodrigues, of a daughter. Mrs. M. Gomes, of a daughter. Lady of A. Kelso, Esq. of a son. Mrs. Masters of a son. Mrs. S. Jones, of a son. Mrs. A. Lorimer, of a son. Lady of Lt. Anderson, 17th N. I. of a daughter. Lady of J. Sarkis, Esq. of a son.

**JULY.**—Lady of G. A. Simpson, Esq. of a son. Mrs. I. Cripps, of a son. Mrs. H. B. Chardon of a son. Lady of I. Bunce, Esq. of a son. Lady of A. I. Colvin, Esq. of a daughter. Mrs. C. Christian, of a daughter. Lady of D. Smith, Esq. of a daughter. Mrs. Pritchett, of a son. Mrs. Stonebury, of a son. Mrs. D. Moon, of a son.

**AUGUST.**—Mrs. R. Howard, of a daughter. Lady of R. R. Stubbs, Esq. of a son. Lady of A. Catchick, Esq. of twins, (boys.) Mrs. Wollaston, of a daughter. Mrs. L. F. Pereira, of a daughter. Lady of E. Strachey, Esq. of a daughter. Lady of Captain Sherwood, H. M. 58th reg. of a daughter. Lady of Major P. Bradshaw, of a daughter. Mrs. S. L. Pittman, of a daughter. Lady of B. Major Broadbent of a son. Lady of Captain Logic, of a daughter. Lady of Lieutenant W. Dickson, of a daughter. Lady of I. Colvin, Esq. of a son. Lady of Lieutenant H. W. Wilkinson, of a son. Lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Carey, of a daughter. Lady of Lieutenant-Colonel W. Brooke, of a son. Lady of C. M'Kenzie, Esq. of a daughter. Mrs. Collins, of a daughter. Mrs. Chopin, of a daughter. Lady of J. W. Fulton, Esq.

of a daughter. Lady of Lieutenant J. Arrow, of a daughter. Mrs. J. Tulloch, of a son. Lady of Captain Gordon, of a son. Lady of W. Luce, Esq. of a son. Lady of Dr. O. Hunter, of a son. Mrs. J. Denty, of a daughter. Lady W. R. B. Bennett, Esq. of a son. Lady of Lt. G. Nugent, of a son.

**SEPTEMBER.**—Mrs. J. Mills, of a son. Lady of the Revd. W. Eales, of a daughter. Lady of N. Stuart, Esq. of a daughter. Mrs. W. M. Poole, of a son. Madame Christian, of a son. Lady of Captain C. Fagan, of a daughter. Mrs. J. Smith, of a son. Lady of T. Shutter, Esq. of a son. Lady of the Revd. Mr. Rowe, of a son. Mrs. A. Kent, of a daughter. Lady of Captain G. Becher, of a son.

**OCTOBER.**—Lady of W. Fairlie, Esq. of a son. Mrs. A. Fleming, of a son. Mrs. P. G. Sinclair, of a son. Lady of Captain W. Innes, of a daughter. Lady of G. Ravenscroft, Esq. of a son. Mrs. J. Hodges, of a daughter. Lady of G. Udney, Esq. of a son. Mrs. C. W. Price, of a daughter. Mrs. W. Hollingberry, of a son. Lady of Captain Wiggins, of a son. Lady of Captain W. Baker, 21st N. I. of a daughter.

**NOVEMBER.**—Mrs. J. Watts, of a son. Lady of C. Davidson, Esq. of a son. Mrs. Chalke, of a son. Lady of W. J. Sande, Esq. of a son. Lady of A. Haig, Esq. of a daughter. Lady of Lieutenant G. Hunter, 1st N. I. of a daughter. Lady of Lieutenant W. C. Faithful, of a daughter.

**DECEMBER.**—Lady of the Revd. W. A. Keeting, of a daughter. Lady of Major J. Ainsley, of a son.

## BENGAL DEATHS.

1809.

**JANUARY.**—The infant daughter of Mr. M'Arthur. Mrs. Elizabeth Hammond. The infant son of Mr. Scullie. The infant son of Mr. T. Andrews. J. Forbes, esq. one of the attorneys of the supreme court. H. Chatfield, esq. one of the attorneys of the supreme court.

**FEBRUARY.**—Ann, the infant daughter of J. W. Fulton, esq. The infant daughter of Mr. J. Wood. Mr. H. Reid, on the invalid pension list. Adam Mitchell, esq. surgeon, 26th regiment, Native infantry. The lady of the late lieutenant Phillips.

Mrs. Catharine Gomez. Lieutenant Jamieson, 1st battalion 19th regiment Native infantry.

**MARCH.**—Mr. L. Sloman, dentist. Mr. T. Sammes. Captain A. Stone, of the country service. Captain S. C. Jones, of the 23d Native regiment. C. Hamilton, infant son of lieutenant C. W. Hamilton. Mr. J. Fustenbv. Mr. L. Clisson. Mrs. M. Prescott. Dr. Hyne.

**APRIL.**—Mrs M. Monthreus. Mrs. S. Smith. Mr. W. Griffiths. Captain J. Angus. Captain W. Adams. Captain J.



- Bond, Mrs. P. Hocks. Mrs. M. Le Gorce. Mrs. M. E. Friend. Lady of the late Mr. R. Duncan. Lieutenant D. Sharp, 15th regiment Native infantry. Lieutenant W. Jolly, 11th Native infantry. Capt. W. E. Leadbeater. Mr. J. Leary.
- MAY.—N. Arratoon, aged 76. Mr. J. Leary. Mr. J. Reeves. J. D. Paterson, esq. of Dacca.
- JUNE.—Mrs. A. M. Robertson. Captain Meyer. Lieutenant T. B. Macan, 8th Native infantry. Mr. G. Petrus. Miss L. L. Cane. Mr. G. Fley.
- JULY.—Lady of the Reverend R. J. Flerys. Lady of Major W. Burton. Mr. J. Macpherson. Mr. A. Sains. R. H. Morris, esq. Lady of H. B. Rawlins. Mr. J. A. Hickey. Mr. J. Andrews.
- AUGUST.—J. Rodon, assistant-surgeon, 18th Native infantry. Mrs. H. Hackett. Ensign A. Moore, 17th Native infantry. Lady of J. Taylor, esq. Mrs. S. Leonard. Ensign J. Emin, aged 89. Mrs. G. Kended. Mr. L. Johnson, mariner, ship, Jenny. Mrs. A. O'Brien. Mr. M. Featherston. Miss E. C. Foster. C. Traver, esq. Mr. A. Thomson. Mrs. J. Elliott. Ensign J. Bauman. Mrs. J. C. Adams. Mr. H. Amott. J. Ryder, esq. civil service. Mr. B. Martin, H. C. ship, Devaynes.
- SEPTEMBER.—Mr. W. Scott. Captain C. Eggleston. J. Holst, esq. E. Parker, esq. civil service. Mr. R. A. Balmano. Mrs. J. Gascoyne. Mrs. A. Mullins. C. Thornhill, esq.
- OCTOBER.—Miss H. M. Arnold. Captain J. Taylor, 7th Native infantry. Mr. W. Hollingberry. Miss M. Hemming. Mrs. M. Denty. Miss M. Ledlie. Mr. J. W. Anderson. Mr. G. Bruce. Mrs. T. Baus.
- NOVEMBER.—Lady of lieutenant-colonel Plumer, 2d Native infantry. R. Ledlie, esq. master in equity. Mrs. M. E. Anson. Mr. J. Sampson. Mr. H. O'Neil. Miss M. Fletcher.

## MADRAS MARRIAGES.

1809.

- JANUARY.—Lieutenant R. Jones to Miss M. A. Freshbier. J. Irwing, esq. to Miss C. Story. Captain N. Allen, of the country service, to Miss J. Lanoy.
- FEBRUARY.—J. Goldie, esq. to Miss Latter.
- MARCH.—Captain J. Warren, of his majesty's 33d regiment, to Miss A. L. Marcellis. Lieutenant R. A. Willis, 2d battalion, 9th regiment of foot, B. N. I. to Miss A. Brown. J. Annesly, esq. surgeon, to Miss C. Oliver. Lieutenant J. Power, 2d battalion, 26th regiment, to Miss Power. Captain J. Carter, his majesty's 84th regiment of foot, to Miss C. A. R. Von Albedy. Mr. G. Miles to Mrs. D. Johnson.
- APRIL.—A. H. Kelso, esq. to Miss M. R. Colbeurnsen.
- MAY.—R. Alexander, esq. 2d member of the board of revenue, to Mrs. G. Blacker. Captain Kelly, 9d regiment, native infantry, to Miss M. Dowall. Lieutenant W. B. Spry, of the honourable company's service, to Miss M. Carey. R. H. Young, esq. to Miss E. Wetherell. Lieutenant J. Mathews, 2d battalion 19th regiment, Native infantry, to Miss A. V. Adam. Lieutenant J. H. Frith, 2d battalion, artillery, to Miss S. Notley. Captain R. Sale, of his majesty's 12th regiment of foot, to Miss F. Wynch.
- JUNE.—Lieutenant C. Rundall, head assistant in the department of military auditor-general, to Miss H. Bell. W. Peyton, esq. surgeon, to Eliza, youngest daughter of the late J. Robertson. Captain Groube, royal navy, to Mrs. Watson, daughter of the late J. Dodson, esq.
- JULY.—W. Cook, esq. of the honourable company's service, to Miss Scouler. Lieut. and adjutant Ewing, 2d battalion, 24th regiment, native infantry, to Miss J. E. John. Quarter master T. Hubbard, of his majesty's 22d light dragoons, to Mrs. Gunning. Lieutenant W. L. Cane, his majesty's 30th regiment, to Harriet, fifth daughter of E. Lucas, esq.
- AUGUST.—Mr. S. C. D. Silva to Miss J. Heskins. Mr. quarter-master and adjutant Muntford, his majesty's 22 light dragoons, to Mrs. King, widow of the late adjutant King, cavalry depot.
- SEPTEMBER.—Mr. E. Price to Miss H. Temmasfield. C. H. Elliott, esq. an officer commanding a brigade of infantry, in the service of his highness the nizam, to Miss T. Sauvage. Mr. R. Corner to Miss A. D. Silva. J. Murray esq. commander of the honourable company's ship, Devonshire, to Miss M. D. Hughes. W. Erskine, esq. to Miss M. Mackintosh, daughter of the hon. Sir. J. Mackintosh, recorder of Bom.



bay. By the Rev. Mr. Vaughan, Mr. R. Scott, purser of his majesty's ship, Cornwallis to Miss A. M. Branson.

OCTOBER.—Lieutenant C. O. Fothergill, of the 2d battalion, 20th regiment, Native infantry, to Madame N. M. Mone-rait.

NOVEMBER.—Lieutenant T Sampson, his majesty's 53th regiment, to Miss M. Dalrymple. Lieutenant Tucker, of the 20th

regiment, Native infantry, to Miss S. Boardman. By the Rev Doctor Ball, captain Smith, 1st battalion, 9th regiment, Native infantry, to Miss Aylmer. D. Cockburn, esq of the honourable company's civil service, to Miss Keer. Mr. E. F. W Van Hoofsten to Miss C. Pithois.

DECEMBER.—By the Rev. Doctor Rottler, Mr. C. Martin to Miss H. C. Fitzjean.

## MADRAS BIRTHS.

1809.

JANUARY.—The lady of major S Dalrymple, of the Madras artillery of a son. The lady of J. J. O'Reilly of the 3d regiment of cavalry, of a daughter.

FEBRUARY.—The lady of G. Garrow, esq. of a son. The lady of major Nuthall, of the cavalry, of a daughter. The lady of captain H Brome, of his majesty's 22d light dragoons of a daughter. The lady of the hon Sir T A. Strange, Knt of a son. The lady of captain R. H. Fotheringham of engineers, of a daughter. The lady of lieutenant Michael Smith, of the 3d regiment, Native infantry, of a son. The lady of captain C. H. Powell, of the 21st regiment, Native infantry of a daughter. The lady of lieutenant Gwatkin, 7th regiment, Bengal Native infantry, of a son. The lady of captain Molesworth, 8th regiment, Native infantry, of a daughter.

MARCH.—The lady of H. Spottiswood, esq. of the civil service, of a son. The lady of captain Prendergast, of a son. The lady of G. Moore, esq. of the civil service, of a daughter. The lady of H. Taylor, esq. of the civil service, of a daughter. The lady of A. Falconer esq. of a son. At Cochín, the Lady of Lieutenant James Blowne, 2d bat. 13th Regt. of a daughter. At Pondicherry, the Lady of Lieutenant-colonel H. Hall, of a still-born child. At Tranquebar, the Lady of Capt. Marett, 24th Regt. N. I. of a son.

APRIL.—At Seringapatam, the Lady of J. Middleton, Esq. Quarter-master of H. M. 80th regiment, of a son. At Vizagapatam, the lady of S. Skinner, Esq. 3rd judge of the circuit court, at Chittoor, of a son. At Pondicherry, the Lady of Major Welch, of a daughter. At Trichinopoly, the Lady of Capt. Robbins, of H. M. 60th regiment, of a daughter. At Masulipatam, the Lady of Captain H. Yarde, of a daughter. At Ganjam, the Lady of Major G. A. Musat, of a son.

MAY.—The lady of Captain J. Sadler, of the 24th N. I. of a son. The Lady of H. H. Harrington, of a daughter. At Trichinopoly, the Lady of Lieutenant H. Dumas, 1st Bat. 3rd regiment, N. I. of a son. The Lady of A. Flower, Esq. of a son. At Onore, the Lady of A. Wilson, Esq. of a son. The Lady of Captain Gabriel, 10th N. I. of a daughter. At the Presidency, the Lady of Major Whitney M. Cully of the 20th regiment, Native infantry, of a son. At Bangalore, the lady of captain Seth, of his majesty's 59th regiment, of a daughter. At Quilon, the lady of colonel Chalmers, of a son.

JUNE.—The lady of Mr. E. Marthas, of a son. At Cannanore, the lady of lieutenant and fort-adjutant, Thomas Hodgson, of a son. At Bangalore, the lady of S. M. Mullen, Esq. surgeon of his Majesty's 59th regiment, of a daughter. The lady of lieutenant-colonel Duind, of a daughter.

The lady of R. Orme, Esq. of a daughter. At Masulipatam, the lady of lieutenant H. Dixon, 1st battalion, 10th regiment, of a daughter. At Chittore, the lady of Charles Harris, Esq. 1st judge of the provincial court, of a son. The lady of the honourable L. G. K. Murray, of a daughter. At Bellary, Mrs. Duncan, of a son. At Bangalore, the lady of captain Woonhouse, 7th regiment of Native cavalry, of a daughter. At Negapatam, Mrs. M. Obdam, of a son. At Bellary, the lady of major Keasherry, of a son. At Onore, the lady of J. A. Anderson, Esq. surgeon to that Zillah, of a daughter. The lady of J. H. D. Oigilwe, Esq. of a daughter. At Ellore, the lady of major Haslewood, of the 24th regiment, Native infantry, of a daughter.

JULY.—The lady of L. De Fries, Esq. of a son. At Bangalore, the lady of Lieutenant E. O'donnell, of a daughter. At Trichinopoly, the lady of captain A. Frith







Street, esq. surgeon of the aillah of Masulipatam. At Bellary, lady Ogilby. At Walkeir, near Vizagapatam, caused by an apoplectic fit. Mr. J. Turing, son of Sir R. Turing, bart. Mrs. C. Limb. Mrs. H. Mags. Lately at the Cape of Good Hope, lieutenant J. H. Hamilton, of his majesty's 93d regiment, formerly lieutenant in the Native infantry, on this establishment.

**JULY.**—At Seringapatam, B. Hodgson, esq. of the Bombay civil service, 3d judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit for the western division. At Madura, lieutenant Thompson, of his majesty's 12th foot. At Madras, H. Inman, esq. At the Mount, Mrs. V. Cabau. At Cuddalore, R. Kinchant, esq. commercial resident at that factory, and a senior merchant on this establishment. At Wallajahbad, the infant son of major T. Gurnell, of the 2d batt: 25th regiment Native infantry, aged 11 months. At Pulicat, Dr. C. Latouche. At Madras, Mr. Salkeld, teacher of the Harp. Mrs. J. Birkes.

**AUGUST.**—At his Garden-house, Dr. J. Anderson, physician-general and president of the medical board at this presidency. At Vizagapatam, B. Roebuck, esq. of the hon. company's civil service. At Gooty, Mrs. Johnson, wife of captain G. Johnson, his majesty's 34th regiment.

**SEPTEMBER.**—T. Malcolm, esq. brother of brigadier-general Malcolm, of this establishment. At Jaggernaickporam, Miss A. D. Topander, daughter of L. S. Topander, esq. in the Dutch civil service. At Seringapatam, the infant son of major Freese. At Palamcottah, H. Wise, esq. staff surgeon, Travancore. Mr. J. P. Talbot.

**OCTOBER.**—Lieutenant Yule, of his majesty's 69th regiment. At Poonamalle,

the lady of W. M'Intosh, esq. surgeon on this establishment. At Mangalore, captain T. C. Gordon, 1st batt. 8th regiment Native infantry. In Camp, near Canoul, on the left bank of the Tumboodra, lieutenant M. De Salaberry, of the 2d battalion Royal regiment. At Jaggernaickporam, the youngest son of Dr. Heyne, of the hon. company's 8th regiment Native cavalry. At Bangalore, ensign C. Charlesworth, 2d batt, 16th regiment Native infantry. At Wallajahbad, quarter-master and acting paymaster. A. Stewart, of his majesty's 12th regiment. At Seringapatam, captain J. Turner, of the 2d batt. 15th regiment Native infantry. At Yanam, J. Auet, esq.

**NOVEMBER.**—At Pulicat, lieutenant P. Brasette, engineer and Dutch prisoner of war. At Bellary, captain Bourke, of his majesty's 86th regiment. Mr. G. Bold, merchant. At Onore, major A. Muirhead, 1st batt. 18th regiment Native infantry. At Rajahmundry, lieut. Bruce, 1st batt. 11th regiment Native infantry. At Chittledroog, lieutenant Jeffries, 2d batt. 3d regiment Native infantry. At Tachivore, near Palamcottah, C. W. Young, esq. free merchant. At Patah, at the house of C. Keating, esq. Mrs. Keating, the lady of the Rev. W. A. Keating, of the Madras establishment, aged 30 years.

**DECEMBER.**—At Pondicherry, J. Gealin, esq. At Bellary, captain J. Campbell, 18th regiment of Native infantry, and deputy judge-advocate of the ceded districts. Mr. J. Baggot, master attendant at Tuticorin. At Chittledroog, lieutenant J. Stewart, 2d batt. 12th regiment Native infantry. Mr. A. Goodall, tailor. Mr. J. Gordon, cadet of cavalry.

**• BOMBAY MARRIAGES. —**

**1899.**

**JANUARY.**—Mr. M. Rodrigues, to Miss F. Fauves.

**FEBRUARY.**—Lieutenant Keays, his majesty's 47th regt. to Miss M. Blackall.

**MARCH.**—Mr. J. D'Souza, to Miss N. De Concaicao.

**MAY.**—Captain R. Sale, his majesty's 12th regt. to Miss F. Wynch.

**JULY.**—Lieutenant J. Hawkins, engineers, to Miss Drury. R. S. Kitson, esq. to Miss N. West. W. King, esq. 17th light dragoons, to Miss M. Keith.

**AUGUST.**—Mr. C. L. Wassenberg, to Mrs.

M. Christians. Capt. D. Supple, his majesty's 17th dragoons, to Miss A. C. Connell.

**SEPTEMBER.**—Lieutenant S. Prendergast, his majesty's 84th regiment, to Miss F. Green. Mr. F. Lugin, to Mrs. R. Maughan. Captain J. Sterling, his majesty's 84th regiment, to Miss A. West.

**OCTOBER.**—Captain A. G. Waddington, to Miss A. C. Lewis.

**NOVEMBER.**—Lieutenant Wrixon, 17th light dragoons, to Miss J. Sandwich.



# BOMBAY BIRTHS.

1809.

**JANUARY.**—Lady of lieutenant-colonel J. Cumming, his majesty's 47th regiment, of a daughter.

**FEBRUARY.**—Lady of lieutenant T. Dickenson, of a son. Mrs. Tucker, of a son.

**MARCH.**—Lady of captain J. Hanna, of a daughter. Mrs. Boyce, of a son.

**APRIL.**—Mrs. C. Catchatoon, of a daughter.

**JUNE.**—Mrs. Cumberledge, of a son.

**JULY.**—Lady of captain Eyre, of a son. Lady of lieutenant Martynant, B. M. of a son.

**AUGUST.**—Lady of maj.-general Jones, of a daughter.

**SEPTEMBER.**—Lady of D. D. Inglis, esq. of a daughter. Mrs. Norman, of a son.

**OCTOBER.**—Lady of O. Woodhouse, esq. of a daughter. Lady of A. G. Patterson, esq. of a daughter.

**NOVEMBER.**—Lady of major Vincent, his majesty's 84th regiment, of a son. Lady of captain T. Anderson, 9th Native infantry, of a daughter.

# BOMBAY DEATHS.

1809.

**JANUARY.**—A. Guseen, aged 95. M. A. Tomkins. Infant son of Mr Ferrar.

**FEBRUARY.**—Lieutenant J. Key, ad batt. 4th regiment.

**MARCH.**—Mrs. F. Tomkins. Captain A. Matheson, his majesty's 78th regiment.

**APRIL.**—J. Cumberlege, esq. solicitor to the company.

**JUNE.**—C. Watkins, esq. Miss H. Kerr. Lieutenant-colonel J. Paterson

**AUGUST.**—Lady of H. R. Whitcombe, esq.

**SEPTEMBER.**—Captain Spelipy, 4th regiment Native infantry.

**NOVEMBER.**—Lieutenant S. Simson, 6th Native infantry. Lieutenant J. Salter.

# CEYLON MARRIAGES.

1809.

**APRIL.**—Lieutenant G. Ingham, his majesty's 3d Ceylon regiment, to Miss Develin. A. Gordon, esq. to Miss S. Shepherd.

**NOVEMBER.**—A. T. Gibbons, esq. to Miss A. E. Tranchell.

# CEYLON BIRTHS.

1809.

**JANUARY.**—Mrs. Lavilliere, of a son.

**FEBRUARY.**—Lady of lieutenant colonel Kerr, of a daughter.

**MARCH.**—Lady of W. Orr, esq. of a daughter. Mrs V W. Vanderslyten, of a daughter.

**APRIL.**—Lady of captain J. Brown, his majesty's 2d Ceylon regiment, of a son.

**MAY.**—Lady of captain C F Napier, Royal artillery, of a daughter. Lady of captain Denoe, Ceylon light dragoons, of a son.

**JULY.**—Lady of G. Lusignan, esq. of a daughter.

**AUGUST.**—Lady of R. Wheeler, esq. of a son.

# CEYLON DEATHS.

1809.

**JUNE.**—Lady of G. Laughton, esq master attendant. Major Beaver, his majesty's 19th regiment.

**JULY.**—Mr. T. Porter, clerk of Ordnance stores.

**AUGUST.**—Major J. Wilson, his majesty's 12th regiment

**NOVEMBER.**—Lieutenant T. J. Rodney, his majesty's 19th regiment.

**DECEMBER.**—J. G. Kerbey, esq. C. S.

# PRINCE OF WALES'S ISLAND.

**MARRIAGES.**—Dr Crawford, to Miss DEATHS.—Major Jones, his majesty's



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THE COURT OF DIRECTORS  
OF THE  
*EAST INDIA COMPANY.*

Charles Grant, Esq. M. P.  
William Astell, Esq. M. P.  
Sir Francis Baring, Bart.  
\*Sir William Bensley, Bart.  
Sir Hugh Inglis, Bart.  
Charles Mills, Esq. M. P.  
The Hon. William Fullarton Elphinstone.  
Abraham Roberts, Esq. M. P.  
Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Bart.  
George Smith, Esq. M. P.  
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Richard Chicheley Plowden, Esq.  
John Hudleston, Esq.  
John Inglis, Esq.  
John Bebb, Esq.  
James Pattison, Esq.  
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Campbell Majoribanks, Esq.  
John Jackson, Esq. M. P.  
George Abercrombie Robinson, Esq.  
John Alexander Banneiman, Esq.  
Robert Williams, Esq.  
William Wigram, Esq. M. P.  
James Daniell, Esq.

The following gentlemen went out by rotation in April, 1809; viz.

John Roberts Esq.  
Jacob Bosanquet, Esq.  
Robert Thornton, Esq. M. P.  
Joseph Cotton, Esq.  
Edward Parry, Esq.  
Thomas Reid, Esq.

\* Sir W. dying was succeeded by Colonel Taylor.



# PROCEEDINGS AT THE INDIA HOUSE,

For 1809.

## EAST INDIA HOUSE.

*April 1809.*

After the proceedings of the last court had been read, the chairman stated the present court to be called for the purpose of confirming the resolutions of the last court, for the appointment of a military secretary, and two assistant secretaries to the examiner's office; and also the resolution for establishing a seminary for the education of cadets for their artillery and engineer corps.

The reports recommending each of these measures were read.—On the chairman proposing that for appointing a military secretary,

Mr. Rock rose to say, that after deliberately considering the measure, it could not have his assent.—Mr. R. observed, that nothing short of a degree of necessity, which had by no means been made out, could justify so considerable an additional expence in the present circumstances of the company; but even supposing, for argument's sake, that such officers were necessary, he thought they ought to be selected from their present servants, who were on all hands admitted to be able and meritorious men. Mr. R. observed, with considerable feeling, upon the painful sensations which must accompany a measure; which he contended was, as to the present officers of the house, one of indignity and supercession, and not called for by the circumstances laid before them; he should, therefore, move that all the words of the resolution after the word "that" be left out, in order to substitute one, declaring in substance, that the servants of the house continued to possess the esteem and confidence of that court, &c.

Colonel Scott said, that although

he partook of all the sentiments which he had heard respecting our old servants, he could not second the motion, as it went to annul altogether the resolution of the directors, which would not be consistent with the respect that he bore towards that part of the court.

Mr. Lowndes likewise felt for the situation of the officers of the house, although he was not prepared to ascribe to them so great a degree of merit as was conveyed by the proposed amendment; they might or might not possess it; but he would not vote such a fact to be true without the means of knowing it. He said, he felt rather disposed to concur in the resolution of the court of directors, founded as it was upon their report, provided some words or memorandum could be added, which should prevent the circumstance of taking strangers immediately into their highest offices, from being drawn into precedent.

The Chairman observed, that Mr. Rock's amendment not having been seconded, there was no other than the original question before the court, which he was proceeding to put, when

Mr. Jackson rose, and referring to the observations which he had made at the last court, upon the novelty and importance of the measure, not so much with regard to expence, as to the danger of the precedent, said, he should propose some additional words, by way of amendment, which he hoped would meet conflicting opinions, and secure themselves from danger, as well as soothe the feelings and tranquillize the apprehensions of their officers, while it gave to the company, in the present instance, the advantage of the measure. He said, the question naturally resolved itself into three considerations—namely, the necessity



of such appointments—what evils might possibly arise from the precedent—and how they might be guarded against. Upon these Mr. Jackson argued separately: he admitted the necessity to be imperative; he was convinced, he said, not only from an attentive perusal of the reports, but from many cases which had been before him for professional advice, that a degree of delay had very frequently taken place in the offices in question, so considerable in extent, and so cruel in operation, as to afford in his mind a strong impeachment of the company's government; he hoped that this mischief would be cured by the proposed measure. The evils to be apprehended, he said, were first as to the officers of the house, and next as to themselves. It was impossible but that the gentlemen of the house should feel chagrin on the occasion, though the report was not disparaging to them, for it stated, they could not fill the offices in question, without being taken from others, where their abilities had rendered their continuance absolutely necessary. The fault, he thought, had been in not avoiding this necessity of calling in foreign aid, by the due preparation of a sufficient number of young gentlemen for an office much resembling that of the secretary of state for the foreign department; this not having been done, the measure had become necessary, but he thought the court ought to guard against future supercession: he described the trying situation of families, who, being received in society as gentlefolks, had much to struggle with to keep up appearances; their consolation, and that which enabled them to pass with fortitude so great a proportion of their lives upon such narrow stipends, was the moral assurance which they had a right to indulge in, from the almost undeviating history of the company for near three centuries, that they should in time arrive at or near the top of their respective offices; a well-grounded prospect of future promotion operated with such persons as present rank, and had

considerable influence in the introduction of their children, and the alliances which they formed; these prospects which, perhaps, might otherwise be thought to be rendered doubtful by the resolution proposed, he thought the general court should, by its declaration, strengthen and confirm, so that those who had hitherto looked forward to become the heads of offices, might be encouraged to continue their arduous and honourable course of service, without themselves or their families having to live in dread of eventual or ultimate supercession. With regard to themselves, he thought what they had to fear was, that having thus made an opening to strangers, future governments, or future directors, would naturally think of introducing those who were allied to them in blood or friendship, at the expence of the servants of the house, with whom they were not likely to be in the habits of friendship, and whose situations precluded them from that freedom of access necessary for the representation of the hardship of their cases. He had no fears from the present directors, none from the present government, and certainly none from the amiable and unassuming president of the board of controul; but feeling it necessary to guard the company against the possibility of evil, as far as a resolution of that court could do it, he should move an addition to the resolution proposed by the court of directors.

Mr. Jackson then moved an amendment, which, after some suggestions from the deputy chairman and Mr. Twining, stood as follows, viz.:

"That this court, relying upon the representations of the court of directors, and fully sensible of the weight of the observations contained in the reports now read, as to the necessity of appointing a military secretary and two assistant secretaries to the examiners' office, do agree to the same: but this court, whilst it can have no doubt of the disposition of the executive body to countenance and protect the servants brought up in this house, desire to express its own anxiety to continue to



them the protection of the East India company, and do assure the court of directors of its readiness, at all times, to concur with them in rewarding long and meritorious services. And this court do further resolve, that should the directors find it expedient to appoint to either of the said offices of military secretary or assistant secretaries to the examiners' office, gentlemen who have not been regularly bred in this house, or in the service of the company, the said appointments shall in no wise be drawn into a precedent for the appointment of other persons so circumstanced."

Mr. *Loundes* said, the amendment so completely met his ideas, and removed his objections, that he begged leave to second it.

The amended resolution was then put, and passed unanimously.

The *Chairman* next proposed the resolution for establishing a seminary for the education of the cadets for their artillery and engineer corps.

Mr. *Jackson* said, he had great pleasure in supporting this proposition, and although he should in this case also offer an amendment, it would not have for its object to check or to restrain, but to encourage and to extend the system. Mr. J. after adverting to the history of other nations who had obtained settlements in India, said, it was reserved for Great Britain to have the renown of rendering civilization commensurate with conquest, and of shewing as ardent a desire to diffuse the arts, as to extend their commerce; above all, the glory was reserved for the English East India company of giving to their servants an enlightened and virtuous education, before it sent them into situations of authority so extensive over their fellow-creatures. He then moved, by way of addition to the resolution of the directors, as follows, viz. :—

"That this court doth highly approve of the proposed plan of a seminary for the more complete and economical education of cadets for their artillery and engineer corps, and desires to express the satisfaction it will

afford the proprietors, whenever the directors shall find that they can, consistently with the general interests of the East India company, extend the benefit of such an institution to the cadets at large. And this court requests, that the directors will lay before them, from time to time, at least once in each year, an account of their different seminaries in England, particularly stating the number of pupils, the expence occasioned thereby, and their general state as to the improvement in the various branches of learning."

Colonel *Scott* seconded the amendment, but expressed an anxious wish that the officers to the seminary should be taken from the company's servants, several of whom he mentioned as being eminently qualified; he seemed to think the company forgot the old soldiers who had fought their battles.

The *Chairman* defended the court against the latter imputation, and shewed that colonel Mudge was not only the fittest person for the office, but situated as he was, nothing but his zeal, and that of the master of the ordnance, for the undertaking, could have induced his acceptance of it.

Mr. *Loundes* highly approved of the amendment. The question was then put, and the amended resolution passed unanimously.

The *Chairman* then moved an adjournment.

Mr. *Rock*, begged before the court broke up, to put a question to the gentlemen on the other side of the bar. It was stated out of doors, that they had come to a resolution, in consequence of the report of a select committee, on abuses in the disposal of writerships and cadetships in the service of the company, that all the persons who had so procured their situations should be dismissed. He wished to know if his information in this respect was correct?

The *Chairman* repeated the question of adjournment.

Colonel *Scott* said he had come into the court to-day fully impressed with the idea, that some discussion would



take place on the subject of the report alluded to. He hoped that a motion on the subject would have been brought forward by his honourable friend near him (Mr. Jackson), who was on all occasions so zealous a friend for the interests of the company. He thought it impossible to read the report without being struck with astonishment at perceiving the figure which an ex-director of that company, M. Thellusson, made in it.—Who could believe it possible that that gentleman should, in the common course of things, have given away to one person, his near relative, three writerships in the course of two years, and that every one of these should have been corruptly disposed of? Yet the same gentleman had been again recommended by the court of directors to the proprietors.

Mr. *Twining* said, he was satisfied it was not the intention of the court to allow the report alluded to to pass without a deliberate discussion upon it. This, however, he presumed to think, was not exactly the moment for such a discussion. The court had not yet had time to consider the report with such deliberation, as to enable them to come to a dispassionate decision upon it. He had been one of the most forward, some time ago, to endeavour to detect abuses of the kind here developed. He was now come to that age, when he might be supposed to have retired from the bustle of business; but still he could not allow a question of this nature to pass over in silence, lest it should be supposed that he had grown cool and indifferent to the interests of the company, or that he had changed his opinion on the subject. He assured the court, however, that he should not allow the present report to pass unnoticed.

Mr. *Lowndes* said, he had been struck with surprise on observing an intimation in the public prints, by which it appeared, that a meeting of the directors had been held, at which they had thought it necessary to pass a resolution, exculpating Mr. Thellusson from all blame in the transactions developed in the report, and recommended him as a fit person for the choice of

the proprietors on the present occasion. He saw, from the silence of his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Jackson), as well as from the opinion he had heard from the respectable and experienced proprietor who had just sat down, that this was not the proper moment for discussing the report in question, which, indeed, was only printed yesterday. He could not, however, forbear from thinking that the honourable gentlemen, within the bar, had for the time forgotten their own situation, and, instead of regarding themselves as the executive body, had supposed themselves the electors. Either they must have done so, or they must have allowed their feelings, for the moment, to run away with their judgment. This was by no means an unusual case. We had seen De Holme, who, though a foreigner, was the best writer on the constitution of this country who had ever existed, when he himself had a cause in court, apply privately to the judge, as if he had been one of the corrupt judges whom he had been accustomed to meet with in other countries. Even Mr. Sheridan, whose whole public life bespoke him a sincere friend to the laws and constitution of the country, had so far forgotten himself as to write a private letter to the Lord Chancellor on the affairs of Drury-lane theatre, then under his lordship's consideration. On the impropriety of such conduct his lordship remarked in open court. These instances, however, might serve as proofs, that where a person's feelings were interested, he did not always act with that propriety, which, were he himself unconnected, he would expect to discern in others. If the bright eyes of Mr. Sheridan, who so ardently loved and admired the constitution, could be so far blinded where he himself was a party, it was not very remarkable that the court of directors should have deviated a little from the strict rule of propriety. He protested, however, against the idea of the court of proprietors being supposed to be in leading strings, and that the directors should hold them.

Mr. *Jackson* said, the honourable



proprietor near him (colonel Scott) must have completely misunderstood what he said on a former day, if he supposed that it could be in his contemplation to allow the report in question to pass without notice. So far was he from being of this opinion, that he had, on the very first day the report was before the court, expressed his determination to found a motion upon it. He was still decidedly of that mind, and was even satisfied that nothing but a very strong resolution of the court of proprietors on the subject could meet their own and the public feeling on this occasion. The present, he was convinced, was not the proper moment for such discussion. All the documents were not before the court; and until they were so, any decision on their import must be premature.

Mr. *Elphinstone* begged that the court would not separate under any impression that the directors had acted amiss, or that they wished the report to be slurred over. Such was by no means their intention. On the contrary, it was the object of the directors themselves to call the attention of the proprietors to the purport of the report. They had no wish, in the resolution they had come to, to influence the feelings of the proprietors; but simply, by a declaration of their own feeling, to endeavour to do away any improper prejudice which might have been created.

June 2.

A meeting of the general court was convened by virtue of a requisition from nine proprietors, to take into consideration the resolutions of the directors, annulling the appointments of certain officers, which was numerously attended.

Mr. *Grant* (the chairman), after the requisition had been read, suggested that the regular mode of opening the business was, that some one of the gentlemen who had signed the requisition should come forward and state the nature of the business which they meant to submit to the consideration of the court.

Mr. *Sansom* then rose and said, that he wished to premise, that there was

no person more averse than himself to corruption, or who more anxiously wished to preserve the purity of the East India company and their servants. At the same time, he could not approve of the resolutions of the court of directors, which, from a view of preserving this purity, annulled the appointments of several young men who were, probably, not parties to, or cognizant of, any of those corrupt practices which occasioned their appointments. He thought that these resolutions had been adopted with too much precipitancy, and were hardly to be reconciled to the common notions of equity and justice. It was hard to punish innocent children for the faults of their parents. He wished however, that the resolutions of the directors should be read.

The resolutions were then read, as also the dissent of several individual directors from some of these resolutions.

After some father observations from Mr. *Sansom*,

The chairman (Mr. *Grant*) rose and said, that these resolutions contained but a small part of the reasons which induced the court of directors to come to that determination. He therefore wished, although he might express them inadequately, to state to the court fully what those reasons were. It appeared to them, that it was of the utmost possible importance to maintain the purity of the court of directors. ~~This was~~ necessary, not only for their own individual characters, but for the interests of the company which were intrusted to their administration. If the directors were supposed to come into the administration of the affairs of the company, merely to pursue objects of their own private advantage, the credit of the court of directors would be destroyed, and with it the credit of the East India company. It was not to be denied that the East India company had many enemies, and many eyes watching their conduct. If the hardship that a few individuals might experience dwelt so strongly on the minds of the court, they had to consider whether it would not be a greater hardship that



the East India company itself should be undermined and destroyed from the loss of character? Independent of that consideration, the zeal and spirit of all the servants of the company would be much diminished if it were understood that money or any other corrupt consideration, was the means of procuring an entrance into a service so honourable, and where the servants were treated with such liberality. These were considerations which could not be too strongly imprinted on the minds of every member of the court. They were strongly impressed upon the minds of the directors by the oath they had taken. There had been instances of directors who had abused their patronage, being obliged to vacate their seats as soon as it was discovered. In 1799, the directors had entered into strong resolutions against those corrupt practices, and declaring that all appointments made under them should be null and void. They had afterwards taken some pains to institute inquiries respecting the advertisements that appeared in the papers from time to time, and they found that many of them were merely intended to fish for persons wanting those situations, and afterwards the interest to obtain them was to be sought out. In some, however, there was an evident abuse of patronage. One of the agents had been prosecuted and punished, and one of their servants had been dismissed.

Mr. Sanson here interrupted the chairman, to assure him that he had not had the smallest intention of bringing any charge against the court of directors, whose conduct, in most instances, he highly approved of.

The Chairman continued and said, that he did not suppose that any charge was meant; but still, when one of their resolutions was attacked, it appeared to him that it was their duty to shew the reasons upon which they determined. It appeared to them that the purity of the directors, or of their servants, should be free from suspicion, especially at a time that the company was seeking for a renewal of its charter. There would be many

persons ready to fasten on any corruption in this body as a pretence to oppose the renewal of the charter. The resolutions of 1799 declared that every appointment should be meant that had been procured by money, or any other corrupt means. In 1806, however, similar resolutions were not only passed, but promulgated in the most public manner; they were advertized in *The London Gazette*, and in all the principal newspapers in the empire; and, therefore, the directors were as lenient as possible in marking the time for carrying their resolutions into effect, from the time that the resolutions were promulgated in a manner that they conceived to be abundant notice. If any hardship then was suffered, he would ask to whom was it to be imputed? Was it to the directors, who adhered to the resolutions which they had entered into 10 years ago, and promulgated in the most public way in 1806, or was it to the parents and friends of those young persons, who, knowing these regulations, chose to act in contradiction to them, and force their children in by corrupt means? It might be said, that it was hard that the children should suffer for the faults of their parents, but this was the case every day. If parents committed penal offences and incurred damages, the children suffered from their guilt or imprudence. If no notice were now to be taken of those who had been discovered to have come into the service of the company by corrupt means, there would be no means of preventing it in future. Whenever an example was to be made, the friends and connections of those implicated would come down with all the votes and influences they could procure, to contravene the determination of the directors. No resolution that they could ever enter into would be more formal than that which the court of directors had entered into in 1806; and if the plea of humanity was also to prevent their enforcing their regulations, he thought there would be an end not only of the character of the court of directors, but of the East India company also; and if their charac-



ter was once gone, perhaps they might soon cease to exist as a corporate body.

Mr. Sansom replied to Mr. Grant. He thought the character of the company would suffer much more in the public opinion, by an act which was generally considered harsh and severe in the extreme. He concluded by moving a resolution, containing a recommendation of the court of proprietors to the court of directors, "that they would be pleased to re-consider their resolutions of the 12th of May, as far as regarded the annulling the appointments of the persons therein stated."

Mr. Lushington seconded this resolution, but thought that it should be left to the directors, not as a matter of right, but as an appeal to their mercy and their lenity, not to remove those young men, who were, probably, entirely ignorant of the corrupt transactions which took place at their appointment. He admitted that the directors had a right to adhere to their resolutions; and he thought the proprietors could do nothing more than recommend these young men to their compassion and their mercy. He knew the directors had the power of deciding; but although "it was well to have a giant's strength," he was sure the directors would be temperate in the use of it.

A proprietor (whose name we could not learn,) asked whether this determination of the directors was founded on any other evidence, except the report of the committee of the House of Commons; and (being answered in the negative,) contended that there was not a legal or sufficient evidence for the company to proceed.

Mr. Peter Moore thought it would be much the best way to close the book on what was past, and turn down the leaf — (*Applause*) — He wished a sort of an act of oblivion to take place as to what was past, and for the future, he thought the regulations of the directors should be rigorously enforced. Indeed the law would give sufficient notice for the future, as the trafficking in those offices was made

penal by an act which had passed both Houses, and now only waited for the royal assent.

Mr. Lowndes said, the directors had acted according to their duty as directors; but now it was the duty of the court of proprietors to recommend mercy to them. He then told the court the story of Lefevre, from Sterne, and applied it to the court of directors, by saying they had acted very well as directors, but very badly as men. — (*A laugh*)

A proprietor (whose name we could not learn) contended strongly against the interference of the proprietors with their executive, about the dismissal of their servants.

Mr. Twining thought that the resolutions of 1806, had not been sufficiently promulgated. He believed that they had been once inserted in the London Gazette, and once in the principal papers, but he doubted whether that was sufficient publicity. As to the principle, he thought there was no sort of inhumanity in annulling appointments improperly made. He was himself a father, and as much attached as any other man to his family; but if he had endeavoured to advance them by corrupt means, and in the teeth of known regulations, he would be the only person to blame for their disappointment. If then the resolutions of 1806 were sufficiently promulgated, he thought the conduct of the directors had been very lenient in not taking notice of the corrupt practices which took place between 1771 and 1806.

Mr. Lowndes again referred to the beautiful story of Lefevre in Sterne.

The Chairman called him to order, and said, that he ought to confine himself to the question, instead of telling stories.

Mr. Lowndes said, that the story was quite applicable to the question.

The Chairman replied, that the beautiful story of Lefevre was very well in its proper place, but when it came to be told a second time, it was rather too much — (*A laugh*)

Sir T. Metcalfe declared, that the directors had come to that painful resolution from a sense of that duty to



which they were bound by their oath. They had sworn to maintain the interests of the company, and were not at liberty to take those individual cases in the light that their personal feelings might incline them to.

Mr. Grant said, that if a recommendation of the nature proposed were given to the directors, it would be their duty to attend to it with all deference and respect. He must, however, say, that they were bound to discharge their duty according to the oaths they had taken; and if this recommendation were understood to be mandatory upon them, they would much rather that the court would at once proceed to the utmost extremity that they conceived themselves justified in.

Mr. Sansom denied that he intended the recommendation as having the force of a mandate. He merely wished to submit the subject to the further consideration of the directors.

The question was then put, and the shew of hands was in favour of the motion of Mr. Sansom, which was accordingly carried. The court then adjourned.

—  
Wednesday, June 21.

At a quarterly court of proprietors of the East India company, held at their house this day, for certain special and general purposes.

After the dividend for the quarter had been declared and agreed to, and the other usual business gone through,

Mr. Jackson moved, that this House, at its rising to day, do adjourn to this day fortnight, being the 5th of July, to take into consideration the report of the committee of the House of Commons on East India patronage, and the undue disposal of writerships and cadetships in the company's service.—Agreed to.

MR. LACAM.

The court then proceeded to the consideration of the resolution of the court of directors of the 7th of April, for increasing the pension of Mr. Benjamin Lacam, from 600*l.* to 1000*l.* per annum, and for increasing the pension of his wife, from 400*l.* to 600*l.*

per annum, in case she should survive him.

On the motion that the court of proprietors do concur in this resolution,

Sir Robert Preston rose, and bore testimony to the merits of Mr. Lacam, and to the very signal service he had rendered to the country in general, and to the East India company in particular, by the invention or discovery of an eastern passage up the river of Calcutta, instead of the western passage, which proved destructive to two out of every three of the company's ships. He was enabled the better to judge on this subject, having himself been in the service of the company by sea, and in that capacity having experienced the dangers of the one passage, and the facilities attending the other. He had also, while in Parliament, been chairman of the Committee to which Mr. Lacam's claims had been referred, and in that situation had occasion to know the many testimonials borne both by naval officers, and by those who had been in the company's service, to the utility of the discovery, which had been made so far back as the year 1775.

The hon. Baronet, in the course of his speech was repeatedly interrupted by a proprietor, who asserted the invention to have been his, and not Mr. Lacam's.

In answer to the baronet he stated, that he had been marine surveyor to the company at the time the discovery in question was alleged to have been made by Mr. Lacam; that he had, previous to the time at which Mr. Lacam claimed the merit of invention, made and lodged with the company a survey of the very passage; and that Mr. Lacam had merely availed himself of his labours. In fact, that it was an imposture from beginning to end.

Mr. Bebb, one of the directors, supported the assertions of the last speaker, to whose character for ability and zeal in the company's service he bore the most ample testimony. He referred to the surveys and charts, and contended that Mr. Lacam's were made without skill, and with as little pretensions to the character of scienti-



fic charts, as if he had been a person taking a walk from that house to Charing-cross, who would naturally choose the shortest road.

Mr. *Elphinston*, from the experience he had in the naval service of the company, was enabled to say, that the western passage was a most difficult and dangerous one, and which threatened ultimate destruction to the company's marine. It was with peculiar pleasure he learned, in the year 1776, that Mr. Lacam had discovered the eastern passage, and though he was ready to concur in every tribute to the ability of the company's marine surveyor, he must declare the merit of that discovery to be Mr. Lacam's.

Mr. *Robinson* supported the arguments and assertions of Mr. *Bebb*.

Earl *St. Vincent* thought that this question could be best judged of by professional men.—He had never been in the East Indies, and, therefore, could not be supposed a competent judge. Justice and humanity, however, seemed to him to go hand in hand in this instance with professional testimony.

Sir *Mark Wood* stated, that Mr. Lacam had communicated his discovery to him as far back as the year 1771. He was convinced any surveys made by the company's marine surveyor, whose merits he should be one of the first to acknowledge, were then unknown to Mr. Lacam.

Mr. *P. Moore* stated, that he happened, in the year 1775, to be appointed as a junior member of the revenue board in India, to deliver to Mr. Lacam the possession of the land which he was to receive from the government for his purposed erection of a New Harbour. On this occasion, Mr. Lacam demanded from him the right to the water also. This he had no powers to give, and accordingly returned to the governor and council, informing them of the deficiency of his power; and, if he mistook not, the hon. surveyor, whom he now saw for the first time in his life, did give to Mr. Lacam the possession of the water. If, therefore, there was any objection

to the grant; if it was, as the hon. surveyor now stated it to be, all an imposture, was not that the most proper period to have detected it? The hon. surveyor had also stated the passage marked as Mr. Lacam's to be impracticable. The fact, however, was, that he (Mr. Moore) had gone it along with Mr. Lacam repeatedly. As to the plea that no expense had been incurred by Mr. Lacam, that he could also contradict from his own knowledge. He had himself, in Mr. L.'s absence, laid out equal to 1,000*l.* at a time, and the actual expenditure, independent of interest, was 60,000*l.*

Mr. *Jackson* followed on the same side, vindicating Mr. Lacam in every particular; pointed out the injustice done him by the government abroad, in declaring the grant made to him null and void; the hardships he submitted to in coming twice to this country, where, after the most laborious enquiries, his meritorious services and unjust treatment were recognized by two reports of different committees of the House of Commons; the injustice again done him in India by a report of surveyors, as to the impracticability of his passage, which was absolutely false; the sufferings, imprisonments, and privations, which he had thence sustained, and to which now, at the age of upwards of seventy, he was still exposed, and left it not to the humanity, but to the justice of the court to say, if this paltry annuity was any recompense to be conferred on him at his advanced period of life. He proceeded to read some handsome compliments paid by Mr. Lacam to the company's surveyor, and recommended to him, when he next talked of Mr. Lacam, to follow so praiseworthy an example.

Mr. *Lowndes* was of opinion, after what he had heard, that the compensation was by no means adequate.

Mr. *Grant* (the chairman) assured the court, that the directors, instead of yielding to the impulse of humanity, were of opinion that they had left justice unsatisfied.

The resolution to agree with the



directors in the proposed increase was then put, and agreed to *namine contra-dicente*.

#### SIR JOHN M'PHERSON.

The court then came to an unanimous approval of a resolution of the court of directors, to grant an annuity of 1,000*l.* per annum to Sir J. M'Pherson, baronet, formerly governor-general of Bengal, on condition of his assigning to the company a claim he had against the nabob of Arcot, in security of a loan of 10,000*l.* made by the company to Sir John.

#### WRITERS AND CADETS.

Mr. Sansom begged to know if the court of directors had come to any determination, in consequence of the recommendation made to them by the court of proprietors, on the subject of the recal from India of the young men whose situations had been procured by improper means.

Mr. Grant said, the directors had paid every attention to the recommendation of the proprietors, and had come to a decision, which they should either state now or at the meeting, when his honourable friend (Mr. Jackson) had given notice of his motion on the subject of the report of the committee of the House of Commons.

Mr. Jackson, in answer to the several questions put to him, stated, that his object was not to propose a review of the sentence of the court of directors on this point.

After some conversation, it was agreed, that the chairman should now state the determination of the directors on the subject. He stated, that in coming to the resolution they had done, their executive body had sacrificed their own inclinations to an imperious sense of their duty. He then read the resolution of the court, which was, that the directors feeling every deference to the opinion of the proprietors, and desirous, if in their power, to yield to their recommendation, felt themselves under the necessity of affirming the resolution they had come to. They regretted extremely the fate of the young men who were to suffer from this decision, principally through the fault of their

fathers or other relatives. But the safety of the company, and the character of the directors, required them to abide by the decision they had formed.

Mr. Lushington submitted to the directors the propriety of considering, whether they acted agreeably to the different acts of Parliament, in proceeding in the mode they had adopted.

Mr. Lowndes recommended to the consideration of the directors the observations upon this subject of that great man Sir Samuel Romilly, who stood so high in the opinion of all parties in Parliament, and throughout the country; who was equally admired for the elegance and discrimination of his judgment, and the goodness of his heart, and whose knowledge and love of equity and justice stood unrivalled in this country. They could not suppose that they did amiss, or sacrificed their own characters or the interests of the company, in following his suggestions.

Mr. Twining was unwilling to start any question on the rights which the directors had so long been in the use of exercising.

Mr. Grant observed, that the present discussion was irregular, there being no question before the court. If the exercise of the directors' rights in the dismissal of their servants was now to be endeavoured to be controlled, it would, he was afraid, lead to evils of which gentlemen were not aware. This, however, would come more properly to be discussed when the motion on the report was before them.—Adjourned.

July 5.—A general court of proprietors assembled this day, pursuant to adjournment, at the India house, Leadenhall-street. The proceedings of the former court having been read, according to the usual practice, the chairman informed the meeting, that this was a general court of proprietors, continued by adjournment from the day of its last meeting, to consider of the report of a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into any abuses which may have existed in the appointments of



written, cadets, or students, in the service of the East India company.

Mr. Jackson then rose, and said, that the subject, upon which he proposed to trouble the court with some observations, was one of more importance than any that had occupied the attention of that court for many years past. In this representation of its importance, he was but stating the common voice of the public upon the subject—a consideration which rendered it absolutely necessary for them to take up the report of the committee of the House of Commons, with that degree of attention and deliberation, which he trusted the court was then assembled to give to the matter it contained. It was unnecessary for him to state, that character was of as much consequence to public bodies as private individuals: and, if essential to any public body, it must be peculiarly so to a company such as that which was subject to periodical renewals of its charter. On every such occasion, it was expected that accounts should be rendered both of its situation and the conduct of its affairs; and if it should be found that such accounts were unsatisfactory or insufficient, that circumstance would justify the putting an end to their charter, in the same manner as it would the extinction of any other public establishment which may have frustrated the chief purposes of its institution. For many years back, reports have gone abroad highly injurious to the character and integrity of the East India company; and unless some timely and effectual means should be taken for removing them, these reports would be attended with the most fatal consequences. So far back as the year 1798, the prevalence of such rumours proceeded to such an extent as to render some inquiry necessary. The expediency of investigation was founded on allegations that at the time induced the directors to take up the subject. It was not his intention to trace the painful steps of the inquiry which then took place, nor the manner in which it had been rendered ineffectual; it was only necessary for

him to state, that the result of that inquiry presented such a picture of depravity, such a record of corrupt practices, as would make upon the minds of those, not so well acquainted with the subject as the members of that court were, a most unfavourable impression. Upon that inquiry, it appeared that corruption prevailed in the disposal of East India patronage; and yet, as was stated in the report of the committee of the House of Commons, the corruption had increased rather than been diminished since that period, notwithstanding the result of that inquiry. If he forbore to read the whole of the report, it was, that he might not take up unnecessarily the time of the court, he should therefore content himself with reading three or four instances out of the many contained in that report, as the grounds of the resolution which he had to propose, and in order to shew to the court of proprietors the necessity of adopting it. The committee who had made this report, was composed of men of the highest integrity and talents; men no less distinguished as statesmen, than for the amiable and endearing virtues of private life; men influenced by no partialities, nor actuated by any motive but a conscientious regard to the interests of the public, and the character and welfare of the company. In the first part of their report, they had a satisfactory duty to perform in stating, that in no instance could they find that corruption was chargeable upon any individual of the whole body of the direction. But after the performance of this satisfactory part of their duty, the committee proceeded to detail between twenty and thirty cases, of as foul and scandalous transactions as had ever been brought to light. Of these he proposed to read a few to the court; and in doing this, he assured them, that he did not select the cases with a view to press upon any particular names, but took three or four of them as they occurred in the report.—*(Here the learned gentleman read the particulars, as detailed in the report, of the nomination of*



*Messrs. Houghton, Kelly, and Power, by Mr. G. A. Robinson, Sir Theophilus Metcalf, and Lord Castlereagh, respectively, together with one or two other cases*)—These were only specimens of the nature of the evil which existed, and of which it was so much their interest to make a recurrence impossible. The report then went on to state the oath taken by the directors, and the solemn declaration required to be made by the parents, or the next a-kin of the persons nominated: and it was certainly matter of regret and astonishment, that, as appeared by the report, in several instances, the parties who thus solemnly signed a declaration to the contrary, were the very persons who negotiated the corrupt bargain. The committee might well deplore the existence of such corrupt practices; and conclude, from their frequency, that the declaration was not sufficient to prevent their recurrence. The report, in the next place, adverted to the inquiry of 1798; and for reasons which it was impossible to mistake. They wished to hold up to the company a mirror, in which they might behold a faithful representation of their conduct, and entered into a detail of the whole of the inquiry of 1798, for no other purpose but to shew, that it had led only to the disgrace of having its object defeated. The report noticed the deficiency of power in the court of directors to sift these transactions to the bottom: for though the directors might, in other respects, possess adequate powers, the want of power, legally to administer an oath, must ever prevent them from wholly checking such abuses. The next point noticed in the report, was that upon which the resolution he had to propose was founded. It was stated by the committee, that from the passing of nominations through many hands, opportunities were afforded for the abuses complained of, and difficulties created in the way of any attempt to prevent them. After having touched upon all these various topics, the committee concluded with an admonition, as kindly and friendly, as it was clear and comprehensive, intimating to the

company, with the tenderness of a parent, that if they did not correct the abuses themselves, the matter would be taken up by a stronger arm; but that this interference would not be resorted to until they should shew themselves inattentive to their duty. There could be no doubt that it was known to the East India company, that its patronage had been made a subject of corrupt traffic; and that it would depend upon the conduct of the court that day, whether such abuse should meet a permanent check, or an eventual encouragement; it would depend upon their conduct that day, whether these abuses should hereafter become more foul and rank than ever; whether, when they should come to the question respecting the renewal of their charter, the weight of such corruptions should operate against their claims, or the public, upon a full view of their conduct and affairs, should be compelled to admit, that they composed a body worthy of the confidence of the nation. Before they could judge of the resolution he had to propose, it would be necessary first to consider the nature of the evil; secondly, the efficacy of the remedy he had to submit; and thirdly, whether that remedy could be applied, consistently with justice, to the members of that court, within or without the bar. As to the nature of the evil, he was sure it would be allowed to be the most odious, disgraceful, and disgusting, that could exist in any public body. It was not to be endured that the patronage of the company should be made an object of traffic from A. to B. and from B. to C. and so on, like pawnbrokers' duplicates. Every person must admit that such an evil ought to be done away with. Such being the nature of the evil, he was next to consider what was the cure that could be applied. In order to ascertain that point, it would be necessary previously to inquire into the manner in which writers and cadets were at present appointed: and here he must be understood not to charge the present bad practice upon the directors of the present day, nor upon



those of the last seven, or of the last forty years. The existing laxity had grown up from the system of non-inquiry which had so long prevailed. The practice was, when a director wished to oblige a young gentleman, he nominated him a writer. A petition was then presented from the party nominated to the court of directors, before which court he was called to verify his petition, and then there was very little other inquiry made, but whether he was a natural-born subject. The matter was next referred to the committee of correspondence, before which the young gentleman was never obliged to appear, and whose inquiry was confined to an examination of his documents. If these documents were found correct, the party was reported a fit person for the situation; and the appointment was complete. No petition was necessary in the case of cadets, as in that of writers; and it was impossible to ascertain to what extent the corruption had been carried under this head, the committee ever having lamented, that, from the death or absence of parties, they were unable to trace many of the cases brought under their notice. But it was obvious that the twenty-one cases, upon which they reported, could not have been the whole of what had taken place in seven years, Mr. Shee having acknowledged that, in the course of the last year, he had sold fourteen writer and cadetships. By the proposition he should submit, he did not mean to take away the power of appointment from the directors, but he wished to put an end to appointments made as at present, by the distribution of blank cards; in consequence of which, one director had admitted that it was not always that the director knew the young gentleman appointed. Another, who had promoted the inquiry in the House of Commons, had stated that he had been solicited by a clergyman to appoint a cadet; not because the young gentleman was a promising lad, and likely to make a good soldier, but to oblige Miss Elizabeth Spindler, from whom certainly no services in the field were

to be expected. (*A laugh.*) Such an evil as this it was that his resolution was to remedy; and the laxity of practice had proceeded to such an extent, as to give the community a right to complain.—The remedy he had to propose was, that all writers, cadets, and students, should henceforth be chosen in an open court of directors; that the court should be bound to put certain interrogatories to the director recommending the candidate, and also be required to examine into the character, connections, and qualifications, of the respective candidates. In this latter point he was borne out by the authority of Lord Castlereagh, who, when making in the House of Commons an honest and ingenuous exposure of, perhaps, an indiscreet transaction, and asserted, that he should never recommend any candidate to the court of directors, until he ascertained his character, connections, and qualifications to be unexceptionable. He quoted this authority, because it might be objected that the writers were now first sent to college, where they may acquire the qualification, though they were first irrevocably appointed.

The *Chairman*.—"It is not so. My learned friend is mistaken."

Mr. Jackson was ready to qualify the expression, if under a mistake. The petition was, that the candidate may be allowed to enter the college, in order to qualify himself for the situation of a writer, under an implied promise that, when so qualified, he should be appointed to a writership; and there was scarcely a single instance, or but few, where such appointment did not take place. But the inquiry he recommended ought to be made; because a person properly qualified might be deficient in moral character, and consequently unfit to be appointed to a situation in India. It was desirable also, that the other point respecting candidates should be inquired into, in order that persons who were to be appointed to such dignified situations in India, and might become heads of the company's councils, should be ascertained to be of suitable connections. He did not mean by this to impose any restric-



tive law upon the court of directors; nor should he have proposed it at all, if he had not ascertained its necessity, by pursuing the subject through all its ramifications. With a view to the efficacy of this remedy, he proposed that every director, who recommended a candidate, should make a declaration to this effect:—"I, A. B. have fully inquired into the character, connections, and qualifications of C. D. who petitions the court of directors for a writership, &c. and do declare that he is a fit person to be appointed to the situation herein mentioned." When the directors shall have made this declaration, he should propose that the young gentleman should be called before the court, and examined as to the manner in which he obtained the appointment, and also interrogatories put to the director as to his motives to the appointment. It was impossible for them to legislate perfectly; yet he was not profound enough to anticipate any objection that could be made to this measure, but was convinced that he could not devise any better means of remedying the evil. Let it even be supposed, that what was stated out of doors was true, could they imagine that any man would have the nerve, after breaking the law in violation of his oath, to come before thirteen of his colleagues, and make such a declaration with so many means of being detected, and when detection would lead to infamy and ruin? Besides, this measure would not supersede any of the existing checks, nor would it prevent the court from resorting to any other measures which might hereafter be thought necessary. (*An application was here made to the chair, by Mr. Loundes, to have one of the windows opened, as he wished to keep his head cool.*) It might be objected, that these inquiries would impose an additional duty upon the court of directors. He did not think they would; because, upon an average, the number of writers and cadets, appointed in any year, did not exceed the proportion of one a day. But if even the directors were to hold one extra court a week, could that bear any comparison with

the advantage of getting rid of an evil of such magnitude, or with a consideration of such indescribable consequence as the means of restoring the character of the company, and re-instating the members on a level with the rest of their countrymen, which must be the case, if it were once known that no appointment could take place but in open court. The next point he had to consider was, whether the remedy he proposed was as just as it ought to be, and this depended upon the question, whether his mode of correcting the evil would operate to the abridgment of the present patronage. His object was regulation, not extinction; and he would not be warranted in attempting, by a side wind, to do that, which would more properly be a subject for discussion on the question respecting the renewal of their charter. There could be no doubt that the patronage had originally been given for the service of the public and of the company, though it had afterwards become a personal right. But when it was considered that there was no office in the company's service, with the sole exception of the governor-general, which must not be filled up from those who are first writers or cadets—when they considered the number of troops that may be placed under the command of such persons, and that very often even the happiness of millions may depend upon their conduct—he was sure that court would be of opinion that too much circumspection could not be used to guard against ignorance, or incompetence in the selection. When on a former occasion, in 1799, he had proposed some tests for this purpose, an honourable director, not now in the direction, had calculated the number of persons who had been appointed since 1793, in order to cast ridicule upon his proposition, by shewing the number of oaths that must be then taken. The difference between him and that honourable director was, that whilst the honourable director calculated the number of oaths, he was calculating the market-price of all the situations, to which, in that period, persons were



appointed, which amounted to one million six hundred thousand pounds. As to the question of patronage, there were different opinions entertained upon that head. Some contended that it ought not to be left to a company of merchants, but transferred to government. Others again asserted, that no free constitution, from the earliest days of Greece to the latter days of Britain, could resist a government possessed of such an extent of patronage. An honourable friend of his had proposed, that these places should be sold as commissions were in the army; whilst a fourth class of persons were of opinion, that the patronage should be distributed amongst a certain number of the senior proprietors, whilst enough of patronage would still be left to the directors. This latter opinion was not without authority; because, according to the charters of Elizabeth, of James the first, and of Charles, all agents, factors, and servants of the company were directed to be chosen by a majority of that court. He objected to this, because it was their business, who sought reform, to shew to the world that they were actuated by no interested motives; that they were animated by a singleness of heart in their measures; and, when their resolution should be read abroad, that they might appear not to have been actuated by any sordid or selfish considerations. He was of opinion, therefore, that the patronage should run as before; but that, in place of absolutely nominating, the directors should hereafter recommend the candidates in open court, and under the limitations he had before stated. There was one class of persons, however, who would be deprived of patronage by his resolution, the members of the board of controul. It was illegal for them to have such patronage; and certainly not very consistent that a board, appointed to controul the directors, should receive obligations at their hands. One of the greatest men this country ever produced, Mr. Fox, had lost himself by an endeavour to take this patronage to himself and his party; and it was by steering clear of that

object in his India bill, that Mr. Pitt had been able to maintain himself in power. The situation of the India company at present resembled what it was about a century since. In the former period, the same suspicious and rumours prevailed to its disadvantage; and the ablest pens, as well as the ablest heads, were employed against it, whether from envy of its prospects, jealousy of its power, or in order to promote the purposes of party. The India company, however, stood, and the charter was renewed, though the act he believed had not passed. An inquiry into the conduct of certain members of the House of Commons, respecting the orphans' fund in the City, kindled the same burst of generous indignation, which had recently taken place, and an inquiry into the affairs of the East India company was the consequence. It was then found that Sir Thomas Coke had, with the consent of the proprietors, taken from the company a sum of 100,000*l.*, the application of which he refused to account for, and was in consequence sent to the Tower. He afterwards made the discovery, and the duke of Leeds was impeached for having received some of the money. When it was found that the company had bribed the ministers to support the renewal of their charter, and distributed considerable largesses amongst members of Parliament for the same purpose, after having withstood the ablest attacks of the most powerful men and parties, it sunk under the weight of this corrupt transaction, and the new company was appointed. Even admitting therefore that the patronage of the company was most purely disposed of, they should disarm even suspicion, especially if they considered the use that would be made of it by their enemies, where they could not be present to contradict or refute them.\* It was for that reason that he proposed to leave out his majesty's ministers, from those who should have the power of recommending. Having stated the grounds of his resolution, he should then submit it in form for the approbation of the court. "Re-



solved, that this court having taken into its serious consideration, the report of the 29th of March laid before it, purporting to be a report of a committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the existence of corrupt practices in the appointments of writers and cadets, cannot but express its deep regret at the corrupt and improper transactions therein disclosed; and while it observes with pleasure that the committee acquits the directors of being parties to such corruption, it is decidedly of opinion, that more circumspection should be used in the appointment of writers, cadets, and students." The remainder of the resolution embraced the various regulations so ably detailed and explained by Mr. Jackson, in the course of his speech.

On the question being read—

Colonel Scott rose to second the motion of the learned gentleman. The patronage of the directors ought to be disposed of to promote the interests of the India company, and of those who had long and faithfully served it. The able speech of the learned gentleman who preceded him, rendered it unnecessary for him to go as much at length into the subject as he had first intended. He should only say, that the appointment of writers and cadets would afford them a noble opportunity of serving the company and the public. It would be honourable to them if they were to look out for the descendants of those who had died penniless in their service. He should mention one, the case of Colonel Montague, who had fallen honourably before Seringapatam, leaving three fine youths unprovided for. The selection of such persons would be an act of justice to the party, and an honour to the directors. He had only to add his hope that the resolution would be agreed to.

Mr. Lowndes stated the case of an uncle of his, who, after 27 years service in the East India company, never arrived at a higher situation than first mate of a company's ship. The reason of his not rising was, that he was too honest, and would not connive at

abuses. When he retired, there was no provision for him, and if he had not had a private fortune, he might have been a beggar. This was an abuse of the patronage of the directors. He thought it was a very proper suggestion that a line of distinction should be drawn between those whose parents had rendered service to the company, and strangers. He concluded by expressing his opinion, that the eloquence of his honourable friend (Mr. Jackson) was of a description equal to what had been said of an ancient poet, "that he would move stocks and stones." His honourable friend, who had the most conciliating manner, had proposed such things as probably the court would find it necessary to enforce most strongly, when the application should be made for the renewal of the charter of the company.

Mr. Samuel Dixon professed himself to be unused to addressing that court, and to be so little acquainted with the directors, as not to feel any particular interest beyond what he conceived his duty, in the observations he should make. He thought the honourable gentleman (Mr. Jackson) had rode his hobby at rather too great a pace. He did not object to what had been proposed, but he thought that the proposition ought to have come in the shape of a recommendation to the court of directors, and not as a resolution of the court of proprietors. It was very true that the trafficking in East India patronage was most scandalous. He could mention not only twenty men who were brokers in this sort of patronage, but he could mention a number of ladies also. When a clergyman recommended a gentleman on the part of Elizabeth Spindler, it could not be supposed that this recommendation was on account of any fitness in the object to perform services in the field. Another instance had occurred of a director owing his power of nomination to a Mr. Scott, a tailor, from knowledge of his wife about twenty years before. He thought that it would be proper to recommend the consideration of these things to



the directors; but he could not approve of the resolution.

Mr. *Rigby* thought that it would be degrading to the court of proprietors to use any other language but that of firmness and independence. They were the conservators of their own rights and liberties.

Mr. *P. Moore* thought, that an honourable gentleman (Mr. Samuel Dixon) who had spoken lately in the discussion, had shewn the indifference he had professed. He had not even taken the trouble of informing himself respecting the constitution of the company or its practice. If he had in the least attended to the constitution of the company, he would not have delivered the opinion that such a resolution as was proposed was contrary either to the constitution or the practice. In point of fact, it was much more regular that the resolution should come forward in the general court, than that it should originate with the directors. If it had originated with the directors, they must themselves have brought it before the court for its confirmation in shape of a bye-law.

Mr. *Grant* (the chairman) then rose and said, that after what he had stated at the last court of the anxious wish that was felt both by him and the whole court of directors, to forward every thing which could place in the clearest light the purity of the company and the court of directors; he hoped it would not be considered necessary for him to repeat at any length the same statements. He should now state, that it was neither his intention, nor the intention of any of his brother directors, to give any opposition to any measures which the court of proprietors thought necessary to preserve the purity or the character of the East India company. He would venture to say, however, that no member of the court felt more painfully than the directors, at finding that there had been such an abuse of patronage as was taken notice of in the report of the committee of the house of commons.

In vindication of the court of directors, he should, however, feel it his duty to state, that all the efficient measures which had been taken to remove

the abuses of patronage had originated from them. It was the court of directors who suggested, in 1793, the oath that was now required: it was the court of directors, who, in 1793, suggested the inquiry, and they had also suggested and moved for the inquiry in the case from which the report of the house of commons was made, that was the subject of the present inquiry.

At the same time that he said that neither he nor any of the court of directors were inclined to oppose the present resolution, he could not avoid making some observations on the statements which had been made by the hon. Mover.—He neither agreed in all the statements, nor could he admit that the efficiency of the resolution would be such as had been represented. He could not admit that there had been a general carelessness and laxity about these recommendations; although that might have been the case in particular instances, he by no means believed this carelessness extends to the great body of directors.

He could by no means allow that there was so little care as had been represented, in the examination of youths appointed for writerships. Besides the solemn declaration of the directors who recommended him, there was always a considerable degree of inquiry as to his connections, qualifications, &c. The students admitted at the college at Hertford, were by no means irrevocably appointed as writers; but, on the contrary, there were many instances of students, whose character and attainments were not sufficient to procure them that situation; and who were, consequently, withdrawn from the school. As to the advertisement for procuring those appointments, he by no means considered them as proof, but, on the contrary, believed that nine times out of ten they were inserted on speculation, and after a chapman was found, then the interest began to procure the appointment. As to the patronage of the directors, he firmly believed that there was no mode which could be pointed out in which the patronage of India could be less noxious to this country. (*Applause*) As to what had been said of proprietors shar-



ing in it, when the persons appointed were mere supercargoes of vessels, it was formerly settled by the public vote of the court of proprietors, but never in the way that had been mentioned of old proprietors having a certain patronage. The whole state of the company and their servants, had changed since that crisis, and he believed that a better mode could not be pointed out than the present. As to the general mode in which the directors exercised their patronage, he would challenge the country, he would challenge the world, to point out under that government, or in what country, more meritorious functionaries, both civil and military, had ever been selected, than those who were in the service of the East India company. (*Loud applause.*)

As to the point which had been stated of their violating the law, in allowing some patronage to the president of the board of controul, and others of his majesty's ministers, he considered that minor sacrifices of this sort might sometimes be essentially necessary for the interest of a corporation like the East India company. (*This expression appeared to produce some murmurs of disapprobation.*) He begged leave to state the thing in another way. Supposing he had patronage to dispose of, and felt it his duty on the part of the East India company, to oppose measures proposed by the president of the board of controul; in such a case although he hoped he never would desert from his duty to the company, yet, for their interest, and in order to prove that his opposition was from no personal hostility, and that he had no personal ill-will to the president of the board of controul, he might be very ready to confer a personal act of friendship of this sort, without any other view than the interest of the company.

Every body knew that when there were differences of opinion, the motives were often mistaken; and he thought it might be sometimes beneficial to the company to shew that there was no personal hostility to the members of his majesty's government. The next idea that had been started, which appeared to him to require an answer

was—the patronage of the directors ought always to be exercised in favour of the children of the servants of the company. On this point he should state what he thought could not be denied, that there was no service in the world in which such attention was paid both to the servants (particularly in the military line,) and their families, as in the service of the East India company (*applause*). Having so stated, he would say, that he thought that it would degrade and sink the character of the service, if it were supposed that any one was born with a sort of hereditary right to be employed by the company. He had heard a gentleman (Mr. Rigby) speak of the tone of independence that became the proprietors. It was his belief that there was no question about power or independence between the directors and proprietors. Each of them wished anxiously, sincerely, and honestly for the good of the company.—Having made these observations, he did not mean, nor did any of the directors wish to give any opposition to the resolution.

A long and desultory conversation then took place, in which the chairman took an opportunity to explain, that as to the case mentioned by Mr. Lowndes of his uncle, the persons employed in the shipping interests of the company were the servants of the ship-owners, and not of the company; but that notwithstanding, there was an excellent institution at Poplar, for decayed officers and mariners in the service of the company.

The resolution proposed by Mr. Jackson was passed unanimously.

Another resolution was proposed by Mr. Jackson, and agreed to, for the thanks of the court to Mr. Smith, who moved, and Mr. Grant who seconded in parliament the motion for an inquiry into the state of East-India patronage, as also to such directors as being members of parliament voted for the same.

Mr. Peter Moore then proposed, and Mr. Jackson seconded, the publication of those resolutions, both by giving copies to the proprietors and inserting them in the public papers.



This gave rise to some debate. The motion was objected to by Messrs. Grant and Elphinstone, on the ground of its conveying to the public an idea of some serious negligence on the part of the directors. This was disowned on the part of the mover and seconder, and it was finally resolved, that the resolutions should be published; but that, at the same time, the resolutions voluntarily entered into by the court of directors should be also published. —Adjourned.

September 2.

This day a quarterly general court was held at the India house, which was respectably attended. After the usual forms,

The chairman (Mr. Grant) submitted a resolution of the court of directors, re-appointing of Mr. Thos. Locke, one of the cadets on the Madras establishment, who had been dismissed in consequence of having corruptly obtained their appointment in service. He then moved, That the said resolution be confirmed, under the condition, that he be considered as having entered the service *de novo*. Which motion passed unanimously.

SIR EDWARD PELLEW.

Mr. Heriott, adverting to the complaints which had been made in a former general court, asked if any information had been received by the court of directors relative to the protection of the commerce in the Indian seas?

The chairman expressed his obligations to the honourable proprietor for calling attention to the subject. After what had passed at a preceding court, it became, perhaps, the duty of the chair to take further notice of the subject. At that time, the court were totally uninformed, they possessed no documents, and only one side of the question was heard; a matter to be regretted, where the characters of public and professional men were concerned; the subject had not been brought under the cognizance of the directors by either party, but the complaints having originated in the general court, it was but fair it should hear the defence also. Documents

had been received since the question was agitated, the substance of which was as follows; viz:—

“That Sir E. Pellew, previous to his knowledge of the memorial against him from the Bengal merchants to the lords of the admiralty, had stated to the Bengal government, that he had always been of opinion, that the only effectual protection of the trade was the establishment of regular convoys. That he had early stated this to the Bengal merchants, and offered to make an arrangement for regular convoys; but they preferred, for the sake of an early market, to run as single ships; and, for the same reason, when under convoy, broke from their convoy. That in the months of August, September, October, and November, 1807, when the Bengal merchants stated that their trade was left wholly without defence, and many of his Majesty's ships lying idle in the Madras roads, there were fifteen sail of ships stationed at different parts of the bay for the protection of the trade, besides other ships continually intersecting the bay;—more, on account of repairs and necessary services, could not be afforded.

“That the Bengal government, in their letter to the court of directors, express their entire conviction, that every attention has been paid by Sir Edward Pellew to the protection of the bay of Bengal against the enemy's cruizers, consistent with a due attention to the exigencies of the public service.

“That the memorial against the conduct of Sir Edward Pellew, by the Bengal merchants, was forwarded to those of Bombay for signatures, and there unanimously rejected.

“That the Bombay merchants solicited, and invariably received, regular convoy for their trade; and the only instance of capture which occurred, was when ships had deserted convoy.

“That had the Bengal merchants accepted a similar scheme of protection, their property would have been equally secured,—a scheme which, however, they had finally adopted.”



The chairman then represented, that the Bombay consultations of that period had not been received, but he had seen resolutions of the merchants of Bombay, with an address to Sir Edward Pellew, dated the 19th May, 1808, with about eighty signatures, illustrating, in the strongest manner, the anxious attention of Sir E. Pellew to the security of the trade, and also the complete success of the measures adopted by him.

"That Sir Edward Pellew first suggested the system of regular convoys, the immediate effect of which was a decrease of 50 per cent. on premiums of insurance."

The chairman concluded, with producing a letter, addressed to him from Mr. Edward Parry, the late chairman, stating, that he, as well as other proprietors, when the subject was introduced in the general court, was forcibly impressed with an opinion that blame must be imputable somewhere, and had expressed himself to that effect, but his information of various official documents having been received since he left the chair, had changed his opinion, and made him regret that only one side of the question had been heard in the general court; he, therefore, requested that the chairman would take a convenient

opportunity of reporting his sentiments to the proprietors, and at the same time correct a report in the newspapers, of his speech at the general court before-mentioned, wherein he is stated to have asserted, in addition to some observations on the general subject, that the naval commander-in-chief had been recalled. If he used any words that could warrant, or countenance, such a statement in the report, it was matter of additional regret to him, feeling as he did, how much it was due to public men, that their characters should be subject to no unfounded imputation; but assuredly he could mean no more than that Sir Edward Pellew was, in the usual rotation of command, on the way home; for no information had been received that he had been recalled, and he (Mr. Parry) had since learned that the fact was directly otherwise—that Sir Edward Pellew himself, some time before, applied for leave to return, on account of ill health, and that, after some delay, this permission was given him, on the ground of his own request.

Mr. Heriott returned his acknowledgments for an explanation, which afforded him very great satisfaction.

The court then adjourned *sine die*.



# PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT

## RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIRS OF INDIA,

DURING

THE THIRD SESSION OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED  
KINGDOMS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*Thursday, Feb. 23.*

#### EAST INDIA COMMITTEE.

Mr. Dundas rose to move for a renewal of the committee which had sat last session on East India affairs. The house would recollect that last session a petition had been presented from the East India company, praying for a settlement of accounts with the public, and also for aid. On this a committee had been appointed, and though it had performed the duty to a considerable extent, yet there were various points which still remained to be considered. The finances, the trade, and several other matters had not been so thoroughly inspected as they ought to be. He stated last year, that it would be most proper to appoint such persons as were most conversant with East India affairs—he would now move for the re-appointment of the same persons, with the exception of two, who said that it would be very inconvenient for them to attend. The exceptions were Mr. Grenville and Mr. Hobhouse; and in their places, he would propose lord Temple and Mr. Addington. He concluded by moving for a committee, &c.

Mr. Creevey observed, that he had several objections to the plan of constituting the committee, as it had been before constituted, and he conceived this to be a proper time for briefly stating these objections. For the purpose of placing these objections in a just light, he adverted to the committee that had

been appointed on the motions of Mr. Burke and lord Melville. On the report of the committee appointed by lord Melville, had been formed the board of controul, and members would, no doubt, recollect how his lordship had come down session after session, with congratulations to himself and to the country, upon the prosperous state of our empire in the east, owing to his system. The noble lord opposite (Castlereagh), who had been educated in his school, followed his steps exactly, and repeated his congratulations. In 1806, however, when another noble lord (Morpeth), a friend of his, held a situation in the board of controul, a very different statement was produced. In 1807, the company had come to the house with a petition that they might be allowed to borrow money upon their bonds. He resisted that unless they would consent to make a complete disclosure of their affairs. This they promised in the following session, and a committee was accordingly appointed. The house was aware of the importance and extent of the matters to be inquired into. The house had passed a resolution disapproving of further conquests; but instead of adhering to the plan recommended in this resolution, the Indian politicians persevered in their destructive schemes, till a great number of the native princes were destroyed, and the greater part of their dominions added to the territories of the company. All the predictions with respect to their finances had failed, except that in one instance they had



performed a part of their engagements to the public, by paying 500,000*l*.

The debt, which was to have been liquidated long before the time at which he was speaking, had constantly increased. It was impossible there could be a grosser case. In addition to this, the committee had to consider the declaration of all the directors, excepting one, that the wars of the marquis Wellesley were the cause of their embarrassments—that he had acted in violation of their laws, and had introduced into India a system of complete despotism. What subject could be more grave and urgent than this? The whole causes of the disappointments experienced for such a long series of years; even the utility of the system of controul might be called in question, as well as the conduct of all those connected with it. There might also appear some reason to conclude that the conduct of the directors themselves ought to be arraigned, and yet the committee, selected to inquire into all these transactions, were the very persons whose conduct might be called in question, as connected with these transactions, and they were thus to sit in judgment on themselves and their system. (*Hear! hear!*)

There never was such a mockery of inquiry before. The person who proposed the committee, and those of whom it was to be composed, was himself at the head of the board of controul, and nearly connected with its founder; and, therefore, it was to be presumed, that none of the committee could be so uncivil as open the lip against that system, or deny its utility. And though the marquis could not be in that committee, yet care was taken to place his connections there; and the honourable baronet (Sir John Anstruther), who was the friend of the marquis Wellesley, and had been intimately connected with his system, in his capacity of chief judge of Bengal, was to be the chairman of this committee!

Would the honourable and learned gentleman say a word upon the despotic system of the marquis Wellesley? But then it might be said, that two of the directors were there. These directors

were, however, suing the committee for money, something in the manner of paupers, and they were, out of doors, suing the honourable gentleman (Mr. Dundas) for a renewal of their charter. It was not probable, under these circumstances, that they would be very obstinate in their objection, to whatever policy the honourable gentleman should approve. But it might be said again, how could we get information on these subjects, unless the committee was composed of such as were most conversant with these matters. The best way to come at information was by the examination of records and of witnesses. Those persons most capable of giving information might be examined by impartial, though unlearned persons, and much more good would result. As a confirmation of this he mentioned the result of the labour of the unlearned committee of Mr. Burke, which, by the examination of witnesses and records, had produced a report abounding in information. The information given in by lord Melville's committee was not so profound and ample; but the reports of both were admirable, when compared with the miserable production of last year by these knowing gentlemen. He blamed the committee also for not producing the document for which he had moved last year. It was the very worst committee that could be appointed, if the object was to give accurate information to the public. The great object of Bonaparte was to get to India; and he had already attempted to pave the way to that object. He had been successful at the court of Persia; and if he could reach our Indian possessions, he could not have two better allies than the embarrassment of the finances, and the alienation of the natives. (*Hear, hear!*) A committee of this kind was calculated to preclude, and not to elicit information, and therefore he protested against the proposition.

Sir Arthur Wellesley thought it rather an odd way for selecting a committee, to fix upon those persons, who were ignorant of the business to come before that committee to the ex-



clusion of those who were informed of the subject. The hon. gentleman had objected to him (Sir Arthur Wellesley) in a pointed, he might almost say in a personal manner, but he appealed to that honourable gentleman as to the line of conduct pursued by him in the course of the proceedings of the late committee. He begged leave to observe, that it could not be owing to any material difference as to the sincerity of his views with respect to East India politics, for he (Sir Arthur) had divided with that honourable gentleman on a question of no trifling importance that had been before that committee, and he did assure that honourable gentleman, that of this he might be sure, that whenever the conduct of his noble relation came before that committee, the fullest and the most rigid inquiry into that conduct should at all times have his most cordial support. Indeed, he never should shrink from not only inquiry into that, but in all that either respected his noble relation, himself, or the marquis of Cornwallis, even from the time of the year 1782. That our East India settlements had been most considerably extended, he did not think to constitute in itself a serious accusation, but he was fully prepared to prove to the committee, whenever they would go into it, that the extension of our dominions had not been owing, as it had been presumed, to any aggression on our part; neither had they been undertaken with any view of ambitious aggrandisement. Whether and how far they were to be followed up, would be a question of a very different nature. It was certain, that war was in no country so expensive as in the East Indies. Since the peace of the Deccan, concluded by him in the year 1803, there had not been in that province the slightest symptom of a tendency to hostilities.—With respect to the exposition, he thought that every paper relating to it ought to be produced. He wished the exposition to have fair play, and it should be the intention of the committee to give the details of all matters of exposition. He could only say, with respect to the propriety of his own ap-

pointment, that if the house should think proper to add his name to that committee, he would never oppose any question with respect to India, and he would, in every respect, discharge his duty with impartiality, and to the best of his abilities.

Mr. Croomey, in explanation, denied that he had made any personal objections whatever to the gallant general; his objection was generally to those filling official situations.

Lord A. Hamilton regretted that it was so often his misfortune to differ from gentlemen in that house upon the subject of East India affairs. He did think that the oppressions arising from the abuses of power by Bonaparte, were not greater nor more unjustifiable than those practiced by the British government in India, and there had been a time when those opinions were more generally maintained, and more openly avowed, than they now certainly were. He was, therefore, at all times anxious for inquiry the most strict, which, to be so, ought to be the most impartial. He had no personal objection to any hon. member of that committee, but he was sure that any member being personally unobjectionable, was not, therefore, a sufficient reason why he might not be objectionable on the score of partiality.

Mr. William Smith was satisfied that there was nothing personal meant in the objection taken by his hon. friend, to the propriety of admitting the hon. general to a place in the committee. The objection referred to official capacity only, and he did think the objection in this point well grounded. With respect to precedent, as alluded to by the hon. general, he was one of those who thought that forty precedents together could never sanction error. So far was he from thinking that the precedent of appointing informed persons should only be adhered to, that he thought that the house, in nominating persons to this committee, should rather look for impartiality with the means of obtaining information, than partiality, however fully possessed of that information, for in his experience he never met with many free from bias. He did not mean



improper or corrupt bias, but that tendency to decide according to one's wishes; in the case of a common jury, it was surely a matter of recommendation, that they were wholly ignorant of the merits of any case they were called upon to try. But if the persons to try in the present instance were not only acquainted with the circumstances of the question, but were parties in it, it was vain to say, that such persons could be competent judges. Here, then, the objection of his honourable friend lay; it was not to the individual, but to the situation which that individual had been in; and so far had he thought this principle objectionable, that it had always been his opinion, an opinion from the open avowal of which he had never shrunk, that the great mixture of the officers of the crown with the members of that house, had a tendency to prejudice the character, by improperly influencing the decisions of parliament. This had been at all times his opinion; at the same time, that he was aware of the suggestion, that it was perfectly possible to let the officers of the crown have seats without votes.

Mr. *Wilderforce* said, he was not present at the commencement of the debate, but as he had a personal interest in the question (he being one of the members proposed for that committee), he did wish to say one or two words. He dissented altogether from his honourable friend who had just sat down, as to the principle that would, in its application, tend to the exclusion of the servants of the crown from a share in the debates and decisions of that house; in every tribunal it was not to be doubted that impartiality was not only a desirable, but an indispensable, qualification; but he would not go so far as to assent that due information upon any question to be tried was inconsistent with impartiality. How would such a principle, carried to such an extent, apply to the officers who conducted in that house the business of the country? Were they to be driven from the privilege of defending in public whatever measures for the general good they had devised in private? Were they to be forced

to leave to others to explain what they themselves best understood? and was it the most gracious way to encourage and assist their exertions to exclude them from the common privileges of the government, because they had upon themselves the arduous responsibility of governing?—He could not pass over the observations of his honourable friend in silence; but with respect to the committee, he thought it an advantage that it should not be deprived of those gentlemen, whose information must be of such service in the course of its inquiries: as far as respected himself, he unaffectedly assured the house, that he did wish to decline being a member of that committee.—He was afraid he could not possibly devote to it as much attention as he wished, and he should be glad that the name of some other gentleman was substituted in place of his own.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that the honourable gentleman had begun by informing the house, that he had not been present at the beginning of the debate—that he had not, was pretty manifest from the tenor of his speech—there was in that speech internal evidence that the honourable gentleman did not hear what had gone before.—But with respect to the principle laid down by the honourable gentleman, in reference to public men, he had the misfortune widely to differ from that honourable gentleman. He protested against the principle of confidence in public men, and contended that the constitutional principle was *distrust*—distrust in all public men, be they who they may. He differed farther from the honourable gentleman as to the importance of information on the part of those who were to inquire; information was seldom unaccompanied with bias either to the one side or the other, and even if it were not, he doubted the great advantages imputed to it. They had in their recollection three committees—two of them, with respect to their previous ignorance of the matter into which they were to examine, might be denominated the unlearned committee. The unlearned committee had done their duty, while they had had as yet but one report



from the learned committee.—He had heard the speech of the gallant general, but he had heard nothing to do away the objection that officially existed against his appointment. The honourable general had told the house that he could prove such and such matters in the committee—that he could prove the justice of his noble relative's administration in the east—that he could prove also the justification of the measures of the marquis Cornwallis—why, this was all very well in any other character, but not for the man who was to commence an unbiassed inquiry. Let the honourable general go before the committee, and give in his depositions as a witness, but let him not assume to himself the character of an unprejudiced judge in matters which he has prejudged already; in short, he was of opinion, that the honourable general had disqualified himself by his own speech. But the honourable general was not the only person objectionable. Was the situation of war-secretary such a sinecure, as that the noble lord could be spared from that department to attend to the business of this committee? could the right honourable the chancellor of the Exchequer quit his official situation, as the honourable general had quitted the chief secretaryship for Ireland, to discharge the very important duties of a member of this committee? and as for the directors, and the members of the board of controul, he rather thought that they should be examined against each other as witnesses, than be suffered to preside as judges. The prophecies of Sir Philip Francis were fully verified, a man who not only possessed information and integrity, but, what was equally important, was independent of office. He did not think that the son of a noble lord who had established the board of controul, and who was in other respects so interested in India affairs, or that the brother of a noble marquis, whose administration was thought by some to be so hostile to the interests of great Britain in India, were the fittest persons to be appointed members of this committee. He disapproved also of Sir John An-

struther being a member of it, upon no other ground, than that the mind of that gentleman was already made up upon the subject, and this, he thought, in itself amounted to a disqualification.

Mr. Fuller thought the inquiry at present unavailable, it was little matter now who was in the wrong, or who was in the right; they had, however, taken much better care of themselves in the east, than others had done in the West Indies; these proceedings had been carried to a rigour that materially affected private property.

Mr. W. Smith reminded his honourable friend, that no question relative to the West Indies was then before the house.

Mr. Fuller did not think he had deviated into any strained comparison. He would not, however, persist in it, but certainly East India interests were better represented in that house than those of the west.

Mr. P. Moore supported the proposition of his honourable friend. From a long acquaintance with India, there was no man more conversant with its interests. It was known to the house that he had taken the opportunity of exposing the various means by which men attempted to undermine the radical interests of India, by no other wish but to support their own views of patronage and of immediate advantage.

Mr. George Johnstone did not see the force of the objection. He considered the general interests of India the paramount question. The motion for the appointment of the committee was then carried.

The motion of Mr. Creevey, for an exposition of an East India report, was, after a great degree of solicitude and discussion, negatived.

## EAST INDIA TRADE.

*Tuesday, June 6th.*

Mr. Prindergast called the attention of the house to the state of the East India Private trade, and contended that private merchants were very hardly treated by the directors of the company, who made these indivi-



duals keep pace with the prodigality with which the trade of the company was carried on. He further contended, that the directors had not fulfilled certain engagements which they had come under, to give facility to the private trade. To prove this, he moved for several papers of various dates, from 1797. to the present time, consisting of Calcutta gazettes; memorials to the directors; letters of marquis Wellesley; lord Melville; &c. &c.

Mr. *C. Grant* affirmed, that every attention had been paid by the directors to the interest of the private merchant that was consistent with the privileges of the company. But the truth was, that nothing could satisfy these gentlemen short of having the trade thrown completely open. He had no objection whatever to the production of the papers.

Mr. *Creevey* observed, that the mercantile transactions of the company would come to be considered when the East India committee, to which these papers had been referred, presented its report. But he thought the honourable gentleman who introduced the subject, might have said something as to the political evils connected with India, such as the seizing of kingdoms, &c. In his opinion it was preposterous, after the conduct of marquis Wellesley had been so pointedly condemned by the directors, that no measures had been taken to prevent future governments from following a similar course.

Mr. *Dundas* said, that the house had decided on the conduct of lord Wellesley.

Mr. *Wallace* thought the papers ought not to be granted.

After some observations from Mr. *P. Moore*,

The Speaker stated an objection to the motion in point of form. It was therefore withdrawn for the present.

### TRADE TO INDIA.

*Friday, June 9th.*

Mr. *Prendergast* observed upon what had been said by an honourable gentleman on a former night, as to

the facility with which he would refute his (Mr. *Prendergast's*) assertions as being frivolous and erroneous. He (Mr. *Prendergast*) said, that now from documents he was prepared to prove the direct contrary of the honourable gentleman's insinuations. As on the evening of his notice he had entered fully on the subject, he should not now trouble the House farther than by applying his statements to the facts. The memorial which the honourable gentleman (Mr. *Grant*) on a former evening alluded to, he had never seen but from the advertisements at different periods, with regard to the amount of tonnage on import and export freight to India. He did possess documents sufficient to support the statements he had already made. The great ground of complaint made by the merchants in India, against the directors, was the application of the extra ships in the trade, to destinations foreign from the purpose of the Act by which they were appointed. Even those dismantled ships, which were forced upon them, were not forth-coming, and under the circumstances of thus having spared tonnage in their hands, they loaded on the regular ships without specific agreement, but under the conception that the freight should be the same as promulgated by the advertisements of the different seasons. He had before applied to this conduct the terms of injustice and oppression; to these he would now add fraud, committed under the circumstance of possessing power to carry their will into effect. The honourable gentleman here enumerated the different changes of the different seasons from 1803 to 1807, and asserted, that in India treble the amount had been taken of the prices charged in London. The documents which he thus stated from he thought necessary to refer to for the purpose of relieving himself from the imputation of an erroneous statement on a former evening. An honourable gentleman had been pleased to say, that on this occasion his conduct was unjust; he would now retort that expression on the honourable gentle-



man, who, without sufficient information on the subject, so incautiously hazarded that opinion. Under this explanation he should move, "That the copy of a memorial of the court of directors for East India affairs to the lords of the treasury, dated 3d May, 1797, together with the four appendices accompanying that document, presented before the house on the 5th June, 1801, be printed."

Mr. Dundas was surprised that the honourable gentleman, understanding as he did that no opposition was intended to his motion, went such considerable length into it. Without deciding whether the system enacted in 1793, was the best that could have been adopted, he contended that the documents at present called for would not be sufficient to enable parliament to decide on the question. It must be taken in all the bearings in which it could affect the commercial interests of the country. As it was impossible that the discussion could take place in the present session, he thought it hard that the conduct of a respectable body of men, such as the directors of the East India company, should be so severely censured, at a time when they could not have the opportunity of immediately defending themselves by the necessary documents, which were so voluminous that they could not be produced in the present session.

Mr. Wallace contended, that after the explanation which had been given of the conduct of the directors of the East India company by the chairman, on a recent evening, the inference of the honourable gentleman, that the East India company has been guilty of injustice and oppression, must appear to be wholly unfounded.

Mr. Grant observed, that a committee was then sitting on the subject, the consideration of which had formed the principal part of the honourable gentleman's speech. He repeated, at considerable length, his former statements in defence of the conduct of the company on the occasion alluded to.

Mr. Howarth justified the increase of freight. It could not be expected

that extraordinary facilities should be given to private traders, at the expence of the company. The cure for the evil would be, to allow the merchants to import their goods in their own ships: subject however to the control and inspection of the company's officers. He was persuaded, that if the trade was thrown open, the whole produce of the Indies would be brought into the river Thames. He condemned some military innovations which he understood had taken place in India; such as the introduction of king's officers into native battalions, and the drafting men from regiments to form a crack corps or guard of the president.

Mr. Tulas disclaimed any official information of such practices: none such had been transmitted from the court of directors to government.

Sir H. Montgomery corroborated the statement of the member who spoke last but one.

The several motions of Mr. Prendergrast were granted.

Mr. Prendergrast also moved for a copy of the oath taken by the directors, and the rules and bye-laws relating to private trade.

Mr. Grant went into a long statement of his commercial concerns in India, and the particular circumstances connected with it, under which he became a member of the court of directors.

After a few words from Mr. Dundas, and from Prendergrast in reply, the first motion was withdrawn, as was also the second, which the chancellor of the exchequer wished to negative if it was to be considered as put, on its being admitted that the question had only been put upon the first, and that it was in the option of the honourable member, whether he would wish the second to be put also.

June 20.

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

Mr. Croxey wished to know, whether the papers, relating to the East India affairs, for which he had moved on a former night, could be produced to the house in the present session.



Mr. Dundas replied, that it would be absolutely impossible to do so.

#### EAST INDIA CADETS.

Sir T. Taiton, pursuant to notice, rose, and after dwelling for a considerable time on the injustice and inhumanity of recalling from their situations those young men who may be ignorant of the undue means by which they were acquired, concluded by moving the following resolutions:—  
 “That this house did not concur with the report of its committee, appointed to investigate into the abuses of East India patronage, in that part which stated, that, in consequence of information before them, it would be immediately necessary to recal certain persons, who, by undue means, had obtained their appointments, and declare them incapable of holding, hereafter, any situation in the same; and that the house considers such a measure one of extreme severity, as directed against persons either innocent or ignorant of the offence, and that it is repugnant to British justice, and the common rights of humanity.”

Mr. Dundas did not think the court of directors were influenced totally by the report from this house, however inclined they may be to respect and attend to any communications it may make. They had acted under the resolution of 1806, not 1799, as the honourable baronet had stated, as he could prove by their advertisement of 1806, that the proper and sufficient notification of consequences which would attend an offence against their resolution had been fully made. He did not see any other measure by which the directors could effect the prevention of such practices better than by the present one. The board of directors exercised only that discretion which, as far as related to removing their officers when they found necessary, they were possessed of. But the resolution of the honourable baronet, if adopted, would, in fact, be a mandate for them not to exercise their own free will. He should negative this resolution, and concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. Banks wished, in the strongest terms, to impress on the house, the absolute power which, in their own concerns, was vested in the India directors. He considered the proposition of the honourable baronet nugatory, and that he would do much better by moving the repeal of the act which was made on this head.

Mr. Windham said, that the virtue of some gentlemen was so outrageous, that it put him in mind of an opinion on female virtue, in a certain county, “that the nation could not thrive unless a certain description of women were burnt alive” (*a laugh*). On such occasions, the house had already interposed, and it ought now, in order to take off the effect of such a disgraceful measure. It may be argued, on the strength of an anecdote which he remembered, that if this measure of recal, &c. were adopted, it would prevent the crime. The anecdote was, that a Prussian soldier having his hat blown off while in the ranks, was, by the rigid discipline of the service, chastised severely, whether it was occasioned by accident or not; however, fewer hats tell off afterwards (*a laugh*). He did not think that would, however, warrant such a measure as the present, for which he saw no necessity.

Mr. Wallace thought the resolution of the directors one which they had, with consistency, and a regard to the efficiency of their acts, found necessary to adopt. Though he felt much for the unpleasant situation of the young men, yet he felt much more for that of the company. The arguments of the honourable gentleman opposite, in extenuation, would go the length of justifying the sale of all offices.

Mr. Stephen warmly supported the motion of the honourable baronet.

Mr. Grant observed, that the practice which it was by this measure intended to suppress, had a tendency to overthrow the concerns of the East India establishment altogether, and consequently he should accede to any mode of preventing it. The question was now before a court of proprietors,



and he did not think it right for the house to interpose.

Mr. *Freemantle* supported the motion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* conceived, that if this resolution was adopted, the question would not be left in that unprejudiced state which was, on all hands, allowed to be desirable. It was impossible the honourable baronet could have any other intention than that of prejudicing it when he framed that resolution. If adopted, the house should go farther than giving to the directors a mere opinion; they should tell them to exclude from their books the resolution which they had found necessary to adopt, and, in fact, the house should make bye-laws for them. If the house should refuse to give their accord or dissent to this measure, it would be much better, and less prejudiced.

Sir *S. Romilly* was surprised to hear austere sentiments of justice from the opposite side of the house. They should recollect what they had done in the case of a secretary of state, for whom they conceived there may be a *locus penitentiæ*; and also the indulgence given to *Peachum Hill*, though proved to receive bribes, before they would proceed to adopt such a measure of severity, as the recal of young men, over whom the shield had not been thrown.

The *Attorney General* believed, that the arguments of his honourable and learned friend were made use of for the purpose of introducing his closing reflection (*Hear, hear!*). The power of the directors was admitted on all hands; as to execute what they considered advantageous to their concerns. But would not this resolution convey an intimation to the directors, that they should act from the impulse of their own sentiments? Upon the

whole, this resolution would go farther, perhaps, than was even intended by the honourable mover.

Mr. *P. Moore* defended the motion, conceiving that the matter ought not to go any farther, which it would do, without parliamentary interference. Nothing could be more unjust than to visit the sins of the father upon the children, which would unquestionably be the case, if the severe resolution of the court of directors should be persisted in.

Mr. *Lushington* supported the previous question. An interference with the directors of the East India company, such as that now proposed, was, in his opinion, by no means justifiable.

Mr. *Hutchinson* argued, that if the house negatived the proposition of the honourable baronet, they would act in direct opposition to the tendency of their conduct during the whole of the present session. He gave the motion his decided support.

Mr. *H. Smith* maintained the expediency of coming to the previous question on the motion before the house.

Mr. *N. Vansittart* hoped the court of directors would reconsider their determination to recal the persons alluded to.

Mr. *H. Thornton* expressed his opinion, that the proposed resolution was unnecessary. From what had been stated by the honourable chairman of the court of directors, it appeared, that it was not intended to enforce their determination with the severity supposed by the honourable baronet.

Sir *T. Turtton* made an animated reply to the arguments which had been urged against his motion.

The house then divided,

For the previous question. . . . 77

Against it. . . . . 35

Majority. . 42







# STATE PAPERS

FOR 1809.

*On the table of the House of Commons.*

No. I.

## PAPERS RELATING TO EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

*Copies of Letters from the Governor in Council at Fort St. George, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company;—in the MILITARY DEPARTMENT; dated the 29th and 31st January, and 3d and 28th February, 1809:—With their several Enclosures.*

Fort St. George—Military Department.  
No. 1. GENERAL LETTER, 29th  
January 1809.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

YOUR honourable court have been already informed that Lieutenant-general Hay Macdowall had intimated his intention of resigning the command of the army of this presidency, and of proceeding to England.

2.—Lieutenant-general Macdowall having addressed to us a letter, explaining the circumstances which have led to his resignation, we have the honour to forward a copy of that letter to your honourable court.

3.—It would not be consistent with our duty to discuss in this dispatch the question, whether it may be advisable, or otherwise, that the commander-in-chief at Fort St. George should have a seat in council; but we can have no hesitation in stating, that we consider the sentiments expressed by lieutenant-general Macdowall, relative to the nature of the duties of the commander-in-chief, to be erroneous; and above all, we must consider the supposition of the commander-in-chief, being viewed in the light of a "representative" of the army, to be unconstitutional and radically inconsistent with the established principles of the British government in this country.

4.—We shall not deem it necessary to submit any explanation on the other points adverted to in a letter of the commander-in-chief, unless your honourable court should require farther explanation.

5.—We are concerned to bring under the attention of your honourable court, a circumstance which has occasioned considerable embarrassment to this government, and extreme injury to the established order of the public service.

6.—Your honourable court are aware that one of the most essential objects of reduction, which was effected on the late revision of the

military expenditure of this presidency, was the discontinuance of the Tent contract; a measure calculated to effect a great public saving, and to give an increased degree of efficiency to the department of camp equipage.

7.—On reference to the papers which were brought under the attention of your honourable court with the letter of this government, dated on 21st October, 1807, you will have perceived that the discontinuance of the tent contract was founded on a suggestion of the quarter-master-general, who having been called upon in a confidential communication from the late commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, for his sentiments, stated his opinion regarding the operation of the tent contract in a very intelligent and able report. This paper was laid by the late commander-in-chief before the government, in a minute, dated 30th June 1807; and Sir John Cradock at the same time expressed his entire concurrence in the conclusions drawn by the quarter-master-general, stating that they were "the result of their joint reflection upon the subject."

8.—The proposed measure of annulling the tent contract having been fully considered by this government, was approved and recommended to the supreme government, who, after expressing entire concurrence in the opinion which had been stated, desired that the measure should be carried into effect.

9.—The orders for the abolition of the tent contract were published in the month of May last, and the system of supplying the camp equipage of the army, under the direction of the officers of the Government, has been accordingly carried into effect. In proportion, however, as the improved system has been beneficial for the public interests, it has been adverse to the interests of individual officers, as the advantage, derived by the officers commanding Native corps under the operation of the contract, were considerable; and the effect has been, that, aided by collateral circumstances, the adoption of the improved system has excited in the army of



this presidency a great degree of clamour.

10.—We have stated the circumstances under which the suggestion on this subject was submitted by the quarter-master-general of the army, and this officer having been in consequence chosen as the object of obloquy, certain officers, commanding Native corps proceeded to the extremity of preferring direct charges against him, on the grounds of the opinion which he had stated in his official capacity, and conveyed under the sanction of a confidential communication to the late commander-in-chief.

11.—It is proper to state to your honourable court, that lieutenant-colonel Munro, the quarter-master-general of the army, is an officer of great merit and talents. He has, for a long period of time, filled the principal military staff situations at the presidency; and it is probable that his reports on various subjects of military arrangements will have attracted your observation, from the degree of perspicuity and ability by which they are distinguished. It is on the suggestion of lieutenant-colonel Munro, that a great part of the improvements lately effected in our military establishment have originated, and we are justified in stating to your honourable court, that we consider the services of that officer to have been of the greatest value and importance.

12.—The charges against the quarter-master-general of the army, to which we have adverted, were, we understand, forwarded to the head-quarters of the army, about three months ago; and though we were not uninformed of this fact, we concluded that due means would be taken by the commander-in-chief to suppress such factious proceedings, and we did not doubt that the quarter-master-general would receive the protection which, in common with every public officer who is faithful in the fulfilment of his duty, he had an undoubted right to expect.

13.—In these circumstances we received within these few days, with great surprise, a letter from lieutenant-colonel Munro, stating that he had been ordered in arrest by the commander-in-chief on the ground of the charges in question, and calling our attention to the extraordinary situation in which he was placed by this measure, and to the probable effect which it would have by bringing under trial the public measures of the government. The letter of lieutenant-colonel Munro contains so forcible and true an appeal, regarding the general consequence of the measure, that we request your particular reference to that paper.

14.—We thought it proper, on receiving the above representation, to make known to the commander-in-chief the painful feelings which the event had excited. It was suggested in the most earnest manner for his consideration, that the act on which it appeared that the charges preferred against lieutenant-colonel Munro, had been founded, was now the act of the government, having been ap-

proved and adopted in the most public and formal manner. We were, therefore, called upon to state, that we could never give our concurrence to the exposure of a public officer to obloquy and degradation, for opinions expressed by him in the fulfilment of his public duty, approved and confirmed as those opinions had been by every competent authority.

15.—It was stated to the commander-in-chief, that we had looked in vain for any just cause of complaint, that it might be possible, by any construction, to attach to the opinions conveyed in the report of the quarter-master-general, and that this consideration must add to the weight of public obligation imposed on this government, to give its firmest support to an officer against whom no other charge was apparently imputable, than that arising from the faithful and conscientious performance of his public trust.

16.—It being impossible that the conduct, of lieutenant-colonel Munro could be submitted to the cognizance of a court-martial, on the charges which had been preferred, without involving a discussion and trial of the public measures of the late commander-in-chief of the government of Fort St. George, as also of the supreme government; we had a right to have expected a previous communication from the commander-in-chief on this important question; and could not but deeply feel the sentiments derogatory to the character and authority of the government, which had been expressed by the commander-in-chief in a part of the papers connected with the measure under consideration. The commander-in-chief was however informed, that we were disposed to waive all considerations of that nature, and our views being solely directed to the means best calculated to preserve the foundations of public confidence and of public authority, our communication was limited to an earnest recommendation, that lieutenant-colonel Munro should be released from the arrest to which he had been subjected.

17.—We had, previously to addressing the above letter to the commander-in-chief, required the opinion of the advocate general, as to the validity which could be considered to be attached to charges preferred under the circumstances which we have stated, and the course which it might be competent to the government to adopt. We desired the advocate general to communicate with lieutenant-colonel Leith, the judge advocate general, on the question.

18.—The report of the advocate general was clear and conclusive. He stated, that lieutenant-colonel Munro had been bound, by every legal tie and public obligation, to advise the question on which his opinion had been required, according to his conscience, and the best of his judgment; that if the advisers of any public authority were



to be amenable to the individuals affected. By the advice given, no man could do his public duty with safety; that the opinion given by the quarter-master general, had been entirely founded on general reasoning, and had no reference to any individual character; and finally, that lieutenant-colonel Munro was entitled to the decided support and protection of the authorities under which he acted, to prevent his being brought to trial on the charges preferred against him.

19.—The advocate general concludes his report by stating, that he had no doubt of the right of the government to interpose its authority, if necessary, by discharging lieutenant-colonel Munro from arrest, or by adopting such other measures as the exigency of the case might require.

20.—The advocate general, with the concurrence of the judge advocate general, laid before us a copy of a letter which lieutenant-colonel Leith had addressed to the adjutant-general, when called upon at the desire of the commander-in-chief to state his opinion regarding the charges which had been adduced. The question was discussed in that paper with great knowledge and ability, and in a manner impressive of conviction, as to the accuracy of the grounds on which the conclusions drawn by lieutenant-col. Leith were founded. The result of these conclusions was, that the charges were of an illegal nature, and that it would be unjust and improper that the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Munro should be submitted to the cognizance of a court-martial.

21.—We confess that we entertained considerable surprise, that the commander-in-chief should, after so clear and decided an opinion had been stated by his principal legal adviser, have resorted to the extreme measure of ordering the quarter-master-general under arrest. Having however conveyed to the commander-in-chief the explanation of our sentiments, in the manner in which we have stated, fortified as that explanation was by the strongest legal authorities, we could entertain no doubt of a compliance with our recommendation for the removal of the arrest, a recommendation founded on the clearest principles of public order and justice.

22.—In this expectation however we were disappointed, the commander-in-chief having refused to release lieutenant-colonel Munro from arrest, and having even stated his intention of ordering an additional charge to be preferred against that officer, on the ground of his having submitted an appeal to the government, without which appeal, it is proper to observe, that we should have had no authentic information of the circumstances of the case, until the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and with it the proceedings and orders of the government, had been brought before a military tribunal for decision.

23.—We could not also but feel, that the

whole of this proceeding was extremely aggravated, by the circumstance of the commander-in-chief having withheld all acknowledgment for the very offensive expressions used towards the government, in a letter addressed by the commander-in-chief to the quarter-master general, and which formed one of the documents submitted, with the reference of that officer.

24.—We know not what measure it might have been our duty to have adopted under such circumstances. But after mature consideration, we determined to make known to the commander-in-chief, that we considered the terms of our recommendation, regarding the removal of the arrest, to be equivalent to an order, and we requested to be informed if it was the commander-in-chief's intention to decline a compliance with the requisition under that explanation.

25.—This led to a farther letter from the commander-in-chief, in which he expressed himself prepared to conform to an order for the removal of the arrest; but he protested against the measure, on the grounds stated in the letter to which we refer.

26.—In the view which we have explained of this case, we could not hesitate to enforce the authority, which we considered ourselves to have been legally entitled to exercise, under circumstances of such extraordinary emergency, and we accordingly directed that lieutenant-colonel Munro should be released from his arrest.

27.—We should not in ordinary circumstances have adopted a measure of this nature, but we are satisfied that a more fatal shock to the public authority could not have been experienced, than in permitting the charges which had been preferred by the commander-in-chief against lieutenant-colonel Munro to be brought under the investigation of a court-martial. This measure would have involved in its immediate effect, under circumstances of the most offensive nature, the degradation of the public acts and character of the government, the annihilation of all confidence on the part of its public officers, and the utter confusion of the departments under its authority.

28.—With regard to the individual merits of the question, the circumstance of permitting a meritorious officer to be brought to trial for the correct and able performance of a duty imposed on him by his superior, must have been repugnant to every feeling of honour, and every principle of justice. Being satisfied that every praise, and not censurage, was due to lieutenant-colonel Munro, that officer had an unquestionable right to look for protection against the act of injury to which he had become exposed, in the zealous and honourable execution of the duties of his station.

29.—We should exhaust the patience of your honourable court, in stating the lengthened arguments which occurred on this important question; but in referring



you to our records, we are satisfied that farther comment from us cannot be necessary. We lament the necessity which has occurred for our interference with the ordinary exercise of the powers of the commander-in-chief, but we have no doubt that the urgency of the case must, in the judgment of your honourable court, amply justify the measure.

30.—We have the honour to acquaint you, that since the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro from arrest, the commander-in-chief has forwarded a memorial which had been addressed to your honourable court by several officers of the army, regarding the discontinuance of the tent contract. It appears from that memorial, that the officers who had preferred the charge against the quarter-master general of the army, had, in consequence of the declared sentiments of the judge advocate general, regarding their illegality, requested that the commander-in-chief would suspend the prosecution of them, and in addition to the numerous objections which we have stated against that measure, it appears, according to our conception of the case, that this fact should have been decisive, as to utter inexpediency of adopting it.

31.—As we consider it essential to the discipline and good order of the army, that this question should not be farther agitated, we informed the commander-in-chief, that the subject having been disposed of by the orders which had been issued regarding the arrest, the transmission of the memorial would be objectionable and improper, and it was accordingly returned.

32.—We are under the necessity of drawing your attention to a farther memorial, which has been addressed to your honourable court, by a considerable number of the officers of the company's army on this establishment, on the subject of the military allowances, and laid before us by lieutenant-general Macdowall, with a strong recommendation conveyed in a letter, to which we refer you.

33.—It is proper to acquaint you, that some months ago our president was informed, that a proposed address to the supreme government was in circulation at several of the military stations under this presidency, in which an application was stated, that the allowances of the officers of the army should be put on the same footing as those of the officers in Bengal. As measures would, in the present state of the finances of the company, be attended with effects of the most injurious nature, as there appeared no good ground for the proposed application, and as the circumstance of an address of that nature being circulated to the army was in the highest degree unparliamentary and improper, our president expressed these sentiments in a private letter to the commander-in-chief, who made corresponding communication to the officers commanding the principal military stations, (in a private

form) requiring them to adopt the most effectual measures for stopping such proceedings.

34.—These communications took place in the month of May and June last; but it appears, that though the mode of application has been varied, the object of the original address has not been abandoned. We confess, at the same time, that we know not how to reconcile the circumstances attending the present address, with the orders which were circulated by the commander-in-chief, for prohibiting addresses of that nature. It is manifest that there has been, according to our judgment, a failure of duty; and, though we are not at present prepared to state where the culpability is imputable, we trust that farther investigation will establish the fact.

35.—In the mean time, we have informed the commander-in-chief, that it is impossible that we should not view the sentiments stated in the memorial with extreme disapprobation; and we have declined to transmit it to your honourable court, in a subsequent form, until we shall have received the sentiments of the supreme government regarding it, as it is, in our opinion, proper that a document of that kind should be brought under the attention of the governor-general in council.

36.—A copy of the memorial, without the signatures, has been recorded for your information. Your honourable court must be well aware that all reductions were in their nature unpopular, and it was impossible that those, which were lately ordered at this presidency, could be carried into effect without creating a certain degree of dissatisfaction. Under such circumstances persons in an extensive community, and still more in an extensive army, will never be wanting in promoting and in supporting applications of the nature now before you; but when there is reason to be satisfied, that there is no just cause for such remonstrances, it becomes the duty of the principal authority to repress groundless clamour.

37.—With regard to the particular nature of the supposed grievances stated in the memorial, we consider any observations to be at present superfluous. It is proper, however, to note, that the additional allowances granted to the principal officers of the army, as a compensation for the late reductions, have not been adverted to.

38.—We request your reference to the letters addressed by the commander-in-chief to this government, on certain points connected with the duties attached to the station of the commander-in-chief. We observe, with concern, that the commander-in-chief has conveyed his sentiments in terms unusual in public correspondence, and of disrespect to the authority of the government. But we consider it our duty to abstain, as far as possible, from controversial discussion of this nature: and we trust, that our desire to evince every possible respect for the station of the commander-in-chief will be sufficiently



apparent; such correspondence has not failed to be extremely irksome; but we have no desire to dwell longer on the subject.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

W. PETRIE.

T. OAKES.

J. H. CASAMAJOR.

Fort St. George,  
29th January, 1809.

Fort St. George—Mil. Depart.

No. 2.—GENERAL LETTER, 31st  
January, 1809.

To the honourable the court of directors, for affairs of the honourable the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

1.—We had the honour of conveying to your honourable court, in our letter of the 29th inst. an explanation on different points connected with the proceedings of lieutenant-general Macdowall, previously to his embarkation for England.

2.—We particularly stated the circumstances which had occurred on the subject of the measure adopted by lieutenant-general Macdowall, of placing the quarter-master-general of the army under arrest, and the necessity which was imposed upon us of removing the arrest, by the direct authority of government.

3.—We were willing to hope that the question was entirely closed, but it having come to our knowledge that lieutenant-general Macdowall did, at the time of his embarkation, leave for publication to the army of this presidency, a general order, on the above subject, grossly offensive, and this order having been circulated to the army, it has become our indispensable duty to vindicate the authority of government in a signal manner. We trust that your honourable court will be sensible, on reference to the papers laid before you, that it was our earnest wish to observe the greatest moderation towards the late commander-in-chief, though the tenor of lieutenant-general Macdowall's communications and general conduct had been, on several occasions, highly exceptionable; but the general order in question is of so injurious a nature, that we should be wanting in the execution of our duty, if we were longer to postpone the public declaration of our sentiments on the subject.

4.—Lieutenant-general Macdowall in a letter addressed to this government on the 15th instant, stated his intention of resigning the command of the army; but he, at the same time, intimated his intention of retaining the command until the period of his embarkation for England. The actual resignation of lieutenant-general Macdowall has not yet been received, and we conclude that it may be his intention to forward his resignation from Negapatam, where the Indiamen will touch

for the purpose of disembarking the troops destined for that place, or from Ceylon. Whatever may be the intention of lieutenant-general Macdowall, we have considered it to be our duty to anticipate the fulfilment of it, by publicly removing him from the command of the army of this presidency.

5.—We have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the general order, which we have published on this occasion, together with a copy of the general order of the late commander-in-chief, which we have directed to be expunged from the records of this army.

6.—Being solicitous to convey this information to your honourable court by the earliest opportunity, we have dispatched this letter in the expectation of its overtaking the fleet at Columbo; and we shall refrain from a more detailed explanation of our sentiments, trusting that the facts before your honourable court will evince, that from the alternative to which we were reduced, the measures which have been adopted were unavoidable.

7.—The conduct of the deputy-adjutant-general of the army having been in the highest degree improper, in giving currency to the offensive order of the commander-in-chief in opposition to his bounden duty to the government, we have directed that the deputy-adjutant-general shall be suspended from the service of the company.

8.—However much we may lament the necessity of resorting to measures of a severe nature, we consider the calls of public duty to be superior to this consideration, as it is only by such measures that the late inflammatory proceedings can be counteracted.

9.—Major-general Francis Gowar, being senior officer on this establishment, we have appointed him to the temporary command of the army.

We have, &c.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

W. PETRIE.

T. OAKES.

J. H. CASAMAJOR.

Fort St. George,  
31st January 1809.

Fort St. George—Military Department.

No. 3.—GENERAL LETTER,  
3d February, 1809.

To the honourable the court of directors for affairs of the honourable the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

PARA. 1.—In our separate letter to your honourable court, of the 1st instant, we informed you of the grounds on which it had become our duty to remove lieutenant-general Hay Macdowall from the station of Commander-in-chief of this presidency, and to suspend the deputy adjutant-general from the service of the Company.

2.—We inform you, with concern, that we have been compelled to adopt the same



measures with regard to the adjutant-general, and we enclose, for your information, the copy of the general order which we have published on the occasion.

3.—We conclude that there cannot be a difference of opinion, as to the dangerous tendency of the general order published under the authority of the late commander-in-chief, under date the 28th ult.; and it is a fact established on the clearest principles of reason and of law, that persons are responsible for the consequences attending the execution of illegal and improper acts, whatever the sanction may have been under which such persons may have acted. It being our wish that this letter should be conveyed to your honourable court by the fleet about to sail from Ceylon, the pressure of time will not admit of our going into any detailed argument on this subject; but we are willing to hope that the proposition is sufficiently obvious to render detailed discussion unnecessary.

4.—The circumstances connected with the publication of the late offensive general order, can leave little room to doubt, that the measure was of a premeditated nature, and the officers, concerned in the circulation of such a paper, are deeply responsible for an act, involving in its obvious tendency the annihilation of all respect for public authority, and the excitement of the most dangerous spirit in the army of this presidency. The duty, which the adjutant general owes to the government, is paramount to any obligation which can be attached to his station as an officer acting under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, and no order which he might have received from the commander-in-chief, could justify the adjutant general in the direct and open violation of the superior duty which he, in common with all other officers, owes to the power from whence his appointment was derived, and which it was his bounden obligation to have served with fidelity.

If the order of the commander-in-chief should once be received in justification of acts, however criminal, there must be an end of subordination and military discipline, and an end of public safety.

5.—Of the legal responsibility of the adjutant general there cannot, we believe, be any doubt; and as that officer has shewn a disposition very opposite from contrition for the offensive proceeding, the responsibility attached to his conduct weighs with aggravated pressure. We have therefore had no alternative but to adopt the measure which we have reported, as that alone by which, after the recent occurrences, it was possible that the public authority could, under the flagrant injury which it had experienced, be maintained. We felt extreme regret in pursuing a course of proceeding so adverse to

our own wishes, but we have considered the calls of public duty to be superior to those of personal feelings:

We have, &c.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW,  
W. PETRIE,  
T. OAKES,

Fort St. George,  
3d February, 1809.

### ENCLOSURES.

No. 4.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief; 15th January, 1809:—with an enclosure.

The hon. sir George Barlow, bart. K. B. president in council, Fort St. George.

Sir,—Impelled by a laudable ambition, which had long led me to aspire to the chief command of the brave and respectable army under this establishment, I viewed my appointment to that high office as the happiest event of my life, concluding that I should succeed to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by my predecessors; the decision however of the court of directors has placed me in so extraordinary, so unexampled, and so humiliating a predicament, that the most painful emotions have been excited, and sixteen months experience has convinced me, that it is impossible to remain with any prospect of performing my duty with credit to the East India company, of acquiring for myself any reputation, or for doing justice to those over whom I am called to preside, divested of the power of selecting for commands, by the restriction of military patronage, or of requiring the meritorious officer: deprived of the respectability which in this country attaches to a seat in council, and abridged in the usual emoluments of office, it is inconsistent with the character I have ever endeavoured to maintain, to hold an appointment of such magnitude, and responsibility thus degraded; I have therefore the honour, honourable Sir, to request that I may be permitted to resign my commission of commander-in-chief, and to proceed to Europe by the present opportunity.

Interring that the plan, for the exclusion of the commander-in-chief from council, must have been framed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the possibility of any argument of mine producing an alteration of sentiment in the promoters of it, I decline touching on the subject, nor will I condescend to make any reference to those who have premeditatedly injured me, and who have, without a conciliating expression or any explanation whatsoever, severely wounded the feelings of an officer, who has served them with zeal and fidelity (a short interval excepted) for seven-and-twenty years.

In adverting once more to patronage, it is



not possible to view, without the deepest regret, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to the commander-in-chief all the invidious duties of his station, without the means of softening them to the army by acts of favour or kindness immediately from him self; and I may be permitted to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be clear and urgent, which calls for the extinction or abridgement of any of those rights, which the army through its material representative possess, or which can justify me in admitting that an experiment is necessary to ascertain with how small a portion of power and influence the military duties under this government may be exercised.

It will not be deemed surprising, if I justly dread the high displeasure of my sovereign were I not to depart, when the intention of the court of directors has become obvious, and without compromising the dignity of the profession, by adhering rigidly to a point of honour, my prospects in life may be materially affected, but I am resolved that my name shall not be branded with the reproach of having been the first general officer who retained a situation, after all hope of a restoration of its former distinction had expired.

Notwithstanding these observations, and my determination to quit India, should you, honourable Sir, be of opinion, that my personal services in the field are required to carry into execution any measures of energy and vigour, I shall consider it an imperative duty to abandon every private feeling, and to submit to your judgment, should my exertions be deemed of importance; at the same time implicitly relying, that your honourable board will sanction my departure when the cause of my detention may be removed.

I beg, however, that it may be distinctly understood, that this is not meant as courtting an invitation to stay; I have been offered an indignity, and my pride and sensibility would compel me to retire, even were the sacrifice greater; for I cannot tamely submit to see the exalted station disgraced in my person, nor can I be answerable to the army if I do not resist so uncommon a deviation, which deprives it of a representative in council.

The accompanying copy of a letter from his excellency lieutenant-general Hewitt, will inform you, honourable Sir, of his acquiescence to my application for one year's leave of absence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL,  
Madras, Licut.-general.  
15th January, 1809.

His excellency lieutenant-general Hay  
Macdowall, &c. &c.

Sir,—In compliance with your request, as stated in your letter of the 6th past, I have the honour to acquaint you, that, as far as

my power extends, I am ready to concur in your relinquishing the command you now hold in India, and returning to Europe by the most convenient opportunity; but I conceive, that, although had you not accepted the command, I might have been competent to authorize your return to England, yet that the regular channel of resignation for a commander-in-chief must be through the governor and Council of the presidency to which he belongs, and should any doubt arise with them, I conclude it will be referred to this government, when it will meet the support of, Sir,

Your most obedient,  
and humble servant,  
(Signed) G. HEWITT.

Calcutta, 5th December, 1808.

No. 5.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 19th January, 1809.

To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief

Sir,—We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 15th instant, and we beg to express to your excellency our concurrence in the intention which you have intimated to us of proceeding to Europe; as we are not aware that any public cause of the nature to which your excellency has alluded, is likely to oppose the accomplishment of your excellency's wishes.

We shall have the honour of submitting a copy of your excellency's letter for the information of the honourable court of directors, and the supreme government.

We have the honour to add, that, in consequence of the appointment of major-general Fuller to the staff in Bengal, we have thought it proper to direct if a major-general Gowdie shall proceed without delay to the presidency.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servants,  
(Signed) G. H. BARTON.  
W. PATRICK.

Fort St. George, T. OAKES  
9th January, 1809. J. H. CASSAMAJOR.

No. 6.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 10th January 1809.

George Mathan, Esq. chief secretary.

Sir,—I am favoured with your letter of the 15th instant, informing me of the arrangements intended by government for preparing a force to act in the southern provinces, and eventually in Travancore.

The exclusion of the commander-in-chief from council has thrown the military details under this presidency into a channel which I cannot believe was ever intended, and the whole operations of the army are often carried into effect without his advice being asked, or his concurrence obtained.

Whatever may be the object of the honourable the governor in council for the



approaching campaign, the plans for penetrating the hostile province, or whether it is to be a war of conquest, or of desolation and extermination, has been concealed from me, and I find myself reduced to the painful dilemma of being simply the executive staff officer of the president in council.

The purpose for which Major Blacker is to be sent to the southern division I have yet to learn. This officer possesses talent and activity; but from the superior local knowledge, with equal zeal and abilities, of Captain S. Macdowall, and from his intimate personal acquaintance with the Dewan and others connected with the government, I certainly should in preference have selected him.

I beg leave to lay a letter from that officer before the honourable the governor in council; and I have to request that the subject may be reconsidered, being clearly of opinion, in a selection of this nature from the general staff, that it should be left entirely to my judgment.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
Madras, (Signed) HAY MACDOWALL.  
16th January 1809.

No. 7.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 18th January, 1809.

To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

SIR,—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 16th instant.

The governor in council is not aware of the particular circumstances to which it may be your excellency's intention to refer on the subject of the recent equipment against Travancore, as it was his anxious endeavour that every care should be taken to inform your excellency fully, with regard to the causes which have imposed upon the government the unavoidable necessity of resorting to that measure, and with regard to the views connected with the prosecution of the intended service. The governor in council was also willing to hope that he had evinced his anxious desire to take the earliest opportunity of communicating with your excellency on the present as on all other occasions connected with the military arrangements of this presidency.

In regard to the terms in which it has pleased your excellency to convey your sentiments on this question, the governor in council will refrain from all comment, as it could not be otherwise than painful at this late period to enter into discussions of that nature.

On the subject of the letter of Captain Macdowall, I am directed to the state, that the governor in council considers the communication which that officer has presumed to address to your excellency, to be of a

nature so disrespectful and offensive, that it will become the duty of the governor in council to consider whether it may be proper that Captain Macdowall should be permitted to remain in his present station.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Fort St. George, Chief Sec. to Gov.  
18th January, 1809.

No. 8.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 20th January, 1809.

George Buchan, Esq. chief secretary to government.

SIR,—Be pleased to inform the honourable governor in council that I have deemed it expedient to place lieutenant colonel Munro, quarter master general of the army, under arrest; and I deem it proper that government should be made acquainted with the circumstance; that should the honourable the president be still inclined to detach Major Blacker on a secret mission to the southward, notwithstanding the non-concurrence of lieutenant-general Macdowall, I have an opportunity of recommending a person to transact the business of the office.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL.  
Madras.  
20th January 1809.

No. 9.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 21st January 1809.

To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

SIR,—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 20th instant.

Your excellency having judged it expedient to adopt the measure of placing the quarter-master general of the army under arrest, it is probable that the absence of Major Blacker from the presidency might be attended with inconvenience. The governor in council had no intention of employing Major Blacker on any mission of a secret nature, as stated in your excellency's letter; and as inconvenience would, at this period, be liable to arise from detaching that officer the intention will be of course relinquished.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant.  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN  
Chief Sec. to Gov.

Fort St. George,  
21st January, 1809.

No. 10.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 19th January, 1809.

\*.—This and the subsequent numbers, are letters from general Macdowall, and



chief sec. to government, relative to the military equipment against Travancore.

**No. 12.**—Copy of a letter from the quarter-master-general of the army. 22d January, 1809.—With five enclosures.

To the chief secretary of government.

Sir,

The near dispatch of the ships has induced me to express a request, that you will be pleased to submit to the consideration of government the accompanying copy of a letter to the chief secretary of government, which I have forwarded this day through the channel of his excellency the commander in chief.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J MUNRO.

Gr. Mr. Genl.

Fort St. George.  
22d January, 1809.

To the chief secretary of government.

Sir,

I have been directed by the late commander-in-chief to prepare a report on the system for the preparation of the camp equipment of the native troops by contract. I entered into an examination of that subject, and submitted to Sir John Cradock a paper containing the result of the consideration which I bestowed on it. That report received the unqualified approbation of the late commander-in-chief, who, in laying it before government, stated, that it was written in obedience to his orders, and might be considered as the combined result of his own reflection. The report having been referred by the governor lord William Bentinck, to the examination of some officers of talent and experience, met with their concurrence, and although his lordship was disposed to ascertain a favourable opinion of the contract system he was convinced, by the reasonings stated in the report, of the erroneous nature of that system, and the expediency of repealing it. At the period of time when the report was approved by lord William Bentinck, the removal of his Lordship from India fell in on the hands of his successor, and as it corresponded with Mr. Petrie's sentiments, it was forwarded to Bengal; it received the approbation of the supreme government, and was finally carried into execution under the present government.

It appears, that soon after the publication of the orders for the abolition of the contract, a plan was formed by some officers commanding native corps of preferring charges against me on the foundation of my report; and these charges actually arrived at head-quarters about three months ago. They were sent by the commander in chief to the judge advocate general, and that

officer, having entered into an extensive consideration of the subject, stated in decided terms the illegality of the charges, and the absence of all grounds of proceeding upon them. The commander-in-chief was pleased to shew me the charges, and the report of the judge advocate general, and I pressed upon his excellency's attention the expediency of bringing the question to an early decision, and of submitting it to the honourable the governor in council, as it was essentially connected with the arrangement and the authority of the government; the commander-in-chief did not express a decided intention, but the tendency of his opinions appeared to be, that I should be tried by a general court martial, but after repeated solicitations he stated, that as the judge advocate general had exhibited only one side of the question he judged it expedient to refer it to the opinion of Mr. Marsh. Having renewed my application for a decision of the question, I was informed the day before yesterday by the commander in-chief, that it was his intention to leave the whole matter to the consideration of his successor, and in about an hour after I received this assurance, the deputy adjutant general delivered to me a letter and message from the commander in chief, directing me to consider myself placed under an arrest upon the charge which I have mentioned. I forward to you a copy of these charges, of the letter delivered to me by the deputy adjutant general, of my reply and of an answer which I have received from the commander in chief, and in which his excellency has been pleased to state some of the reasons by which his conduct has been actuated.

The want of time disables me from stating the considerations connected with this subject, which it is my earnest desire to submit to the judgment of the honourable the governor in council. The report upon which the commander in chief, at the instance of some officers of the army, has placed me in arrest, was written by the special orders of the late commander in chief, was approved of by him, and declared in his minute, which accompanied it, to be the result of his own reflection and mine; and it has been acted upon by the supreme and local governments. It is superfluous for me to state the deep injury which will inevitably be sustained by the discipline of the service, if a public staff officer shall be made responsible to a party of officers for an official report, written in the strict execution of his duty, and approved by all the authorities under which he acts. If such a course of proceeding shall be followed, no staff officer can ever venture to execute his duty with integrity and zeal to point out abuses or discover frauds: for the circumstances of being liable to the disgrace of an arrest and



trial for the discharge of public duty, will deter many men from performing it. That proceeding will have the effect of making the army the judges of the propriety of continuing or repealing military regulations. The disadvantage or the tendency to abuse of a system cannot then be pointed out, without insinuations being either stated or understood of a nature unfavourable to the conduct of the persons by whom the system is managed; and if the public officer, who points out that disadvantage, shall be liable to be tried by the persons whose interests are affected by his conduct, it is evident that the army and not the government, will be the judges of military arrangements; that no staff officer will submit to the government a plan displeasing to the army, and that the greatest obstacles will be opposed to the reform of abuses, or the improvement of the service. A staff officer must embrace the alternative of either neglecting his duty or exposing himself to the disgrace of a public trial, at the instance of officers who may expect impunity for their conduct from their numbers, or from the uncertainty to which the event of all trials is subject. If any illustration of these observations should be necessary, the following case may be stated: It may be supposed that I had received the most ample and authentic information of the abuses of the tent contract system, that this information was sufficient to convince my judgment and that of the commander-in-chief, and the government, of the necessity of annulling that system, although, from the information being of a confidential nature, it could not be produced as evidence before a general court-martial. It would have been my positive duty to state, that the tent contract system was replete with abuses, that statement would involve insinuation, hostile to the integrity of the officers by whom the system was managed, and I may ask if I should be liable to the disgrace of a public arrest and trial, for having declared, what every obligation of my public duty demanded, and what circumstances must have prevented me from proving before a court-martial.

But the report contains nothing of a nature injurious to the characters of the officers of the army, it is founded upon the general and immutable principles of human nature, and was not intended to apply to the actual conduct of any class of persons. The object of that report was to expose, on the general principles which constitute the great foundations of public regulation, the fundamental errors of a system which was calculated to disunite the interests from the duty of the army, and not in any respect to advert to the mode in which that system has been executed. The justice of the general grounds which I adopted was sufficiently confirmed by experience, which had shewn that the contract system produced considerable advantages to

officers commanding corps in garrison, and immense expences in the field. That this system produced unfavourable effects on the military ardour of any part of the army has never been stated, but it was an indispensable obligation of my duty, in officially reporting on the subject, to point out its tendency, under the operation of motives that too often influence human conduct, to produce such effects, of its disadvantage therefore as a permanent regulation. In preparing the report upon the tent contract, nothing was more remote from my mind than to state a sentiment in any respect adverse to the honour, integrity, and military virtue of any portion of the officers of the army: the report was entirely dictated by motives of public duty, and founded upon general grounds; and they who view it in a different light mistake a course of reasoning, from cause to effect, from principles to their probable consequences, for arguments founded upon statements of a description dishonourable to the army. I do not mean by these explanations to disavow any part of the report, as I am still impressed with the strongest conviction of its justness and truth.

If the report had never been submitted to the government, it might have rested with the commander-in-chief to decide on the charges that are founded on it; but as it now forms a part of the records and acts of the government, any proceedings relative to it must necessarily be referred to their authority and decision, considering myself responsible to my superiors only for the official opinions which I may be called upon to state in the execution of my duty; and the opinions which I stated, relative to the tent contract system, having been acted upon by the government, I judged it to be a duty which I owe to myself, to the station which I hold, to the public service, and to the interests of my country, to submit my situation to the consideration of the government, and to appeal to their justice for the support of my public conduct, and the vindication of my character.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. MUNRO.

Fort St. George, 22d January, 1809. Qr. Mast. Gen.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Munro, quartermaster general of the army, placed in arrest by order of the commander-in-chief on the 20th January, 1809. Charged as follows, viz.

#### CHARGE.

We, the undersigned officers, do hereby charge lieutenant-colonel John Munro, quartermaster general of the army, and captain in the Madras European regiment, with conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in the following instance, viz.:

For having, in his proposed plan for the abolition of the tent contract, lately held by



officers commanding Native corps, made use of false and infamous insinuations, thereby tending to injure our characters as officers, and otherwise injurious to our reputations as gentlemen.

(Signed) C. Rumley, lieutenant-colonel commanding 5th regt. cavalry; A. St. Leger, lieutenant-col. commanding 6th regt. cavalry; P. H. Vesey, lieutenant-colonel commanding 2d bat. 6th regt.; J. Knowles, captain commanding 1st bat. 3d regt.; Robt. Munro, Major, 2d bat. 20th regt.; Andrew McDowell, Major 15th regt.; H. J. Smith, captain commanding 2d bat. 14th regt.; P. Richardson, major commanding 2d bat. 2d regt.; G. Long, major 1st bat. 19th regt.; Chas. Lucas, captain commanding 2d bat. 3d regt.; J. Durand, lieutenant-colonel commanding 2d bat. 8th regt.; G. Martin, lieutenant-colonel commanding 1st bat. 15th regt.; W. Oock, lieutenant-colonel commanding 1st bat. 8th regt.; John De Morgan, 1st bat. 9th regt.; J. P. Keashberry, captain commanding 2d bat. 9th regt.; J. Lindsey, captain commanding 2d bat. 2d regt.; J. M. Vernon, major commanding 2d bat. 12th regt.; T. Whitley, major commanding 2d bat. 10th regt.; Alex. Muirhead, major commanding 2d bat. 18th regt.; G. Neal, major commanding 1st regt. Native cavalry; H. Fraser, major commanding 2nd bat. 5th regt.; M. Stuart, major commanding 2d bat. 17th regt. C. Deacon, major commanding 1st bat. 16th regt.; C. Farran, captain commanding 2d bat. 21st regt.; R. Fletcher, lieutenant-colonel commanding 1st bat. 12th regt.; G. M. Gibson, captain commanding 1st bat. 10th regt.; J. Dunn, lieutenant-colonel commanding 8th regt. cavalry; A. Floyer, lieutenant-colonel commanding 3d regt. cavalry.

Countersigned, By order of lieutenant general Macdowall, commander-in-chief,

(Signed) F. CAPPER, Adjt.-gen.

Lieut.-colonel Munro, quarter-master general.

Sir,—Upon a re-perusal of the papers connected with the charges given in against you, by a respectable body of the officers of the army, I have, in addition to what I informed you of this morning, found it necessary to order you to be placed under an arrest, and I shall recommend it to my successor to bring you to trial upon the charges preferred against you, as I find that, in the opinion of the judge advocate general, any court-martial ordered to be assembled by me, could only be confirmed by my own signature. I regret that this subject has not been sooner decided upon, but being desirous of obtaining every opinion, and a recent one of some importance

having only been forwarded to me a few days ago, it was impossible to avoid delay.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HAT MACDOWALL.

Madras, 20th January.

To his excellency lieutenant general Macdowall, &c. &c.

Sir,—I have received the letter and message which your excellency has been pleased to convey to me through the channel of the deputy adjutant general, and I beg leave to inform you that, in obedience to your commands, I consider myself to be placed under an arrest from this date. Having this morning expressed your intention to leave the whole subject of the charges preferred against me to the consideration of your successor, I cannot refrain from stating the sentiments of surprise that have been excited in my mind, at your adopting a step which is in some measure decisive of the question, and must contribute to embarrass the exercise of your successor's discretion, relative to the most advisable means of finally arranging a point, upon which a diversity of opinion has existed. It is far from my wish to express an opinion regarding the nature of the proceedings which you have been pleased to follow, but a sense of public duty induces me to notice the extraordinary spectacle of an officer holding one of the first situations under the government, being placed in arrest by a commander-in-chief, for a report prepared under the special orders of the preceding commander-in-chief, which the latter declared upon record to be the combined result of his own and that officer's reflection, and which has received the entire approbation of this and the supreme government.

Holding an appointment of importance under the government, I have the honour to express a request, that your excellency will be pleased to communicate information to the honourable the governor in council of the measure which you have adopted, in order that arrangements may be made for the conduct of the departments which government have entrusted to my care.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. MUNRO,

Fort St. George,  
29th January, 1809.

To lieutenant-colonel Munro, quarter-master general.

Sir,—Actuated but by one motive, an earnest desire to do justice to every individual under my command, I had long deliberated on the uncommon and interesting case of the principal officers of an army having given in charges against one of the general staff, I had endeavoured to obtain every information that might guide me in deciding, and if I have erred in judgment I cannot well be accused of rashness. In place of embarrassing my successor by the step I have pur-



used, I have so cleared the path that he cannot go astray. I think you should be tried, and if I had left the papers containing the charge, the several opinions, and the explanations, to the general Gowdie, without putting you under an arrest, I should have left the door open to the possible introduction of undue influence and arbitrary power. The general has only to assemble a court-martial, which he will be enabled to do in a few days, as he is expected immediately here, and if you are acquitted, you will then have an opportunity of bringing forward those who have endeavoured to traduce your character.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL.  
Madras, 21st January, 1899.

No. 13.—Copy of a Letter from the quarter-master-general of the army, 23d January 1899.—With an Enclosure.

To the chief Secretary to government.

Sir,

Concerning that every officer holding a situation under the government, has a right to appeal to their authority on points connected with his public conduct, and involving considerations connected with the authority and the measures of the government, I judged it to be my duty to address a letter to the chief secretary of government through the channel of the commander-in-chief, on the subject of proceedings which have been instituted against me in consequence of an official report, which forms a part of the acts and records of the honourable the governor-in-council. The commander-in-chief having returned that letter, it has become my duty to transmit it to you direct; and in having recourse to this unavoidable measure, I beg leave to declare that I have no intention whatever of manifesting disrespect to the authority of the commander-in-chief; I also transmit a copy of a letter which I have received from the commander-in-chief. If the subject which I now submit to the decision of the government had been purely of a military nature, which the commander-in-chief is pleased to state, I certainly should never have thought of appealing from his decision, but in the inextricable connection of that subject with the arrangements, the authority, and the dignity of the government, I trust that sufficient reasons will be found for the measure which I am now obliged to adopt.

I have, &c. &c.  
(Signed) J. MUNRO,  
Quarter-master-general.

Fort St. George,  
23d January, 1899.  
To Lieutenant-colonel Munro, quarter-master-general.

Sir,

I have received your letter, and a packet addressed to the chief secretary of government, the contents of which I have perused.

As I cannot admit that the honourable the governor-in-council can interfere in a question purely military, and which rests entirely on my own judgment, I cannot submit your remonstrance and appeal, as you are pleased to call it, to the board, without compromising the high situation in which I am placed.

Had I conceived it at all necessary to have resorted to the opinion of government, I could myself have laid the papers before it; but after much reflection I have, I believe, adopted a measure the least objectionable and most likely to produce a perfect elucidation of the case.

I think it will be allowed, that your present attempt to make a reference to a civil government is novel and unexampled, and striking a blow at the root of military authority which cannot be sufficiently reprobated.

I trust that it will not be disputed, that I have the uncontrolled and unalienable right of judging of the conduct of every officer under my command, and I cannot but view your present application as extremely indelicate and disrespectful.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,  
HAY MACDOWALL.

Madras,  
23d January, 1899.

No. 14.—Copy of a Letter to the advocate-general, 23d January 1899.

To the Advocate General.

Sir,

Par. 1.—I am directed by the honourable the governor-in-council, to transmit to you the enclosed papers, which have been submitted to the governor-in-council by the quarter-master-general of the army.

2.—As it appears, from the statement of that officer, that the charge preferred against him has been founded on proceedings which obtained the most formal sanction of the government of Fort St. George and of the supreme government, it is the desire of the governor-in-council, that you will state, with the least possible delay, your opinion respecting the degree of validity which a charge of that nature may be considered to possess, and the measures which it may be competent to the government to adopt under the circumstances of the case.

3.—The several previous papers connected with the subject, are transmitted for your perusal.

4.—The governor-in-council being desirous that a full consideration should be given to this question, it is his desire that you will communicate on the subject with the Judge advocate-general, to whom a copy of this letter has been forwarded.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN.  
Chief secretary to Government.

Fort St. George,  
23d January 1899.



No. 15.—Copy of a letter to the Judge-advocate-general, 23d January, 1809.  
To the Judge-advocate-general.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the governor-in-council to transmit, for your information and guidance, the enclosed copy of a letter of this date to the advocate-general.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) G. STRACHEY,  
Secretary to government.

Fort St. George,  
3d January, 1809.

No. 16.—Copy of a letter from the advocate-general, 24th January, 1809.—  
With two enclosures.

To the Chief secretary to government.

Sir,

Fort St. George.

I have received your letter, dated the 23d instant, referring to my consideration the papers submitted to government by the quartermaster-general, and desiring my opinion respecting the validity of the charges preferred against him, and respecting the measures competent to be adopted by government upon the case. I have, according to the command of the honourable the governor-in-council, communicated with the Judge-advocate-general upon the subject to which your letter relates.

That officer, in addition to the papers furnished to me with your letter, has delivered to me his opinion, dated 7th November last, upon the same subject, which I now enclose, and have no hesitation in declaring my perfect coincidence in the result of his very able and accurate investigation of the subject. He has furnished me with a copy of Sir John Cradock's minute, upon the subject of the paper against which the charges preferred against colonel Munro are aimed. I am clearly of opinion, that the paper in question does not contain any matter which can be the proper subject of the charges now preferred against him.

When an individual thinks proper to come forward as the adviser and informer of the public authorities, he is bound at his peril to know and to be able to prove that he is well founded in his statements, where other individuals may be hurt by his suggestions. But colonel Munro was placed in a situation, in which he was bound to advise the commander-in-chief as to the state of the army, to deliver his sentiments, such as they were, and from such sources as he might have opportunity of forming them, liable like all men to be misinformed or to err in his conclusions; if he had been called upon to state his opinions as to the conduct or character of any individual of the army, he was bound freely, fully, and conscientiously to do so, and was entitled to protection in it, however hard that opinion might bear upon the individual. The regular and authorized adviser of the public authori-

ties, becomes identified with the authorities which consult him. He is answerable to them and to those superiors to whom they are answerable, but not to the persons whom those authorities have to controul, and against whom it may have been his duty to advise. I perfectly accede to the proposition of colonel Munro, that if the advisers of any public authority were to be amenable to the individuals affected by the advice given, no man could do his public duty with safety. But the paper complained of appears, and has already been shewn, from the report of the Judge-advocate-general, not to contain even a charge against any individual officer or body of officers, but is merely a general statement of the situation of the army, with general reasoning upon it, in which the commander-in-chief and the government fully acquiesced; indeed, by the extract furnished me of the minute of the late commander-in-chief, it is evident that the statements and arguments used in that paper, the result of the joint experience as well as of the joint reflection of the commander-in-chief and colonel Munro, these suggestions having been adopted in practice by the highest authority are now its acts.

I am clearly of opinion, that the charges founded upon that paper of colonel Munro, at the instance of the officers affected by it, ought not to be sustained, and that colonel Munro is entitled to the decided support and protection of the authorities under which he acted, to prevent his being brought to trial upon those charges, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that the superior authorities are entitled to vindicate their acts from being questioned by those under their controul, in the shape of a trial of the advice under which those acts have proceeded.

The report of the Judge-advocate-general shews, in a very strong manner, the effect which such a trial might be expected to produce upon the discipline and subordination of the army.

From his information I am confirmed in supposing, that in ordinary cases the more regular course of correcting an embarrassment would be through the intervention of the commander-in-chief, by signifying to him the opinion and intention of government; but he agrees with me in opinion, that if in any particular case a necessity should arise (of which government are the only judges) to exert their indisputable supreme authority directly and immediately, it is perfectly competent for them so to do, by discharging any officer from arrest, or such other measures as the exigency of the occasion may require.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servt.

(Signed) A. ANSTRUTHER,  
Advocate-general.

Madras, 24th January, 1809.

[Here follows the opinion of the judge-advocate, but as the result is the same with that of the advocate-general, it would seem superfluous to insert it.]



Minute of the commander-in-chief.

I have the honour to lay before the government the copy of a letter addressed some time ago to the quarter-master-general of the army, which, connected with various conversations I have had with lieutenant-colonel Munro on the subject of the existing regulations respecting the supply of camp equipage, has produced the annexed reply and very able statement from that officer.

It would be superfluous in me to urge at any length the validity of the arguments set forth in the quarter-master-general's report, as I may say they convey the result of our joint reflection upon the subject, and are the issue of that experience which arises from our respective stations.

I feel strongly persuaded that if the system proposed take effect, under such improvements as the wisdom of the council may suggest, the greatest benefit will ensue, and that economy and military propriety will be equally secured. The former principle, I conceive, will go to a much greater extent than exhibited as with a design to prevent the chance of error or extraordinary latitude of expense, was admitted.

I should not act fairly with government did I not apprise the council, that I imagine the plan submitted will be viewed in a very unfavourable light by the commanding officers of regiments, for reasons too obvious to require remark; and as the supposed injury will fall upon that class of officers, whom the peculiar and local circumstances of this country place in a situation that really demands adventitious support and every alleviation of expense, I am most anxious that the government should consider their case, and while they are about to derive an excessive saving at the "alleged" expense of those officers who could only reimburse themselves for the past charges of war by the advantages of peace in the existing contract, extend to them a reasonable compensation, that will not only have the effect of an apparent act of justice, but in its operation invite officers of rank to residence with their corps, and turn their attention to regimental command.

Under this impression I submit to government the plan as detailed in the quarter-master-general's letter, accompanied by a statement of the expense of allowing a superior batta to lieutenant-colonel's actually commanding corps and stations, an arrangement not new in principle, but only an extension of the one existing.

The recent abolition of the Bazar fund, a source of new and extreme profit to the state, taken away from the commanding officers of stations, by the aid of which, the required hospitality throughout this extensive country, that affords no accommodation to the traveller or assistance to the

sick officer, or various wants not to be described, seems to plead the cause of officers commanding stations with a resistless force; for the same demand upon their feelings and generosity remain undiminished, and their means have suffered a deep alteration.

(Signed) J. F. ЧАПОВЪ,  
Lieutenant-General.

No. 17.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 24th January, 1809.

To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

Sir,—Par. 1—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, by desire of the honourable the governor in council, that the quarter-master-general of the army has laid before the governor in council, a representation of the circumstances under which your excellency has adopted the determination of placing that officer in arrest.

2.—The governor in council directs me to state to your excellency, that this event has excited in his mind the most painful feelings. It is impossible at the moment of the dispatch of the fleet for England, to go into a minute explanation of all the considerations connected with it; but I am directed to suggest, in the most earnest manner, for your excellency's consideration, that the act on which it appears that the charge preferred against lieutenant-colonel Munro has been founded, is now the act of the government, having been approved and adopted in the most public and formal manner, both by the government of Fort St. George, and by the supreme government. The governor in council is called upon therefore to state, he can never give his concurrence to the exposure of a public officer to obloquy and degradation, for opinions which he may have expressed in the fulfilment of his public duty, approved and confirmed as these opinions have been by every competent authority.

3.—The governor in council is at present unable to discuss the particular grounds of the opinion in question; but he thinks it proper to observe, that he has looked in vain for any just cause of complaint, that it might be possible by any construction to attach to them, and this consideration must add to the weight of public obligation imposed on this government, to give its firmest support to an officer against whom no other charge is apparently imputable, than that arising from the faithful and conscientious performance of his public trust.

4.—As it is impossible that the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Munro can be submitted to the cognizance of a court-martial on the charge now preferred, without involving a discussion and trial of the public measures of the late commander-in-chief, and of the government, the governor in council might have been led to expect a previous communication from your excel-



leacy on this important question; and the governor in council cannot but deeply feel the sentiments which have been expressed by your excellency in some part of the papers now before the government. The governor in council, however, under the pressure of the occasion, waives all considerations of this nature; and his views being solely directed to the means best calculated to preserve the foundations of public confidence and of public authority; I have been commanded most earnestly to recommend to your excellency the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro from his present arrest.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief Sec. to Govt.

Fort St. George,  
24th January, 1809.

No. 18.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 25th January, 1809.

George Buchan, Esq. chief secretary to government

SIR,—I am favoured with your letter of this date, and have the honour to request that I may be favoured with a copy of lieutenant-colonel Munro's appeal to government, which I only cursorily inspected when transmitted to me by that officer; and until I have perused it, I shall take the liberty to defer replying to the dispatch from you, written by the command of the honourable the governor in council.

I am, Sir,  
Your very faithful servant,  
(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL.  
Madras,  
25th January, 1809.

No. 19.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 25th January, 1809.

To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

SIR,  
Par. 1.—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, and have the honour to transmit to your excellency, by desire of the governor in council, the original letter received from lieutenant-colonel Munro.

2.—It being an original paper, it is the request of the governor in council, that your excellency will give directions for its being returned when not further required.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

No. 20.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 24th January, 1809,—with one enclosure.

The honourable Sir George Barlow, Bart.  
K. B. &c. &c.

Sir,—I have the honour to submit for your

perusal a letter which has been forwarded from captain Macdowall, written with a view to relieve him from your displeasure. I sincerely trust it may have the effect.

I have the honour to be,  
Honourable Sir,  
your very obedient, humble servant,  
(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL,  
Lieut.-general.

Madras,  
January 24th, 1809.

To the honourable Sir George Hilario Barlow, Bart. K. B. governor in council, &c. &c.

SIR,—I am concerned to find that a letter which I addressed a few days since to the commander-in-chief, and which his excellency forwarded to government; has been viewed in a light far different from my intention.

Having had no wish but to express myself with most perfect respect, and to obtain the employment on service which I solicited, I can only now request that you will do me the favour to return that letter, and permit me to withdraw it.

I have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect, Sir,  
your most obedient, humble servant,  
(Signed) S. MACDOWALL.  
Asst. adj. ge  
to the army.

Fort St. George,  
14th January, 1809.

No. 21.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 25th January, 1809.

To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

SIR,—The honourable the governor having recorded your letter of the 24th instant, with a letter from captain M'Dowall, I have received the directions of the governor in council to return captain M'Dowall's former letter agreeably to his request.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient, humble servant,  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

Fort St. George,  
25th January, 1809.

No. 22.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 25th January, 1809, with an enclosure.

George Buchan, esq. chief secretary to government.

SIR,—It is not without a mixture of surprise and regret I have perused your letter of yesterday's date, on the subject of the arrest of the quarter-master-general. I was totally unprepared to receive from the honourable the governor in council an implied censure on my conduct as commander-in-chief of this army, and a direct interference from the civil authority with the only prerogative almost remaining in his hands, the power of judging of the propriety of bring-



ing to trial every officer who may be accused of crimes or misdemeanors; such interference, I presume to think, is unprecedented, and strikes me as encouraging a very dangerous example, by holding out to the army protection and support, in defiance of the judgment and authority of the person appointed by the legislature to direct and control the department placed under his immediate charge; it reduces the articles of war to a dead letter, and is destructive of every military principle.

The charges preferred against lieutenant-colonel Munro by a body of respectable officers, after much reflection, I saw no correct method of disposing of but by the measure I have adopted; it is the only legitimate method of affording him an opportunity of vindicating his character; and, in that event, being the result of the deliberations of a court-martial, he will then be enabled to bring his accusers to trial; they are answerable for their acts; and the perseverance with which they adhere to their purpose, has led me to imagine that they consider their proceedings as the best adapted to relieve him from injurious aspersions.

Under this view of the matter, the observations of the honourable the governor in council, in regard to the plans of the quarter-master-general, having been approved of by government, cannot occasion, on my part, any deviation from the line to be pursued, which is strictly military; nor can I evade bringing the question to issue without compromising the honour of the whole army, and, therefore, very sincerely have to lament that I cannot comply with a recommendation so earnestly urged by the honourable the governor in council.

I have further to state, for the information of the honourable the president in council, that I shall direct a charge to be exhibited against lieutenant-colonel Munro, for disrespect to the commander-in-chief, in presuming to address government, it being contrary to established orders, subversive of military discipline, and in opposition to the custom of the service.

To elucidate this subject, I have the honour to request you will submit to the honourable the governor in council, the accompanying extract of a letter from the late revered and lamented marquis Cornwallis.

The warrant which I possess from his majesty, and the commission I hold from the East India company, guide me in the discharge of the important duties attached to my situation, and which vest in me certain rights and powers which I cannot without danger abandon.

Had any other process appeared to me practicable for asserting the difficulties of this disagreeable case, I should have been most happy in having had recourse to the modest means for bringing it to a conclusion; but perhaps the honourable the governor in council is not aware, that if lieutenant-colonel

Munro was released from arrest to-day, he would to-morrow of himself demand a trial; and while his character suffers from the strong imputations against it, a court-martial would be granted to him. It seems to be impossible to avoid a series of court-martials; and my judgment has led me to declare, that the quarter-master-general shall be first tried. This officer endeavours to screen himself by stating that he holds a situation under government, and presumes to deny the authority of the commander-in-chief; but the case is absolutely the reverse, as he is one of the principal staff of the person at the head of the army, and I deny that he can hold any communication but through the channel of his superior.

I have, at the desire of the honourable the president in council, returned lieutenant-colonel Munro's original papers.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your very obedient servant,  
(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL.

Madras,  
January 25th, 1809.

Extract of a letter from earl Cornwallis; dated Fort William, 14th March, 1789. Received in the office of the adjutant-general of the army.

"I trust, if it has not been already done, that the government of Fort St. George will, upon mature deliberation, set the necessity of recalling so indelensible a resolution; and before I conclude this letter, I must express my wish, that it should be recollected by the civil and military department at Madras, that the adjutant-general of the company's troops on that establishment cannot, without the greatest irregularity, unless, as I have already mentioned, the functions of the commander-in-chief should be exercised by the board, have any direct communication with the civil government, he has no independent authority of his own, but is only an executive instrument in the hands of the commander-in-chief, or of the senior officer of the troops, when discharging, as at present, the duties of that officer for circulating his orders to the army, in the manner that he may think proper to direct. All minutes of council or orders of government that relate to the troops, ought to be addressed directly to the commander-in-chief or senior officer, and he alone should be held responsible to government, for the purpose of distribution and effectual execution of them.

(Signed) F. CAPPEL,  
(A true extract.) Adjutant-General."

No. 23.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 27th January, 1809.  
To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

Sir.—Par. 1.—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council, to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the instant, and to express the request of



the governor in council to be informed, whether he is to understand from that communication, that it is your intention to decline a compliance with the orders of the governor in council, on the subject of the release of the quarter-master-general from arrest; as under the explanation conveyed in the letter which I had the honour of addressing to your excellency, by desire of the governor in council, on the 24th instant, the governor in council considered that communication to be equivalent to the expression of his orders on the subject.

2.—The governor in council will be solicitous to receive your excellency's early reply on this point.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief Sec. to Gov.

Fort St. George.  
27th January, 1809.

No. 24.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 27th January, 1809.

George Buchan, esq. chief secretary to government.

Sir.—I am favoured with your letter of this date, and lose not a moment to reply to it.

In my commission from the East India company it is stated, that I am appointed commander-in-chief at the presidency of Fort St. George, subject however to the orders of the government in council; but as in my humble judgment this is meant to imply that such orders should be legal and constitutional, I do not see how I can yield up my military authority without protesting against what I conceive to be an undue interference. This I am compelled to do in my own vindication, and to defend me from the displeasure of my sovereign.

If under this protest the honourable the governor in council is pleased to persist in conveying to me a positive order that lieutenant-colonel Munro shall be released, I must of course submit; by this act the degradation of the commander-in-chief will be completed, and I shall most seriously lament that the honourable the governor in council should have had recourse to so unexampled a measure.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL:  
Madras.

27th Jan. 1809.

No. 25.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-Chief, 27th January, 1809.

To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

Sir, —I am directed by the honourable the governor in council to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of this date, and to convey to you the orders of the go-

vornor in council, that you do forthwith release lieutenant colonel Munro from his arrest.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) G. BUCHAN,  
Chief sec. to govt.

Fort St. George,  
27th January, 1809.

No. 26.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 23d January, 1809,—with memorial from the officer.

George Buchan, esq. chief secretary to government.

Sir,—Placed at the head of an army of near seventy thousand men, commanded by as brave and patriotic a body of officers as ever did honour to the profession of arms, it is a duty I owe them and to the high situation I hold, to do every thing in my power to protect their rights, and to redress their grievances.

The accompanying memorial from the officers composing the Madras army, and addressed to the honourable the court of directors, is so fully expressive of their feelings, and states so temperately their several complaints, that it cannot fail to make a deep impression on the minds of the representatives of the East India company.

While cheerfully performing their duty, amidst the alarm and peril incident to a soldier's life, they have gradually witnessed the annihilation of every emolument that could afford present comfort, or have held out, though at a remote period, a prospect of future competency, and a hope of revisiting their native land; they are now reduced to a bare subsistence, and are doomed to pass their lives in this remote and unwholesome climate, without a chance of ever beholding their families or connections. Such a situation must warmly interest the mind of the humane and liberal, and should their appeal acquire the additional aid of the recommendation of the honourable the president in council, joy will be diffused in every countenance, and success must follow if their cause is espoused by a just and generous government.

I have, &c. &c.  
(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL,  
Lieut.-general.

Madras,  
23d Jan. 1809.

To the honourable the court of directors,  
for the honourable East India company,  
&c. &c.

Honourable Sirs,  
1.—We, the undersigned officers of the honourable company's army on the establishment of Fort St. George, being firmly persuaded that the interests of our honourable masters are inseparable from our own, and impressed with full confidence in the candour



and liberality so eminently the characteristic of the honourable East India company, have come to the resolution of submitting our grievances to the consideration of your honourable court.

2.—The officers of the Madras army feel confident the subject will meet with that favourable attention which its importance dictates, and that our representation will be viewed in the light intended, a respectful but solemn appeal to your feelings as men, and to your justice, prudence, and impartiality, as rulers of a vast empire.

3.—The peculiar nature and constitution of the company's army, so different from that of any other in the world, is in the first place a proper object of consideration. In entering the national service of our country, a British subject may calculate fairly on spending at least a considerable portion of his military life in the enjoyment attendant on a residence in his native land; but such is the constitution of your service, that it is necessary, before a young man can embrace it, that he should have made up his mind to sacrifice, for the present, every tie of kindred and connection, to submit to a long and painful separation, in a climate most ungenial to his constitution, from all that he holds most dear, in the hope that at a future period he may be enabled to return to them, crowned by the hands of honour and virtue, with that competence to which he looks forward as the solace of his troubles, the just reward of his meritorious services. Deprive him of that prospect, what is his profession but slavery? What is his life but a burden?

4.—The service did till lately realize in a great measure these expectations, but the present exhibits a melancholy reverse. The chief sources of emolument hitherto enjoyed by the army no longer exist, thus rendering our prospects most gloomy, as thirty or forty years must now be passed in the service before that rank can be obtained, which will entitle them to reap, in a small degree, the harvest of their toils; of what worth then is such independence, when health, the greatest blessing in life, is flown, and when age prohibits the power of enjoying it?

5.—How few escape the ravages of war and diseases incidental to the climate experience has shewn, but still the prospect of revisiting, at no ordinary length of time, our Native land in comfort cheers us in the dreary path; but if this object is removed or placed at such a distance as to be almost without our reach, hope is destroyed and emulation ceases to exist. Families of respectability will no longer consider your service as a liberal provision for their sons; vacancies must be supplied by such description of persons as offer, and under such circumstances the fate of an army, which at this moment may be classed among the most respectable in the world, is too obviously melan-

choly to be contemplated without regret and alarm.

Among the many instances of reduction in the emolument of the army, we cannot avoid considering the abolition of the bazar allowance, formerly granted to officers in command of divisions and stations, together with the recent orders of government prohibiting full batta to be drawn by the officers commanding small posts and garrisons, as instances of peculiar hardship. In no country perhaps in the world are the duties of hospitality more strictly practised in the general reception and entertainment of travellers, whether they may be personally acquainted or not. Government, in a general order under date the 1st November, 1804, have most honourably and openly admitted this principle in the following paragraph:

"Officers commanding small posts, which from their situation on principal roads necessarily subject them to expenses, which the allowances of their rank is insufficient to support."

6.—To these, from our first entering into the service, we have been taught to look up as our unalienable rights. They have enabled officers exercising commands to support their respectability in the eyes of the Natives, and it may be safely said to have not a little contributed to raise the army to its present state of estimation, by holding forth an adequate encouragement to young men of respectability to enter your service.

7.—We are also impressed with a just sense of the degradation and injury to which we have been exposed, by the mode of selecting officers for general commands. On this peculiar occasion we beg to observe, that it is with serious regret we feel the necessity of bringing to the notice of your honourable court the frequent disregard paid to your honourable court's orders and instructions by the government of Madras, particularly in the instance of retaining the officers of his majesty's service in the command of principal stations, of which their *corps form no part*, and of the appointments of paymasters to be held by military men, neither of which have been carried into effect, and is consequently in direct opposition to your authority. The chief object of the principle lately assumed appears to be the total exclusion of the officers of your army from any situation of trust, responsibility, or emolument, by the transfer of the situations to the officers of his majesty's service.

8.—We are far from wishing to revive any invidious distinctions between the two services, and are fully aware of the wisdom and necessity of that rule of government which leaves to the local authorities in India the selection of officers for military commands, by any restriction with respect to the branches of the army from which the selections are to be made; but when a decided preference is shewn to the officers of his



majesty's service, we cannot but express a just indignation at measures so discordant to our feelings as soldiers, for we cannot admit for one moment the superior right of his majesty's officers to situations of general command in the Indian army, as such admission would alone be grounded upon a recognition of superior claims and superior qualifications on their part, and a renunciation of our own of those advantages which may, without presumption, be supposed to result from the devotion of the chief part of our lives to the service of our country in this quarter of the world.

9.—We feel partial redress on the removing of his majesty's officers from subordinate staff situations lately held by them, and as the justness of such a measure so evidently appeared to your honourable court, as to be adopted by your government, we rely on a further extension of that justness to a removal of the preference shewn to his majesty's officers in selection to commands so galling to the feelings of your officers, and to the lessening them and your service in the estimation of the Native soldiers, which, with the other circumstances combined, has been already too much affected, and though not our province to remark on the causes, and notwithstanding the unhappy tumult appears to have subsided, yet we perceive it a circumstance to give an additional reason for not longer delaying the full expression of our sentiments and feelings, for which we deplore beyond all others the melancholy events which have occurred, and while we deem it a duty, at the hazard of our lives to contribute as far as lies within our power to complete restoration of order, and to the revival of loyalty and attachment in the breasts of the deluded Native soldiery of this establishment, we must state our conscientious belief that every act which has a tendency to affect the rank, the influence, and respectability of the officers in the honourable company's service, must and ever will in its result prove hurtful to the discipline and attachment of the Native army, and consequently injurious to your interests, and to the British government in India.

10.—Excepting in a few instances, an officer has nothing now to look to but his bare pay, nothing remains to reward merit or to excite emulation. We are doomed to toil through many and painful years on an allowance scarcely adequate to our subsistence, until after a period of twenty-two years actual service in India, we have the melancholy alternative of returning home to live in independence and comparative poverty on the pension of our ranks, or of combating with age and infirmities in a clime avowedly hostile to our constitutions.

11.—Did we conceive the finances of our honourable masters were in such a state as to require reductions, which render us poor indeed, but which enrich them, we should

cheerfully acquiesce in such measures; but when we find that nothing of a similar nature is attempted on the other establishments, on the contrary, that the allowances of the Bengal army are superior to our own; we are convinced they cannot have been dictated by sound policy or a just regard to your interests.

12.—It is almost superfluous to press upon the attention of your honourable court the advanced price of every European article of consumption, the enhanced value of the common necessities of life, and increase of wages of all descriptions of domestics so peculiar to this presidency. It seldom happens that, with the most rigid economy, the present pay and allowances meet every reasonable demand in the different ranks of your army.

13.—The next consideration we have the honour to draw the attention of your honourable court to, is the abolition of the tent contract, recently held by officers commanding Native corps, and the consequent destruction of the most active principle of prompt movement with the army. Persons blinded by self-interest, and unaware of the extent and magnitude of the designs they propose to embrace, have presented specious plans of economy to government, which, though they appear fair in the theory, are morally impossible in practice. To cultivate these assertions, it is only necessary to compare the Mysore campaign in 1799, at but a very inconsiderable distance from the presidency, when the public appointments and stores of the army were carried by government and the memorable and eventful wars in which we have so recently been engaged with the confederate Mahratta chieftains, many hundred miles removed from our nearest frontier: the distress and inconvenience experienced on the former occasion were found so great, that the commander-in-chief, (general Harris) was necessitated in general orders to call for the assistance of individuals, and even the sepoy, to convey a part of the public stores.

14.—The active energy and zeal which pervaded the tent department, during our long-protracted and desultory war with the Mahrattas, not only affords incontestible evidence of the fidelity of commanding officers of corps in the execution of their stipulated engagements, and of the attention paid by them to the health and comfort of their men, but forms a striking contrast to the difficulties and embarrassments experienced in a campaign of not six months duration, and within a hundred and fifty miles of our own territories.

15.—The tent contract for Native corps was established on the 19th April, 1802: From that period, as will appear by the honourable Sir Arthur Wellesley's letter to the most noble the governor-general, under date Jafferabad, the 17th January, 1804, many corps employed in the Mahratta campaign



had been in the field, from which some of them did not return till the middle of 1806. The honourable general in his letter dwells strongly upon the loss officers sustained individually in camp equipage and other field equipments: the same arguments to the situation of officers in general, as expressed in the honourable general's letter, and, in consequence of which, they subsequently received six months' gratuity, equally applied to commanding officers; the latter, however, received no extra compensation on account of the heavy damage sustained in the public camp equipage of their corps; the regulations established on the 10th April, 1802, having expressly provided against it. It is but reasonable to infer, that had the commanding officers then in the field conceived that the allowance which they understood to be solemnly guaranteed to them in the public orders of government, was to be discontinued the moment it became a temporary advantage to withdraw it, by the return of the army to quarters, they would have made a respectful application to government to release them from a burden of a present expense, without a prospect of future emolument as an indemnification for immediate loss.

We forbear recurring to every instance in which government have experienced difficulties in conducting the camp equipage of the army. This happened more particularly in 1791, when, at a moment of public distress, the late marquis Cornwallis, trusting to the zeal and ardour for the interests of their employers that have, we believe, eminently distinguished the coast army in every important crisis, entrusted temporarily the conducting the camp equipage to officers commanding Native corps, when he found it impossible to be conducted by government; on this occasion, (as on every other) the officers of the army cheerfully acquiesced in a measure that was productive of advantages to the state.

Since in the instances above mentioned, against the officers commanding corps, as arguments to the government for depriving them of the benefit, guaranteed to them in public orders, most evidently at the moment have lost them the confidence of your government, so destitute of the boasted emulation, zeal, and ardour of your officers, the service has been deeply wounded, they become the grounds of complaint, which so powerfully urge the redress we solicit; thus we, the officers of the Madras army, in one voice, humbly petition your honourable court to grant that we be restored to, and continued in, our former privilege of participating in the profits of the Bazar fund, and that the Madras army be placed permanently on the same allowances with that of Bengal; and in urging this request, we presume we only ask what justice demands, our services entitle us to, and what we shall ever consider as our just rights.

Under the fullest conviction of that generosity of sentiment and confidence in the

wisdom of council, which prevail in the decisions of your honourable court, we cannot but regret, and feelingly lament, the injury which the public service sustains, from the representative of the army, the commander-in-chief, being deprived of the accustomed power, from his exclusion from a seat in council, nor is it without considerable alarm that we foresee, unaided by his council and advice, our dearest interests may be unintentionally sacrificed, and the security of the public safety endangered by measures which, from a defect in military experience, are not with due precision calculated upon, the ill effects resulting from the present system have, in too many instances, been manifest; we, therefore, humbly solicit of your honourable court to take the subject into your most serious consideration, begging to observe, that we look forward with anxious solicitude for your favourable decision on this important occurrence.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity, to respectfully touch on the subject of the off- reckonings, which were said to have been thrown into a general fund, under the plea that the colonels, under the Madras establishment, derived greater advantages from them than that of Bengal; we should, we have to remark, have been ready to allow of the justice and equity of the decision, were it not that the army of Madras are excluded from every advantage enjoyed by our brother officers in other respects on that establishment.

To add weight to our claims, we are not vain enough to enumerate our services, which, without arrogance, may be allowed at least commensurate with that portion of your army, distinguished by more substantial marks of your favour and consideration. We shall forbear drawing a retrospect of occasions which called forth an unanimous voice of approbation, it is enough that we have accomplished what the wisdom of our government dictated, it is enough for us that we have extended your dominions, and secured your power, and it is enough in our praise that we have done our duty, and are always ready to follow where it points the way.

Be assured, honourable Sir, that our loyalty to your cause is unshaken, but we feel it a duty we owe to ourselves to state what we conceive real grievances, that we may not appear tacitly to acquiesce in our degradation; and persuaded that our claims are founded in justice, we look forward with confidence to the contemplation of our wishes at no distant period; in the meantime we await the opportunity of displaying to the world (as we have done on all former occasions) that in zeal and ardour for your cause and the cause of our country, the officers of the Madras army yield to none.

(True copies.)

(Signed) J. H. PRICE,

Sec. to govt.

Fort St. George establishment,  
January, 1809.



No. 27.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 28th January, 1809.  
To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

SIR,—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council, to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of the 29d instant, and of the memorial therewith submitted.

The governor in council directs me to state, that it is impossible he should not view, with extreme disapprobation, the sentiments expressed in that paper; the subject will be brought under the notice of the honourable court of directors; but from the nature of it, the governor in council will consider it proper to postpone any final orders regarding the disposal of the paper in question, until it shall have been laid before the right honourable the governor-general in council.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) G BUCHAN,

Chief sec. to govt.

Fort St. George,  
28th January, 1809.

No. 28.—Copy of a letter from the commander-in-chief, 28th January, 1809.

George Buchan, Esq. chief secretary.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward to you, for the purpose of being laid before the honourable the president in council, a memorial from almost the whole of the officers in command of the Native corps under this establishment, which they request may be transmitted to the honourable the court of directors.

I beg leave to state, that I had not seen this memorial at the time I directed lieutenant-colonel Munro to be placed under an arrest, upon charges preferred against him by the officers.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) HAY MACDOWALL,

Lieut.-gen.

Madras,  
28th January, 1809.

No. 29.—Copy of a letter to the commander-in-chief, 28th January, 1809.  
To lieutenant-general Macdowall, commander-in-chief.

SIR,—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council, to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's letter of this date, and to acquaint you, that under the orders recently passed on the subject of the charge preferred against the quarter-master-general of the army, the governor in council considers the tenor of the memorial, transmitted with your excellency's letter, to be objectionable and improper to be submitted to the honourable court of directors. I have accordingly

the honour to return the memorial by desire of the governor in council.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) G. BUCHAN,

Chief sec. to govt.

Fort St. George,  
28th January, 1809.

Military department.—GENERAL LETTER, 28th February, 1808, with three enclosures.

To the honourable court of directors for affairs of the honourable the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies.

Honourable Sirs,

We have the honour to transmit to your honourable court, by the present opportunity, copies of our dispatches in this department, dated 29th and 31st ultimo, and 2d instant.

2.—Those dispatches will inform you of the measures which we deemed it our duty to adopt, with regard to the late commander-in-chief at this presidency, and with regard to the adjutant-general and deputy adjutant-general of the army.

3.—In addition to the papers referred to in the above dispatches, we submit, for your information, the copy of a further report laid before us by the judge-advocate-general, in which that officer has reviewed with ability and judgment the grounds of proceedings adopted by this government. The report commences from the period of the charges which were preferred against the quarter-master-general, and the points which it particularly discusses are, the illegal nature of those charges; the decided right of the quarter-master-general to immunity from all personal responsibility, for the opinions which he had stated in the fulfilment of his public duty; the legal and clear right of the government to interpose its authority in checking the proceedings of the late commander-in-chief, and in liberating the quarter-master-general from arrest; the outrage offered by the late commander-in-chief to the civil authority, in publishing the general order which led to his removal from the command of the army; and the reprehensible and illegal conduct of the adjutant-general and deputy adjutant-general of the army, in giving currency to an inflammatory paper of that description.

4.—We have thought it proper to state in this place, an outline of the tenor of the report of the judge-advocate-general; but from the chain of reasoning which it conveys, grounded on a series of legal authorities, it is necessary to refer you to the paper in question for a correct view of the case.

5.—With regard to the course which we observed towards the late commander-in-chief, we believe that the reasons already stated to your honourable court in explanation of our measures, will be deemed conclusive, and that your honourable court will be satisfied, that it was only by measures of signal severity



and example that we could hope to maintain the public authority, under the evils to which it was exposed by such wanton and unprovoked aggressions, as, whatever may have been the intention of their author, were in their nature calculated to excite a universal spirit of insubordination and mutiny in the army, and to place the military in direct opposition to the civil power.

6.—We consider the same observations to apply to the officers of the adjutant-general's office. The judge-advocate-general has fully discussed the legal responsibility of those officers, and the course which it would have been competent and proper for them to have followed, if they had been actuated by a correct sense of their public duty.

7.—In promoting the currency of the inflammatory order of the late commander-in-chief, those officers had committed an act of great enormity; but it was remote from our desire to punish wantonly, and we had no wish but to preserve the foundations of public order. We were, therefore, fully prepared to have received any acknowledgment, which either or both of the officers in question might have made as an atonement for their conduct.

8.—If the act by which they had, to the extent of their means, injured and insulted the authority of the government, had proceeded from any imperfect conception of their duty, as to their obligation to execute an order in itself unconstitutional and illegal, or if they had entertained a desire to repair the injury, the course was open and obvious. But the course which was adopted was, in every respect, the reverse of the mode of proceeding which the public duty of those officers imperiously required. The language which was held was very different from that of acknowledgment and atonement, and the conduct which was observed was calculated to inflame to a higher degree, and not to allay, a ferment already too much excited.

9.—In these circumstances the adjutant-general of the army, and his deputy, became in all respects parties to the dangerous proceedings of the late commander-in-chief, and the same powerful reasons which prompted our measures with regard to the late commander-in-chief, compelled us to extend the punishment to the officers of his staff who shared in his offences.

10.—In adopting those and the other measures which we have reported to your honourable court, we have discharged, according to the best of our judgment and conscience, the sacred duty which we owed to the company and to our country. We are satisfied that those measures were essential to the support of the authority of the government; and though the difficulties with which they have been attended, have been of no ordinary nature, we rely with confidence in the justice, wisdom, and firmness of your honourable court, for that sanction of our proceedings which must be essential to render them effectual and

of permanent advantage to the public interests.

11.—We have the honour to forward, for your information, the copy of a general order, which we judged it advisable to publish to the army, for the purpose of explaining the circumstances which had attended the release of the quarter-master-general from arrest, as it came to our knowledge that a great degree of misapprehension existed on that subject.

12.—In concluding the general order we stated, that having given the above explanation, we deemed it our farther duty to observe, that the question which had been under deliberation was to be considered as concluded; that the further agitation of subjects of that nature could be availing for no purpose but that of disturbing the established course of public affairs, and for the excitement of feelings injurious to order and authority, and it was accordingly of importance to the public welfare that the circumstances connected with it should be consigned to oblivion.

13.—Lieutenant-colonel Martin having been one of the officers concerned in preferring charges against the quarter-master-general, we thought it proper to withdraw the leave which had been granted to that officer to proceed to Europe, until the discussion which had occurred on the subject of the charges should be terminated.

14.—Lieutenant-colonel Martin having been subjected to some expense by the forfeiture of the passage which he had taken in one of the ships of the late fleet, we thought it reasonable and proper, on a general view of the case, that on the discussion being finally closed in the manner we have stated, that officer should be reimbursed in the loss which he had incurred, amounting to 1000 pagodas.

15.—We have permitted lieutenant-colonel Martin to proceed to England on the *Sir Stephen Lushington*.

16.—We have received an application from Major Boles, late deputy-adjutant-general of the army, to be permitted to embark on that ship; but from the nature of the service in which the *Sir Stephen Lushington* is about to be employed, we have considered it improper to comply with the request of major Boles.

17.—Lieutenant-colonel Capper, late adjutant-general, was permitted to embark for England on an American vessel, a few days after his suspension from the service of the company.

18.—We transmit, by this opportunity, a memorial which has been addressed to your honourable court by major Boles; under the explanation which we have already stated; we consider no observation on the subject of that memorial to be necessary.

19.—We have the honour to acquaint you, that major-general Gowdie, who has



been for the present appointed to the command of the army of this Presidency, has arrived from the northern division, and has entered on the duties of his station.

20.—It is extremely satisfactory to us to be enabled to add, that the course of proceeding which has been adopted by major general Gowdie is of the most correct nature and we have no doubt that it will in a short time retrieve the military affairs of this Presidency, from the state of disorder into which they have been thrown by the misconduct of lieutenant-general Macdowall, and by the other causes which have been made known to your honourable court.

We have the honour to be,  
With the greatest respect,  
Honourable Sirs,  
Your faithful, humble servants,  
(Signed) G. H. BARLOW,  
W. PETRIE.

Fort St. George, T. OAKES.  
28th Feb. 1809. J. HY. CASAMAJOR.

To the honourable the court of directors for the management of the affairs of the honourable the united East India company.

Enclosure three, in military letter, 28th February, 1809; memorial of Major Thomas Boles, late deputy adjutant-general of the army, and late major in the company's army, on the Madras establishment.

Humbly sheweth,

That your memorialist has served nearly 26 years in the British army in India, almost 23 of which have been passed in the immediate service of the honourable English East India company; that, during the above-mentioned period, the conduct of your memorialist has received the approbation of his superiors, in consequence of which, he has for six years been employed in the department of the adjutant-general in the capacities of assistant and of deputy adjutant-general.

Your memorialist, in discharging the duties that have been from time to time allotted to him, has uniformly endeavoured, by personal assiduity, and by strict attention to the rules and regulations of the service, to merit the continuance of the favours he has enjoyed, and to recommend himself to the further notice of his immediate superiors and of your honourable court, your memorialist had every reason to hope, that his efforts were not altogether unsuccessful, and to indulge the flattering prospect of future advancement, and of ultimately receiving from the honours and advantages of higher rank, the well-earned reward of long and faithful service; but to his great sorrow and misfortune, your memorialist has been subjected to a punishment the most severe which the government of Madras could inflict, and this punishment is stated to have

been merited by an act on the part of your memorialist, regarding, the execution of which he does not conceive that he had any choice or alternative, and he trusts that the absolute and indispensable necessity of his immediate and unconditional performance of the act in question, will be fully manifest on the view of the circumstances connected therewith, as follows:

The duties of deputy adjutant-general are not confined to any particular branch of the business in the office, but generally to do and perform all such duties as the principal of the office may direct, and in the absence of the principal to conduct all the duties either according to instructions that may be left, or according to the directions of the commander-in-chief from time to time; and previous to the recent occurrences, there is no instance in the practice or the usage of the service, in which the authority of the commander-in-chief has been considered subject to a super or controul, in points that relate to the discipline, the courts of justice, or the practice and exercise of the army; a doubt respecting the integrity of this principle, would have been considered by every officer in the army as derogatory to the dignity of the chief command, and to the vital principle of military subordination.

On the 31st of January last, your memorialist, then deputy adjutant-general of the army, received at the adjutant-general's office a general order by government, under date the 31st January, in which order the appointment of lieutenant-general Macdowall to the command of the army of this presidency was annulled, because he had left to be published to the army a reprimand to captain John Munro, (quarter master general and nominal lieutenant colonel, one of the immediate staff of the commander-in-chief) and in which government order also the deputy adjutant-general of the army is suspended from the service of the honourable company, because the above-mentioned reprimand was circulated under the signature of that officer.

Your memorialist humbly submits to your honourable court, that any supposed criminality on his part must necessarily imply not only a freedom of will in regard to the performance or otherwise of the act, but also a manifest intention on his part to violate the duty which he owes to the government, for unless it were at the option of your memorialist to perform or decline the act, he humbly submits that no responsibility can attach to him regarding it; and supposing the option free your memorialist presumes that the act could be considered criminal only in proportion as the illegality of the order of the commander-in-chief was manifest and self-evident.

According to the apprehension of your memorialist, the foregoing is a simple and candid statement of his case, and upon that



principle he will endeavour to exhibit his perfect innocence as well in regard to the intention as to the act itself.

On Sunday, the 29th January, your memorialist, in company with his principal, colonel Capper, and a large concourse of officers and others, attended lieutenant-general Macdowall to the beach, he being about to embark for Europe; colonel Capper accompanied general Macdowall on board of ship, and as he left the shore, he repeated an order which he had before given to your memorialist, directing, that the general order of the commander-in-chief should be circulated to the army that evening. This general order, under date the 28th January, had been received at the adjutant-general's office in lieutenant-general Macdowall's hand-writing, and it was accompanied by a direction, that as the general's departure was near at hand, every exposition should be used in circulating it.

Your memorialist appeals to the principles of military law under which he has been educated and the usage of all armies, that under the circumstance above stated, any hesitation on his part thus necessarily be considered as presumption emblematic criminal, and would have rendered him in the opinion of any ordinary court-martial an object deserving the severest punishment of the highest military crime; such being the only alternative which your memorialist can conceive to exist, he trusts that it will fully appear to your honourable court, that the act for which he has been so severely punished was an act pure of necessity, and in no respect an act of free will. For reasons which must be obvious, your memorialist will not expatiate on the consequence which may be expected to result from the introduction of a principle which acknowledges responsibility in subordinate officers, and which proclaims to men with arms in their hands, that tacit submission may subject them to punishment, and that they are at liberty to question and discuss the legality or the expediency of a peremptory order from a military superior; but your memorialist most solemnly declares, that he did at the time he signed the order, consider it to be his indispensable duty so to do, and that no responsibility whatever was attaching to him on account of that or any other order; he considered them all alike.

Memorialist having stated that his act in signing the order could be considered criminal only in proportion as the illegality of it was manifest and self-evident, presumes to offer his opinion, that even if his option had been free, no blame could attach to him for signing the order.

Previous to the act, your memorialist had never heard the opinion of any person respecting the order; it was not usual to discuss the merits of general orders, particularly of those in the hand-writing of the commander-in-chief; but since his suspension,

your memorialist has deliberately considered the expression and the substance of the offensive general order, he has consulted with many officers of rank and experience in his majesty's and in the honourable company's service, and he has not met with any who consider the order to be directed against the government; it states that lieutenant-general Macdowall was prevented by his immediate departure from bringing lieutenant-colonel Munro quarter-master general, to trial, for disrespect to his commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, and that the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Munro was destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the commander-in-chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service; but it does not contain any comment or remarks on the government, or on the orders issued by the government, and at this moment many respectable officers at the presidency assure me, that they did not consider the order of the commander-in-chief to be by any means illegal, or did they imagine it would be so conceived, until it was declared to be so by the government order of the 31st January. If, therefore, the question still admits of a doubt, your memorialist confidently trusts, that the illegality of general Macdowall's order will not be considered so manifest or self-evident, as to have authorized your memorialist to question the propriety of signing it, even had his choice been free.

Your memorialist begs leave farther to represent to your honourable court, that lieutenant-colonel Capper, the adjutant-general of the army, and the immediate superior of your memorialist, did, on the 31st January, wait on the honourable the governor, but not gaining an audience, he informed Mr. Secretary Buchan (who is also private secretary to Sir George Barlow) that the circumstance of your memorialist having affixed his signature to the offensive general order, arose from his (colonel Capper's) absence from the office, he having accompanied lieutenant-general Macdowall on board ship; that otherwise all the orders should have received his (colonel Capper's) signature, and that he conceived that all responsibility for the duties of the office rested with him as being the principal, and not with your memorialist, whose duty was to yield tacit obedience.

The result of this communication was the suspension of colonel Capper from the honourable company's service, by a government order, which stated that the adjutant-general was materially implicated in the measure of giving currency to the offensive general order, but the memorialist has to lament that it did not produce any favourable change in his case, and he is now suffering the severest punishment and indignity that can be inflicted by government, without having ever been called upon by the



government for any explanation, or having had any opportunity to extenuate his supposed guilt, by a declaration of the integrity and uprightness of his intentions, in performing an act, the responsibility of which his immediate superior has fully and unequivocally taken upon himself.

Your memorialist, placing the fullest reliance on the liberality and justice of your honourable court, and feeling most severely the hardship and long suffering to which his suspension has exposed him, and being therefore desirous to bring his case under the consideration of your honourable court at the earliest possible period, he, on the 15th instant addressed a letter (No 1, in the Appendix) requesting permission to return to Europe, on the Sir Stephen Lushington, which ship, he has been informed, is taken up to carry the dispatches to government; not receiving any reply, your memorialist, on the 18th instant, addressed a second letter (No. 2.) and, in the evening of that day, he received a letter (No 3) from Mr. Secretary Buchan, communicating the honourable governor's regret at not having it in his power to permit your memorialist to proceed to Europe by the present opportunity.

Your memorialist having understood that it is the desire of your honourable court, in your justice, that the cases of suspended officers should be brought to your notice at the earliest possible period, and being at the same time sensible that justice to his own character and his future prospects in your service, imperiously required that he should by every means endeavour to lay his case before your honourable court, had already obtained a passage to Europe on the Sir Stephen Lushington, and being unable to support himself in India on the reduced allowance given to officers under suspension, he was induced again to address government on the 19th instant (No. 4) soliciting the indulgence of being permitted to proceed immediately, stating, that a similar indulgence had already been granted to Lieutenant-colonel Capper, your memorialist's immediate superior in office, and now in a predicament precisely similar with him; but as there is every probability that the Sir Stephen Lushington will reach England before Lieutenant-colonel Capper does, your memorialist entertains serious apprehension that the interest of his cause may suffer materially, if he is still prevented from availing himself of the passage which he has obtained on the Lushington, as various causes may produce delay in bringing to the notice of your honourable court all the circumstances of the case, from which however he confidently hopes for full exculpation: he has therefore presumed, with the utmost deference and respect, to address this memorial, praying that your honourable court will view with a favourable eye, the deplorable situation of an

officer who has served you long and faithfully, and who now for the first time, during 26 years of military service, has incurred the displeasure of his immediate superiors, for an act avowedly not his own; and that upon a full consideration of the subject, your honourable court may be pleased to re-instate him in your service, and in the situations from which he has been thus removed, and to take such farther steps as may be deemed by your honourable court expedient, in order to remove the imputations that had been thrown out against his character.

And your memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

(Signed) T. BOLS,  
Late deputy-adj.-general, and  
late Major 3d N. regt.

Madras, 23d Feb. 1809.

To the honourable Sir George Hilario Barlow, bart. governor in council, Fort St. George.

SIR,—In consequence of my having been suspended from the honourable company's service, for the reason set forth in the government general order of the 21st ult. I have the honour to request permission to proceed to Europe.

That I may not be deprived of the advantage of stating in person to the honourable the court of directors, at the earliest possible period, the peculiar hardship of my case, I shall endeavour to obtain a passage on board the honourable company's ship, Sir Stephen Lushington, which is, I understand, under the orders of government, preparing to return to England immediately; and I have therefore respectfully to request that my brother, Lieutenant Bols, of the 9th Native regiment, may be permitted to take charge of the agency for army clothing, for the purpose of completing the year's clothing now on hand, and closing my accounts, and for the adjustment of which he will jointly with me become responsible.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. BOLS,  
Late Dep.-adj.-general, &c.

Madras, 15th Feb. 1809.

To the honourable Sir George Hilario Barlow, bart. governor in council, Fort St. George.

SIR,—I had the honour to forward an application to the honourable the governor in council, under date the 15th instant, for permission to proceed to Europe on the honourable company's ship, Sir Stephen Lushington, but as I have not been honoured with a reply, and have been pressed to decide immediately respecting the accommodation offered me on board that ship for myself and family. I am under the necessity of repeating my request, and respectfully solicit an early decision, every hour



being of consequence to me, as the ship is likely to sail in a very few days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. BOLDS.

Madras, Late dep.-adj.-general, &c.  
18th February, 1809.

To Major Thomas Boles.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, and to acquaint you, that the honourable the governor in council regrets that it is not in his power to comply with your application for permission to proceed to England by the present opportunity.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) G. BUCHAN,

Fort St. George, Chief sec. to govt.  
19th February, 1809.

To the honourable Sir George Barlow, bart. governor in council, Fort St. George.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary Buchan's letter of the 18th instant, stating, that the honourable the governor in council regrets that it is not in his power to comply with my application for permission to proceed to England by the present opportunity.

By the orders of the honourable the court of directors, it appears, that the net pay only is allowed to officers under suspension, and the honourable the governor in council will be aware, that the subsistence of my rank is very insufficient to support me in this country, for the length of time that may elapse before the decision of the honourable court on my case can be obtained, which will, by my remaining in India, be very distressing, and my other resources are in Europe, and I therefore beg leave to repeat my request to be allowed to proceed by the present opportunity, viz. the honourable company's ship, *Lushington*, on which vessel I had obtained a passage.

Lieutenant-colonel Capper, my superior in office, who is placed in the same predicament with myself, has been allowed to return to England, and, I trust, the honourable the governor in council will see the justice of affording me the same opportunity of appealing in person to the honourable court, that has been granted to Colonel Capper, and which indulgence is, I believe, conformable to the wish of the honourable court of directors in such cases, to enable the court to come to the earliest possible decision upon them.

As I am led to believe the ship will be dispatched in the course of this week, may I request the favour of an early reply.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) T. BOLDS,

Late dep.-adj.-gen.  
and late Major 3d N. regt.

Madras,  
19th Feb. 1809.

Fort St. George.—Secret Department.

No. 1.—GENERAL LETTER, 19th May, 1809.

Received per his majesty's brig, *Virginia*,  
23d of September, 1809.

To the honourable the secret committee of the honourable the court of directors.

Honourable Sirs,

Para. 1. In our dispatches by the honourable company's ships, *Jane*, *Duchess of Gordon*, and *Sir Stephen Lushington*, we communicated to the honourable the court of directors the measures which we had been compelled to adopt, in consequence of the violent and intemperate acts of the late commander-in-chief, and we have the satisfaction of annexing to this dispatch the copy of a letter from the supreme government, dated 20th of February last, expressing their entire approbation of those measures. We now transmit to your honourable committee, by his majesty's brig, *Virginia*, a copy of a minute, together with the several papers to which it refers, recorded by our president at our consultation of the 1st instant, relative to the seditious proceedings of certain officers of the army of this establishment after the departure of the commander-in-chief.

2. For the particulars of these proceedings, and for our sentiments regarding them, we beg leave to refer your honourable committee to the minute of Sir George Barlow, and the documents which accompany it.

3. In conformity to the propositions of our president we came to the following resolutions:—

That the under-mentioned officers be suspended from the service of the honourable company, till the pleasure of the honourable court shall be known:—

Lieut.-colonel the hon. A. St. Leger,  
Major John de Morgan,  
Captain Josiah Marshall,  
Captain James Grant.

That as the departure of lieut.-colonel George Martin for England prevented his suspension from the service of the honourable company, by the authority of this government, it be recommended to the honourable the court of directors that he be dismissed from their service.

That lieutenant-colonel Robert Bell be removed from all military charge and command, until the pleasure of the honourable court shall be known; but that he be permitted to draw his regimental pay and allowances.

That the under-mentioned officers be removed from their staff appointments, and ordered to join the corps to which they stand attached:—

Lieutenant-colonel Cuppage, adjutant-general of the army. Capt. Coombs, assistant quarter-master-general in Mysore.

That lieut.-colonel commandant Chalmers



be removed from the command of the subsidiary force in Travancore.

- ✓ That the officer commanding the army in chief be requested to supersede in the command of their battalions the under-mentioned officers, who have not exerted themselves in maintaining order and discipline in their respective corps, with such others as the officer commanding the army in chief's information may induce him to consider as improper persons to be intrusted at the present moment with the charge of corps:

Captain Smith, 2d battalion, 14th regiment. Major Kenahury, 2d battalion, 9th regiment. Major Muirhead, 2d battalion, 18th regiment. Major Hazlewood, 1st battalion, 24th regiment.

That the officer commanding the army in chief, be also requested to remove lieutenant-colonel Rumley to the 7th regiment of Native cavalry, at Arcot.

We trust that the measures which we have adopted for the vindication of the honour and authority of the government, and for the maintenance of discipline and subordination in the military branch of this establishment, will meet with the approbation of your honourable committee.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

W. PETRIE.

T. OAKES.

J. A. HY. CASAMAJOR.

P. S.—We think it proper to transmit, with this dispatch, a copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel the honourable A. St. Leger, dated the 26th ultimo, from Oodagery in Travancore. This letter was received on the 2d instant, the day after the suspension of lieutenant-colonel St. Leger from the service of the honourable company, and affords a strong additional proof of the dangerous spirit of insubordination which has marked the conduct of that officer.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.

W. PETRIE.

T. OAKES.

J. A. HY. CASAMAJOR.

No. 2.—LETTER from the Supreme government, dated the 28th February, 1809, addressed to Sir G. Barlow, governor in council, at Fort St. George, containing an unconditional approval of Sir G. Barlow's measures respecting General Macdowall, and adopting the arguments suggested by Sir G. Barlow himself without any inquiry or examination of the case.

No. 3.—Copy of a MINUTE of the President, of the 1st May, 1809; with eleven enclosures; together with a list.

It is with sentiments of the deepest regret that I find myself under the necessity of bringing the following cases before the Board. The first relates to a paper signed by many officers of this army, purporting

to be a memorial to the right honourable the governor-general, the second to an address from some officers to Major Bulea.

The existence of both these papers has for some time been within my knowledge, and has no doubt been equally known to the other members of the board. It was not, however, until lately that I became possessed of a copy of either of those papers, although every endeavour was employed to obtain copies of them. The copy of a memorial to the governor-general, which I now possess, has not been obtained through any public channel, but its authenticity will be sufficiently proved.

In order to bring the subject in the most distinct manner before the board I shall here state the order in which the events I have to detail occurred. It has been made known to me, that within one or two days after the removal and departure of the late commander-in-chief, a number of his friend's met in order to deliberate what measures they should pursue.

The particulars of the discussion which took place on that occasion are known to me only from report. But it is said that measures of the most violent and extravagant nature were suggested by some of the persons present. I do not, however, communicate this information with the view of punishing the individuals concerned in those proceedings, the information which I have obtained regarding them not being sufficiently precise for that purpose. I state the circumstances, because they form a part of the general information which I have received, and are intimately connected with the other transactions which I shall proceed to detail, and because (as far as these proceedings may have any effect on our present deliberations) we are not to reject the evidence of common fame and notoriety, nor to confine ourselves to legal evidence or full proof of, a matter which from its very nature is intended to be concealed from us.

There is a full proof, however, that some of the friends of general Macdowall next proceeded to draw up a statement relating to his conduct, and to prepare the memorial to the governor-general.

General Macdowall had left the commander-in-chief's office, and all its records, in the charge of captain J. M. Coombs, his aid-de-camp, to be delivered over to general Gowdie on his arrival, and the party (consisting of colonel Capper, captain Marshall, the secretary to the military board, lieutenant Stock his deputy, lieutenant-colonel Martin, and Captain Coombs) were employed for about a week there, and in the adjoining office of the military board, in the most secret manner, in preparing the above-mentioned papers.



The statement I understand to have been forwarded to general Macdowall at Col-  
lumbo by Captain Coombs, who hired a  
boat to convey that and other papers to  
the general at that place. A copy of the  
statement is also said to have been carried  
to England by colonel Capper; the manner  
in which this statement, and the memorial  
to the right honourable the governor-general  
were prepared, is ascertained by the exami-  
nation of the writers employed in transcribing  
these papers, taken by me on oath, on the  
11th of this month.

These persons were examined in my pre-  
sence, and at my desire, by the advocate-general,  
in the most solemn manner; and their  
depositions were recorded at the time by the  
chief secretary to the government; the judge-  
advocate-general attending by my direction, in  
order to afford his assistance in the conduct of  
the examination.

As the statement relating to general Mac-  
dowall's conduct does not appear to have been  
circulated in this country, I shall not at pre-  
sent offer any remarks upon it.

It will distinctly appear from the deposition  
of the writers, that the memorial to the go-  
vernor-general was copied by them from one  
in the hand writing of captain Marshall, and  
another in the hand writing of lieutenant-col-  
onel Martin. A copy of the memorial of  
which the copy annexed to this minute is a li-  
teral transcript, having been shewn to two of  
the witnesses, and read over by them, they  
declared it to be a counterpart of that which  
they had transcribed.

It would seem from the deposition of one  
of the witnesses that the paper given to him  
to copy, in the hand writing of captain  
Marshall, was the original draft; as several  
words which he could not make out were ex-  
plained to him by captain Marshall, and some  
by lieutenant-colonel Martin and lieutenant  
Stock. This circumstance of the original  
being in the hand-writing of captain Marshall  
appears to point him out as the composer of  
it; for, although it is stated in the evidence of  
the same witness that a rough draft was also  
exhibited to him in the hand-writing of lieuten-  
ant-colonel Martin, yet the particular in-  
stance of alteration in the latter, mentioned  
by the witness, seems rather to point it out as  
an accurate copy than an original; and it ap-  
pears indeed from the evidence of one of the  
witnesses that captain Marshall was considered  
at the time to have been the author of the pa-  
per. But this circumstance is not, as far as  
lieutenant-colonel Martin is concerned, very  
material, there being little difference between  
the composing such a paper, and the act of in-  
dustriously promoting its circulation when  
composed.

It appears that this memorial was circulated  
at the Presidency, and subscribed by many of-  
ficers, whose signatures were copied, under  
the orders of captain Marshall, by one of the  
writers of the military board who was exami-  
ned before me. It was also sent for the pur-

pose of signature to the different stations of  
the army, or at least to most of them.

On receipt of intelligence of this proceed-  
ing (although it was found difficult at the time  
to give credit to the reported contents of the  
memorial) general Gowdie, who had recently  
assumed the command of the army, addressed  
the annexed circular letter to the officers com-  
manding the principal divisions of the army,  
desiring to know from them, whether any  
such paper had been in circulation among the  
officers in their respective divisions, and en-  
joining them to be vigilant in bringing the of-  
ficers under them to a proper sense of their  
duty, and of the dangers which they must in-  
cur by countenancing any proceeding of this  
nature.

The replies to this letter, which are annexed  
were in general perfectly satisfactory, with  
the exception of the letter received from lieutenant-  
colonel Cuppage.

The letter from this officer (who at the  
time when the letter from major-general Gow-  
die was written commanded one of the divisi-  
ons of the troops serving in Travancore) con-  
tains expressions of a very ambiguous and ex-  
ceptionable nature, indicating a wish on his  
part to avoid giving a direct answer to the  
letter which the general had addressed to him;  
it also adverts to memorials from bodies of of-  
ficers for the redress of supposed grievances, in  
terms by no means tending to discourage them,  
and at the same time gives countenance to the  
dangerous distinction (attempted to be made  
also in the memorial to lord Minty) between  
the attachment of the army to their country,  
and their obedience to the orders and respect  
for the authority of this government. This  
officer adds, that he shall not make any further  
communication of the commander-in-  
chief's letter until he receives further direc-  
tions.

The letter of lieutenant-colonel Cuppage is  
the more exceptionable as he had been recent-  
ly selected for the office of adjutant-general of  
the army, a situation which imposed on him,  
more particularly the duty of stopping the  
progress of improper principles, and which  
should have induced him to act under the or-  
ders of the commander-in-chief, so as to pre-  
clude the possibility of doubt with respect to  
the correctness of his own conduct.

The copy of the memorial which I now re-  
cord is a transcript of one communicated to  
me through a private channel, which for ob-  
vious reasons I cannot wish to reveal.

It cannot be necessary for me to offer any  
comment on this paper; the sentiments which  
it conveys are too unequivocal to suppose  
the possibility of their being misunderstood,  
and I am persuaded that the board will feel re-  
specting it every sentiment which the perusal  
of such a paper ought to dictate. It is how-  
ever important to compare the tenor of this  
memorial with the language held by general  
Macdowall immediately before his departure,  
which the preparation of this paper so closely  
followed; it adopts the tone, and is in many



parts almost a repetition of, the inflammatory general orders published by his directions, of the dangerous tendency of which it affords a strong practical proof. After his example, it draws into question the conduct of the honourable the court of directors in refusing him, as "the *Representation of the Army*," a seat in the council of the government. It proceeds to assert the same claims which he had advanced for himself and for the army, to complain of the measures which he had censured, and to assert the same unjustifiable pretension to independent authority, and the same unfounded distinction between the civil and military powers under which he had disputed the supreme military authority vested by the legislature in this government, which authority the authors of this memorial seem to be prepared, by the encouragement of his opinion, to resist, if necessary, unless the crisis shall be anticipated by an acquiescence in their demands.

In proceeding to recommend the measures, necessary to be adopted with regard to this memorial, I have been anxious to avoid the two difficulties of either, on the one hand, acting on insufficient evidence, or on the other, of waiting too long for the full discovery of all the signatures affixed to it. As I had reason to believe that the spirit of dissatisfaction was not gaining ground in the army, it did not appear that any danger was incurred by waiting hitherto for fuller proof as to the individuals who had been concerned in signing and promoting the circulation of this paper.

The ferment upon this occasion has been chiefly confined to a proportion of the southern division of the army, and to a part of the troops lately serving in Travancore, under lieutenant-colonel Chalmers, lieutenant-colonel Cuppage, and lieutenant-colonel the honourable Arthur St. Leger.

I am in possession of clear proofs of the name of the last-mentioned officer having been affixed to the memorial, and also of his having endeavoured to prevail on others to sign it; thus perverting, to purposes the most dangerous to the government, the influence and authority derived from the honourable command which had so lately been intrusted to him. The board will, I am persuaded, not expect that I should produce the information which constitutes this proof, as the production of it might deter individuals from coming forward with that information which in a case of this nature could not perhaps be publicly and formally obtained.

It has also been distinctly ascertained that major J. D. Morgan has been active in the circulation of the memorial, and the spirit by which he has been actuated will fully appear from his letter to lieutenant-colonel Cuppage, in reply to the circular letter of the commander-in-chief, being one of the enclosures to which I shall presently draw the attention of the board.

If the promoters of this memorial had persisted in their original design of forwarding it to lord Minto a complete discovery of the

parties to it would of course have been obtained; but from the decided approbation of the measures of this government, which his lordship is now publicly known to express, it cannot be presumed that they will carry their intention into effect. The information, indeed, which I have lately received, affords every reason to believe that this intention is almost, if not wholly, abandoned; but if it were certain that the parties concerned in framing the paper would now suppress it, the most solemn obligations of our public duty would demand that we should adopt such measures regarding it as the nature of it obviously requires. The persons who have been most active in framing and circulating it can never be allowed to escape the punishment due to so daring an attempt, which certainly has not failed from any want of boldness or malignity on their part. They have employed every means in their power towards the accomplishment of their dangerous views, by preparing and circulating a paper, the evident object of which was to overawe the government.

It is now to be considered what punishment is due to those who have been instrumental in preparing this paper, or who have affixed their signatures to it. I think it may be assumed as a clear position, that all those who have assisted in framing this paper, or who have signed it, have by their own act forfeited the confidence of the government, and cannot any longer be considered as persons fit to be entrusted with the command of men and arms which they insinuate the intention of eventually turning against the state.

This remark is meant to apply more particularly to the rank of field officers, whose years and experience ought to have prevented them from joining in a proceeding so rash and unwarrantable. It is so consonant to the habits of military discipline that the junior and inferior ranks should be led by their superiors, that some allowances are always made in favour of such as have this excuse to plead for error; I should, therefore, even if all the signatures to this memorial had been fully known and proved, have proposed that at present only the officers of higher rank should be subjected to punishment; officers, however, in the junior ranks, proved to have been particularly active in preparing or circulating the paper, form a proper exception to this principle; but it must be clearly understood that all those who have affixed their signatures to that memorial have by such act rendered themselves liable to be suspended from the service, and nothing but the consideration that it is not necessary to extend example, or some alleviating circumstances on the part of the individuals (such as youth and inexperience, or general good character) can be considered to warrant their exemption from punishment where the fact can be clearly ascertained.

But, in many cases, the proof which I have obtained has been, either in its nature or in the mode of obtaining it, such as will scarcely enable the board to proceed to the punishment



of the individuals to whom this proof applies; for while the framers of this memorial, and their facious abettors, have studiously magnified, by the means of public rumours, the numbers engaged in the combination, there has been observed in every part of the details connected with it a caution and secrecy, which, however, it may betray a consciousness on the part of its authors that their purpose was highly criminal, has the effect of securing impunity to the greater part of those who have been engaged in it; even those officers (and I am happy to know that there are many who have rejected, with indignation, the attempt to seduce them from their duty) are generally unwilling, from mistaken notions of honour, to come forward against those who claim their secrecy.

In all matters of public feeling the multitude is led by a few; and I shall willingly cherish the hope that those officers who now, from whatever cause, escape punishment, may, on reflection, adopt other views, and returning to their duty and true interest, become again useful and honourable servants of the public. There are some individuals, respecting whom I have received information, both with reference to this memorial, and to their general conduct, during the late agitated state of parts of the army, as tender to the indispensable duty of government to remove them from situations of influence and authority, although it may not be necessary to subject them to a greater degree of punishment. The existence of that state of ferment in the parts of the army to which I allude, constitutes of itself a sufficient reason for withdrawing the confidence of government from the officers in command of them, who have failed in fulfilling the obligations of their public duty, by not maintaining order and discipline among the officers under their command.

I shall now proceed to notice the address to major Boles.

It has for some time been known to me that an address to that officer was in circulation among the officers of the army; but it was not until towards the end of the last month, that a copy of this address came into my possession.

The address was forwarded by captain Grant, (the officer commanding my body guard, who had been deputed by the government to officiate as an assistant to the resident of Travancore) in a letter to lieutenant-colonel Barclay, my military secretary, for the purpose of being communicated to me.

There can exist no doubt, therefore, of its authenticity; although I have grounds for stating that there has been more than one address sent in circulation, relating to the case of major Boles: a paper on this subject, drawn up in terms in the highest degree reprehensible, has been circulated at the cantonment at the mount, under the countenance and encouragement of the commanding officer lieutenant-colonel Bell. The common

object, however, of most of those papers has been a condemnation of the measures of the government, a justification of the conduct of major Boles, and a subscription for his support, and for the support of such other officers as should become subject to the displeasure of the government under similar circumstances.

The sentiments expressed in the address to major Boles (No. 6) equally with those stated in the memorial to lord Minto, are in their nature and objects so obvious, that it may, perhaps, be deemed unnecessary for me to offer any remarks on them.

There are, however, certain principles and legal authorities applicable to the case of major Boles, which have been submitted to me by the judge-advocate-general, which I deem it of essential importance to enter on record.

They will be found in the paper (No. 7) annexed to this minute.

In this paper the judge-advocate-general has shown, with great force of reasoning and authority, that an officer cannot be allowed to justify his compliance with an illegal order, but he may plead, in alleviation of such an offence, that he acted under a mistaken idea of his duty, or that he had been misled by the example of his superior officer.

If such a plea had been resorted to in the present instance I should have been happy to have attended to it; but instead of offering any plea of this description, a justification, intemperate in its nature, was attempted by major Boles, in a communication which general Gowdie was pleased to hold with him on the subject. The particulars of this conversation are detailed in the accompanying copy of a circular letter from general Gowdie, addressed to the officers commanding divisions of the army. Whatever doubt, therefore, might have been entertained as to the propriety of major Boles's suspension, under the idea that he had suffered for a mere casual error or inconsiderate mistake, (as many persons have been led to suppose) that there can be no difference of opinion as to the necessity of that punishment, when he thus deliberately attempts to vindicate his act, and even to consider it as meritorious.

This conduct on the part of major Boles may have proceeded from an erroneous mode of thinking, and from an adherence to a false principle; but if men will persist in their errors, and maintain their false principles, they must also abide by the consequences of such conduct. I therefore consider the case of that officer to be one holding forth to an army principles of the most dangerous tendency; for if soldiers are suffered to acknowledge no superior but their general, a total dissolution of all legal government must ensue.

The objects of the address are the avowed approbation and support of conduct punished by government, and the providing a compensation for all officers suffering, or who shall



hereafter suffer from the acts of government, which the subscribers to the address may consider to be exceptionable.

It is immaterial to the government to what purposes officers apply their money, in a general point of view. But when money is applied to subvert order and subordination, and to indemnify individuals against the consequences of misconduct, it is impossible that such a contribution can be justifiable either in a moral or legal light; in a military point of view, it is in direct contradiction of the authority which officers are bound to obey and support, and tends to the subversion of all legal government.

If officers are to be allowed to erect themselves into a deliberative body to arraign the decisions of their superiors, and to pronounce what is right or wrong, just or unjust, by the criterion of their own feelings, the meanest leveller might pretend to be the best judge, and the voice of reason and authority would be drowned in the general clamour. It is not without the most strict and vigilant superintendence of the governing power, that the generality of men can be made to discharge their duty, but it would be in vain to expect from them the correct performance of that duty, if they are encouraged to disregard the decision of their superiors, and invited to transgress the laws by promise of pecuniary indemnity.

The objects of this paper, however objectionable, not being equally reprehensible with those declared in the memorial addressed to lord Minto, it had less earnestly engaged my attention. It was, however, shrouded upon my notice by captain James Grant, in a manner which renders it impossible for me, consistently with the obligations of my duty, to avoid noticing his conduct, both with respect to his having affixed his signature to the paper, and the disrespectful and improper manner in which he has thought fit to bring it before me. Captain Grant, whose official situation would, under any circumstances, have rendered it necessary to notice in him any instance of disaffection or disrespect towards the government, addressed to lieutenant-colonel Barclay, my military secretary, the letter which I now communicate to the board.

As the address to major Boles, transmitted by captain Grant, with his letter, and which he avows to have signed, contains a direct censure of the measures of government, and is founded on a principle of systematic opposition to the interference of the civil government (as it is there termed), it seems to me to be impossible to overlook the insult offered to the authority of the government by forcing such a paper on my notice.

The paper circulated at the mount, under the countenance and encouragement of lieutenant-colonel Bell, was similar in its object and general tenor, and liable to all the same objections as that transmitted by captain Grant.

The further replies to the circular letters from major general Gowdie to the officers commanding divisions, dated 5th March and the 10th instant, are annexed.

Among these papers will be found the letter from major De Morgan, to which I have already drawn the attention of the board.

I conceive that I should not discharge my duty were I to conclude this minute without noticing more particularly one of the principal causes of the late reprehensible conduct of the officers of the army; I allude to the idea conveyed to the army by the late commander-in-chief, that the governor in council is vested only with the civil, and not the military, government of the country. This most unwarrantable insinuation was calculated to sow the seeds of discord, disunion, and jealousy between the government and the army; and the honourable the court of directors will, I trust, deem it proper to bring this and every other part of the indiscreet and unjustifiable conduct of the late commander-in-chief under notice of the proper authorities in England, in such manner as they may deem it advisable.

Conformable to the principles stated in the minute I propose the following resolutions:

That the under-mentioned officers be suspended from the service of the honourable company until the pleasure of the honourable the court of directors shall be known.

Lieut.-colonel the hon. A. St. Leger,  
Major J. De Morgan,  
Captain Josiah Marshal,  
Captain James Grant.

The departure of lieutenant-colonel George Martin for England, prevents my proposing his suspension by the authority of this government, but I propose that his dismission from the service be recommended to the honourable the court of directors.

That lieutenant-colonel commandant Robert Bell be removed from all military charge and command until the pleasure of the honourable the court of directors shall be known, but that he be permitted to draw his regimental pay and allowances.

That the under-mentioned officers be removed from their staff appointments, and ordered to join the corps to which they stand attached.

Lieutenant-colonel Cuppage, adjutant-general of the army. Capt. Coombs, assistant quartermaster-general in Mysore.

That lieutenant colonel commandant Chalmers be removed from the command of the subsidiary force in Travancore.

That the commander-in-chief be requested to supersede in the command of their battalion the under-mentioned officers, who have not exerted themselves in maintaining order and discipline in their respective corps, with such others as the commander-in-chief's information may induce him to consider as



improper persons to be entrusted at the present moment with the charge of corps.

Captain Smith, 2d battalion, 14th regiment. Major Keasberry, 2d battalion, 9th regiment. Major Muirhead, 2d battalion, 18th regiment. Major Hazlewood, 1st battalion, 24th regiment.

That the commander-in-chief be also requested to remove lieutenant-colonel Rumley to the 7th regiment of Native cavalry at Arcot, his conduct in the command of the cantonment at Bangalore having been for some time past unsatisfactory.

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.  
1st May, 1809.

#### (No. 1).—EXAMINATION.

Examination of Robert Kentish, a writer in the office of James Balfour, esq. on his oath; 11th April, 1809.

Have you at any time been employed in writing papers relative to the conduct of the government and the commander-in-chief on late occasions?—I have.

Did you write one or more papers?—I copied several papers; first, the correspondence betwixt the commander-in-chief and the government; also a statement prepared by captain Coombs, in his own hand writing, about seven sheets of paper, stating the improper acts of government against the commander-in-chief and lieutenant-colonel Munro, as being a fit matter of complaint to the supreme government.

By whose directions did you copy that paper?—By captain Coombs' directions, about three or four days after the departure of general Macdowall.

Did you receive any directions from any other person, or was any other person employed about the paper except captain Coombs?—No other.

Where were those papers written by you? At the office of the commander-in-chief.

Had the paper in captain Coombs' hand writing been previously prepared?—Part was given to him to copy, and the remaining sheets sent in as witness was transcribing them.

Whilst captain Coombs was preparing the original, did he see any other persons in communication with him?—He saw colonel Capter come in once or twice.

Was you employed copying the paper in a public room or in a private one?—It was in a public room, but he was cautioned not to admit other persons.

Were those other writers employed on the same subject?—Upon the same subject.

Who were those writers?—Mr. A. De Souza, and Anthony Caldeira.

For how many days were you employed on this business?—Above a week.

Had you any occasion to know at that time of any other papers being prepared in the

commander-in-chief's or military board's office?—A young man, Mr. Joseph Hamilton, said he had got a very well-written letter to copy, and supposed it was to be forwarded to the supreme government.

Did he make any further observations about the paper, or the writer of it?—He did not.

Do you remember his observing at the same time what a clever man captain Marshall is? He does recollect it.

To what did you consider that observation as referring?—To the letter to the supreme government.

Did any further conversation take place concerning those papers at the same time?—None further.

Were any persons then present besides De Souza, Hamilton, Caldeira, and yourself?—No other persons.

How came you to be employed in captain Coombs' office in writing those papers?—I am a writer in Mr. Balfour's office; he sent me there.

Do you know any thing further concerning that or any other paper?—Nothing, except of a private letter from captain Coombs to general Macdowall.

Do you know what became of that statement and papers of which you made a copy?—One copy was forwarded by Tappal to general Macdowall, captain Coombs kept the others.

(Signed) ROBERT KENTISH.

Examination, on oath, of Anthony De Souza; 11th April, 1809.

Are you a writer in the commander-in-chief's office?—I am.

Were you employed soon after the departure of general Macdowall in copying any papers relative to the disputes between general Macdowall and Government?—I was.

What papers?—A part of a paper which was drawn out by captain Coombs, enclosing the letters from general Macdowall to government, and from government to general Macdowall, regarding lieutenant colonel Munro.

Did you know of any other papers prepared at that time in that office, or in the military board office?—I know of no other paper, nor of any thing done in the military board office, being employed in the upper room in the commander-in-chief's office.

(Signed) ANTHONY DE SOUZA.

Examination, on oath, of Anthony Caldeira; 11th April, 1809.

Was you a writer in the board of revenue office at the time the late commander-in-chief went away?—I was at that time employed as a sectioner in that office.

Was you about that time employed in writing any papers in the commander-in-chief's office?—I was.

What papers?—I had to enter in the book letters to the general from the government.



Was you employed in writing any other papers?—I copied papers given me by captain Coombs, the purport of which I cannot rightly recollect. I made several copies of that paper and its enclosures, being copies of letters from and to government.

What do you mean by that paper?—It was a paper referring to those several enclosures, and making observations upon them.

Did you copy a memorial to the governor general?—No, I did not.

(Signed) ANTHONY CALDEIRA.

Examination, on oath, of John Perriman;  
11th April, 1809.

I believe you are a writer in the military board office?—I am.

Do you remember having been employed soon after the departure of general Macdowall in copying any papers relative to the disputes between general Macdowall and government?—I recollect being employed to copy a memorial to the court of directors, and several letters to the commander-in-chief.

Were you not employed in copying a memorial from the officers addressed to lord Minto?—No, that memorial was copied by Mr. Hamilton.

Did you at that time see that memorial?—I did see it, I think I made one of two copies of it.

Do you recollect who directed you to copy that memorial?—captain Marshall and colonel Martin directed me to copy it.

In whose hand-writing was the paper from which you made the copies?—In the hand writing of Mr. Hamilton; but I saw the original, which was in captain Marshall's hand writing.

Did you copy any other papers at the same time of the same tendency, particularly an address to colonel Capper, or to major Boles?—No, I did not.

Did you see any such papers?—I did not see any but a large packet addressed to major Boles.

A paper purporting to be a memorial to the right honourable lord Minto governor-general, is shown to the witness, and he is asked, If the contents be similar to those of the paper which he copied?—Witness having read over the paper, replies, that the contents appear to be the very same.

Did you know of any other writers having been employed in writing papers on that subject besides Hamilton?—No; I did not.

(Signed) JOHN PERRIMAN.

Examination of Joseph Hamilton, on oath;  
11th April, 1809.

Are you a writer in the military board office?—I am.

Was you employed, soon after the departure of general Macdowall, in copying any papers respecting the disputes between him

and government?—I know a paper, of which captain Marshall desired me to make several copies, which was signed by the officers; it was a memorial to lord Minto.

A paper, purporting to be a Memorial to the right honourable lord, Minto, governor general, is shown him, and he is asked, if the contents be similar to those of the paper he copied?—Witness having read the paper, says the contents are the very same.

In whose hand-writing was the original from which you made those copies?—The first paper I copied was in the hand-writing of captain Marshall; another copy of the same paper was in the hand-writing, as I believe, of colonel Martin, who directed me to copy it.

Were any other writers, besides you employed in copying the memorial?—Yes; John Perriman was employed in copying it.

Did you receive any order at that time concerning that or any similar paper from any other persons besides captain Marshall and colonel Martin?—I did not.

You have described the memorial as having been signed by officers, did you see the signatures?—I saw a number of signatures; I had a list of them to make.

Who directed you to copy the list?—captain Marshall gave it him; the list was attached by a thread to the paper.

Have you any copy of that list?—I have not.

Do you remember any of the names you saw annexed to that paper?—I do not recollect any of the names.

Which of the papers did you first copy, that in the hand-writing of captain Marshall, or that written by colonel Martin?—I first copied that written by captain Marshall.

Did that appear to be the original draft of the memorial?—It did appear to be the original draft; several words I could not make out were explained, some by captain Marshall, some by colonel Martin, and some by lieutenant Stöck.

Did the paper in colonel Martin's hand-writing appear to be a fair draft?—That appeared to be a rough draft; several words were scratched through in it, amongst others the word depudiated had the pen run through it; and the word degraded was written above it.

Were you employed about any other paper besides the memorial?—No, I was not.

(Signed) J. HAMILTON.

Examination of Mathew Read; 11th April, 1809.

Was you employed in the office of the military board, or in the office of the commander-in-chief at the time of general Macdowall's departure from the coast?—I was employed as a writer in the office of the military board.



Was you about that time employed in preparing any papers respecting the dispute between general Macdowall and government?—There was a paper which captain Marshall gave me, which I distributed to the writers.

What was that paper?—I did not read it, but gave it to Hamilton, a writer for the military fund.

Do you know the general description of the paper; what sort of paper was it?—I did not read the paper; it was written on two sheets of foolscap.

Do you know if it was a memorial?—It was an address to the right honourable lord Minto; I did not read it.

In whose handwriting was the address?—In the hurry of business I did not particularly observe that.

Do you remember any other papers upon the same subject after the departure of general Macdowall?—No I do not.

(Signed) MATTHIEW READ.

(No. 2.) General Gowdie's circular letter to commanding officers of divisions, calling upon them to suppress all improper addresses or memorials.

(Circular.)

To the officer commanding the division of the army.

Sir,—I have received, with the deepest regret, accounts of the circulation throughout the army of addresses of a most improper nature and seditious tendency. Although I cannot believe a proceeding so repugnant to the first principles of discipline and duty, so pregnant with the most disgraceful and disastrous consequences to the service over which I have been placed, yet every obligation of my duty demands that I should omit no means of preventing the fatal ends which the adoption of that proceeding would effectually produce. It is entirely unnecessary for me to advert to the public measures which have recently occurred, as they are under reference to the only powers to which the authorities that adopted those measures are responsible. Any proceedings on the part of the army with respect to those measures would be hurtful to the fundamental principles of discipline and subordination, which direct implicit obedience to the government under which it is placed. It would be contrary to its allegiance, which demands that it should manifest an implicit and respectful submission to the ultimate decision of its sovereign and its country; and it would be ruinous to the honour of the army, as those proceedings must be regarded as a wanton and unjustifiable breach of discipline. It is accordingly my duty to call on you, in the most impressive manner to employ every exertion of your vigilance and authority in maintaining the discipline of the officers and men intrusted to your command. I also desire that officers commanding corps may be held responsible in the most rigorous acceptance of military

obedience for the good conduct and discipline of the officers under their orders. Officers commanding corps possess the most effectual means of maintaining subordination, and they will incur the most serious responsibility by countenancing or permitting of any proceedings contrary to it.

For my part, the army may be assured that I shall never deviate from the line of conduct prescribed by the most solemn obligations of duty; and of offering a most determined opposition to every plan of a nature incompatible with the discipline, the dignity, or the honour of the army, with the authority of the government and the interests of my country.

(Signed) FRANCIS GOWDIE,

Major-general commanding,  
Commander-in-chief's office,  
Fort-St. George, 5th March, 1869.

No. 3.—Answers to the circular letter of general Gowdie, from colonel Taylor, commanding northern division; general Pater, commanding the Ceded district; colonel Wilkinson, commanding the southern division; colonel Davies, commanding the Mysore division; colonel Montresor, commanding Hyderabad force; colonel Wallace, commanding Poonah force; colonel Cuyper, commanding Malabar division. All of which state that the measures ordered by general Gowdie have been adopted, but that the general good conduct of the officers render it impossible to account for the suspicions expressed in the general's letter.

(No. 5.) The memorial to lord Minto,  
To the right honourable lord Minto governor general, &c. &c.

The respectful memorial of the officers of the Madras army,

Humbly sheweth.—That your memorialists, deeply impressed with the sense of the duty which they owe to their country, earnestly implore your gracious interference for the purpose of correcting a system which has occasioned the most serious alarm, lest the rules and ordinances which define their place in the community be completely subverted.

Your memorialists are not influenced by extravagant notions of freedom, or by any ideas of independence inconsistent with the rigid subordination which characterizes their profession, and is essential to its existence. They do not expect, nor do they ask for, the relaxation of any tie, or the dissolution of any bond by which the stupendous fabric of an extensive army is sustained in a state of subservience to the supreme power of the constitution, of which it forms a part, being justly sensible that inconsiderate indulgence or immunity, under habits of licentiousness, necessarily tend to destroy the principle of military discipline, and to render that body, which was formed for the protection of the state, subversive of its tranquillity; but your memorialists, the free children of that coun-



try, which, while the rest of Europe is enslaved, boasts a constitution, the basis of which is liberty. Your humble memorialists, not the abject slaves of a country enthralled by despotism, respectfully assert a claim to certain rights and privileges, the engagements of which may be allowed to them without impairing or encroaching on the dignity of government, or in any way interfering with the other departments of the state.

Your memorialists have to lament, generally, that although their body is now extremely numerous, and the question regarding their duties, their claims, and their privileges, so multifarious as to require the assistance of practical experience in discussing the merits of them, yet they have not a representative in the council of government where alone the discussions can be agitated: to this cause may be ascribed the recent measures, which make it necessary for your memorialists to implore your gracious interposition, as they are directly subversive of those principles of honour and discipline which harmonize and cement the constitution of a military body, and are at the same time grossly insulting to the general character of the military profession.

A succinct notice of these measures will amply develop the principle by which your memorialists estimate the injuries they have already received, and the further abuse of the authority which they have reason to apprehend, unless the system so manifestly hostile to the honourable feelings of a military body be seasonably checked. It may be already known to your lordship, that lieutenant-colonel Munro, a member of the body to which your memorialists belong, having incurred the suspicion of having acted in a manner that was most generally considered to have been criminal, was openly and publicly impeached by a considerable number of respectable officers, who preferred military charges against him. This measure was adopted in the hope that a candid examination before the honourable tribunal of a court martial might confirm the supposed guilt, and lead to adequate punishment; or, if guilt, really did not exist, that, purified by that ordeal, he might return to a place in that society, in which, as must be well known to your lordship, suspicion is considered equivalent to infamy. In consequence of the charges, and by virtue of the warrant which gave to the commander-in-chief, and to him only, the judicature over the Madras army, and vested in him alone the jurisdiction of it for the time being, lieutenant-general Macdowall placed lieutenant-colonel Munro under arrest; from which arrest he has since reluctantly released that officer, in consequence of the interference of the civil government, who have thus disunited the chain upon the integrity of which the principles of military subordination depend; for if the source from whence authority and subordination flow to all the mem-

bers of the military body be violated, the subordinate branches, which derive their existence from it, must lose their virtue.

Viewing the interference of the civil government to check the prescribed laws of military dependence as a dangerous innovation and infringement of the solemn laws of the army, your memorialists perceive in it unlicensed confusion and anarchy.

No desultory exercise of arbitrary power, however severe, can be expected to restrain the passions or feelings of enlightened men, although it may distress and mortify individuals. The doubt regarding its legality, and the pernicious principles by which it must ever be regulated, deprived of that authority and respect which attached to an established system of jurisprudence, sanctioned by the legislature, by prescription, by habit, and by the feelings of those estimated under its influence.

In order to vindicate the character of his profession, and to maintain the integrity of his military authority over those under his command, lieutenant-general Macdowall directed the publication of a general order, conveying a reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro, for disrespect to his commander-in-chief, in not abiding by the regular course of enquiry laid down for similar cases.

As the former act of government had proclaimed to the army that lieutenant-colonel Munro was not amenable to military law on this occasion, that officer was declared to be superior to the control of the commander-in-chief, by the publication of an order, in which lieutenant-general Macdowall is represented to have acted in a manner derogatory to the character of government, and subversive of military discipline, and the foundation of public authority, although the order of general Macdowall refers merely to the disrespect, the disobedience of orders, and contempt of military authority manifested by an officer, who was not only under his general control, as belonging to the army which he commanded, but who, attached to his immediate staff, owed him particular respect and obedience.

Your memorialists, accustomed to judge of the acts of military men as referable to the standard of right and wrong, which has been established by the legislature for the control of their body, cannot discover any relation between those orders of government and the rules and discipline of subordination. Equally subversive of the foundation of authority is that resolution of government, by which the adjutant-general and his deputy are ignominiously suspended from the service for having obeyed the orders of their commander-in-chief; which obedience is stated to be a direct violation of the duty of those officers towards the government.

It must be painful to your lordship, as it is to your memorialists, to contemplate the possible consequences of a proceeding, equally unprecedented as it is unaccountable, by any



other rules but those of blind prejudice or deluded infatuation.

Your memorialists perceive a commander-in-chief, who has long lived among them, who was personally beloved by many, and was known by all to have manifested great forbearance, under circumstances extremely mortifying, from the conduct which the government observed towards him.

They perceive the character of such a man grossly calumniated while their regret for his departure was yet fresh; they see two officers of high rank, character, and respectability, publicly degraded, deprived of their particular rank, and suspended from the service, for having obeyed their commander-in-chief in signing and publishing an order written by himself, for the purpose of vindicating the dignity of his military authority, which had been flagrantly violated by one of his own staff, who openly defied and disregarded the supreme military commission. They perceive this officer, who had been publicly impeached under charges of a serious nature, and who had insulted his commander-in-chief, shielded from the natural effects of such misconduct by the interference of government. Your memorialists cannot avoid declaring, that they perceive in this inversion of the fundamental laws of discipline, a most dangerous infringement of the military code, that bulwark which preserves a state from the licentiousness of an armed rabble, and protects a disciplined army from the insults of an arbitrary power, a power subject to no control except the caprice or prejudice of an individual; and your memorialists feel a just alarm, lest the repetition of acts, which are not guided by any rule, may tend to wear their affections, and dispose them to consider as enemies those whose situation should make them their friends.

Your memorialists have learned with indignation regret that their enemies, and the enemies of their country, have represented as public disaffection the discontent produced by local and partial injuries arising from the present system. But they confidently appeal to the zeal and ardour with which a large proportion of them are now discharging the most arduous duties in the service of the state. They appeal to the moderation with which they have stifled those feelings which the recent conduct of the Madras government was calculated to inspire; and while they declare their inviolable attachment to the constitution under which they serve, and to the profession, as regulated by its own laws, they cannot suppress the expression of their concern at the manner in which the exclusive rights of the army have recently been violated, and of their sanguine hope and earnest intreaty that the supreme government may in its wisdom be induced to appease their just claims, and to anticipate the extreme crisis of their agitation, by releasing them from the control of a ruler, whose measures guided by the council of their implacable

enemies, are equally detrimental to the interest of the state, as they are repulsive to the feelings of a loyal and patriotic army.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief Secretary.

January, 1809.

(No. 6.)—Address to Major Boles.

Sir,—The officers of the Madras army, whose names are herewith annexed, can no longer abstain from expressing to you their surprise and concern at the severe and unmerited punishment inflicted on you by an act of the civil government of Fort St. George, for no other reason, that is stated, but that you obeyed the orders of their commander-in-chief in a case purely military.

Feeling the question to involve circumstances essential to their best interests, and fundamental to the character and respectability of the army, no less than to the principles of martial law, they consider themselves called upon to signify to you their marked approbation of your conduct, as an officer on the general staff on that occasion.

Whilst your brother officers seize this opportunity to express their sense of the propriety of your conduct, they fully appreciate the personal inconvenience to which you are exposed by suspension from office and the service; with those feelings they request the honour of repairing your injuries in the mean time, as far as lays within their power, by subscribing and paying to your order monthly, the full amount of that pay and staff-allowance of which you have in this extraordinary manner been deprived.

As your conduct on the occasion alluded to is exactly conformable to what the undersigned, if placed in your situation, would have pursued, they cannot avoid making your case their own, and under existing circumstances such mutual support must be expected and accepted by all who like yourself have or may suffer through any such exceptionable measures on the part of the civil government of Fort St. George as have rendered necessary the painful step we have now taken.

(True copy.)

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Secretary to government.

(No. 7.)—Paper of authorities submitted by the judge-advocate-general, in respect to the suspension of colonels Capper and Boles.

(No. 8.) General Gowdie's circular letter on the subject of the address to Major Boles.

To the officer commanding the division.

(Circular.)

Sir,—It having come to my knowledge that papers of a very improper nature are in circulation amongst the officers of the



army, regarding the suspension of Major Boles from the situation of deputy adjutant-general of the army, in consequence of his having affixed his signature to the general order of the 28th January last; and as the circumstance has not come before me, in any public or authenticated form, I am induced to notice it to you in this way, rather than through the channel of a general order.

The paper in question, if I am rightly informed, has for one of its objects the collection of a subscription for the relief of Major Boles, a circumstance which as commander of the army I could take no interest in, as officers may apply their money for the benefit of whom they please, did it not at the same time, if I am rightly informed, intimate an intention of supporting all others who may in like manner fall under the displeasure of government, and imply also a justification of the principle upon which Major Boles acted.

It is impossible for the commander of an English army to take a passive part whilst such things are transacting amongst those under his command; as these officers, by placing their principles in direct opposition to that of government, and holding out a security and indemnity, in fact encourage disobedience and revolt, in so far as it is possible for them to do.

It were needless for me to explain to a person of your experience, that an officer under an English government can only be justifiable in obeying a legal order; and that the order in question was of a nature calculated to excite sedition in the army, and as such unjustifiable and illegal on the face of it, and ought accordingly to have been declined by every well-informed officer. Major Boles must be supposed from his station to have known that the governor and council of Fort St. George are not only the civil, but by the express enactment of the British legislature, the military government also of the country; the whole civil and military government of the presidency of Fort St. George being vested in a governor and three councillors by the act of 1793.

Although it can never be proper to accuse officers to hesitate as to obeying the usual commands of their superiors, yet this principle, if not limited by law would in its operation tend to the subversion of all government, and put it in the power of any desperate leader, by indemnifying all under him, to issue what orders, and do what acts he chose. But fortunately the principle is sufficiently understood in an English army, that the military state is subordinate to the civil, and that where there is no right to command, there can be no duty to obey. As I deprecate the discussion of public orders of odious and delicate questions, and as I am unwilling to publish any general order on a subject so

perfectly understood (and which but for the prejudices of the moment could never be mistaken) I chose rather to trust to your discretion, that you will exercise the influence of your situation in explaining to those under your command the impropriety of their conduct in thus giving circulation to sentiments of such unfounded and pernicious tendency as are said to be found in that paper regarding Major Boles, and which, I am much afraid, may be attended with very serious consequences to those who have been so ill advised as to affix their signatures to it, for when a paper of this, or of any other factious nature comes before me, I can have no difficulty in advising government how to dispose of the authors of it.

As compassion for Major Boles may have drawn in the officers to this measure, I think it proper here to explain, that Major Boles has, in my opinion, deprived himself of any particular claim to feelings of that nature. It had never been, I was persuaded, the intention of government to deal severely with that officer, but only to vindicate that respect due to their own authority which every government must be anxious to maintain; and accordingly (but without any instructions to that effect) soon after my succeeding to the command, I took the occasion to signify to Major Boles, that if he would express any adequate regret for what he had done, as, that when he affixed his signature to the order he was not aware of the consequences and thought he was acting right, without meaning any offence to government, but was now sorry for what had happened, I would make it my business to get him reinstated in his rank and official situation. But this explanation, so natural to have been expected, and which included in it no personal concession of character, was rejected, (and not without some warmth) by his exclaiming that he was sorry for nothing that had happened, or words to that effect.

I beg to call your attention to the following extract of a general order by this government of 30th December, 1799, by which you will perceive the restrictions to which the circulation of addresses to the army has been limited.

"His lordship in council also prohibits, under the strongest injunctions, the publication in future of any addresses to the army, or to any division of it by any person or persons whatever, without the previous sanction of his lordship, or of the governor-general in council."

I have to rely on your discretion that you will adopt the means suitable to the occasion for the discouragement and prevention of the address above alluded to, or of any other of a similar description in the division under your charge.

(Signed) FRANCIS GOWDIE,  
Major-general comdg.



No. 9.—Letter from captain Grant to Lieutenant-colonel Barclay.

(Private)

Camp, 19th March, 1869.

My dear Barclay,

It is impossible for me, perhaps, to state, in a full and satisfactory manner, all that might be said on the subject which induces me now to communicate with you; but even were it possible, it might be little attended to, and probably considered superfluous.

I shall, therefore, only touch upon my own situation, and act that part which my own judgment dictates.

I have the honour of commanding the body-guard of the honourable Sir G. Barlow, and have for years held that appointment with pride, pleasure, and honour.

I am, I trust, as much alive to the fortunate distinction which has attended me in this and in other situations in the service as it is possible for any soldier to feel, and equally anxious to continue deserving of honour and reputation as any officer in any service.

Under such impressions I now address you. That it is done with pain and with extreme reluctance, you will at once credit, when I acquaint you, that it is my determination to resign the command of the body-guard.

My feelings towards this corps can only be known to myself; and I shall not attempt an impossibility, by a vain endeavour to convey to others what never can be conceived by them. I can, however, assure you, that I have not written thus far without both a pang and a tear.

It is due to my own character, that I should explain my reasons for this measure; and I request that they may be communicated to the honourable Sir G. Barlow.

You must, as well as every other officer, be informed of the agitation which at present is general throughout the service, and at the same time acquainted with the causes which have given rise to so much discussion.

It is no part of my duty to enter into them at present, further than respects my own character and conduct upon the occasion. This I have ever held sacred, and maintained pure from every tinge, even of distant suspicion.

Anxious and resolved to pursue the same course, I decline retaining a situation which, it may be stated, is at variance with my conduct, as I have this day subscribed my name to a letter addressed to major Boles by a great many distinguished and able officers, who feel equally interested and concerned at the situation in which he is placed, and at the reasons which have been assigned for this measure.

I have done this upon principle, and upon principle I shall support it.

There are men who might subscribe to the letter I have mentioned, and still retain a situation of some trifling emolument; such is not the line of conduct I wish to pursue;

yet no man is more desirous than myself to fulfil all his duties, and none, I presume to state, more ready or willing to evince every honourable feeling of zeal and ardour for his own reputation, and the glory of his country.

I enclose a copy of the letter to which I have alluded, in order that you may possess full information on this subject.

My resignation of the body-guard proceeds by this day's tappal to Madras,

Your ever sincerely,

(Signed) J. GRANT.

Major Barclay,

Military Secretary. &c. &c. &c.

Fort St. George.

(A true Copy)

(Signed) A. FALCONAR.

Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 10.—and 11.—Further replies to general Gowdie's circular letter of the 5th March, and 10th April from colonel Cuppage, commanding Malabar.

Colonel Davis, Mysore.

General Pater, Ceded Districts,

Colonel Chalmers, Quilon.

(No. 4).—Copy of the general orders of the 1st of May.

[*Inserted in the Madras occurrences for May.*]

No. 5.—General Orders, 1st of May, by the Madras government, appointing officers in lieu of those displaced by the former order of the same date.

No. 6.—Letter from the Madras government to the commander-in-chief, directing him to supersede certain officers not suspended in the orders of the 1st of May.

No. 7.—Extract from the minutes of consultation in the secret department; dated 21st April, 1869.

(Secret department.)

The president proposes, that for reasons which he will state at a future meeting, the following letter be dispatched to the officer commanding at Vizagapatam:—  
To lieutenant-colonel Aiskill, or officer commanding at Vizagapatam.

Sir,—I am directed to acquaint you, that it having been ascertained that captain Josiah Marshall was principally concerned in preparing and circulating to several of the stations of the army, a seditious paper, purporting to be a memorial from the officers of the army on the establishment of Fort St. George, to the right honourable the governor-general, it is intended that captain Marshall shall be suspended from the service of the honourable company, and required to embark on one of the honourable company's ships, which will shortly touch at Vizagapatam on her way to Bengal, from whence captain Marshall will be ordered to proceed to England on the fleet which will



sail in the month of June next; you are directed to communicate to captain Marshall, notice of his intended suspension from the service, and require him to embark on the ship which will be ordered to receive him at Vizagapatam.

You are authorized to receive charge of captain Marshall's office of paymaster at Vizagapatam, until an arrangement can be made for the conduct of the duties of that office.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief secretary to Government.

Fort St. George,  
21st April, 1809.

No. 8.—Copy of a Letter to the officer commanding at Vizagapatam; 1st May, 1809.

To lieutenant-colonel Francis Aikill, or officer commanding Vizagapatam.

Sir,—You are hereby directed to cause captain Josiah Marshall, late paymaster at Vizagapatam, who has been suspended from the service of the honourable company, to embark on board the honourable company's ship, *Asia*, Tremenhoe, esq. commander, as soon as that vessel shall arrive in Vizagapatam roads.

Captain Tremenhoe has been directed not to leave Vizagapatam road until he shall have received captain Marshall on board his ship, and you will be held responsible for any delay that may occur in his embarkation.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief secretary to government.

Fort St. George,  
11st May, 1809.

No. 9.—Copy of a Letter to the commander of the honourable company's ship *Asia*, 1st May, 1809.

To captain Tremenhoe, commanding the honourable company's ship *Asia*, Madras roads.

Sir,—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council, to desire that on your arrival at Vizagapatam, you will receive captain Josiah Marshall, late paymaster at that station, who has been suspended from the service of the honourable company, and convey him to Bengal.

On your arrival there, you will wait the orders of the governor-general in council regarding captain Marshall, who is not to be permitted to leave your ship until you shall have received the orders of the supreme government for that purpose.

You will not proceed on your voyage from Vizagapatam until you shall have received captain Marshall on board your ship.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief secretary to government.

Fort St. George,  
1st May, 1809.

No. 10.—Copy of a letter to the officer commanding the southern division of the army, 1st May, 1809.

To colonel Wilkinson, commanding the southern division of the army, Trichonopoly.

Sir,—You are hereby directed to use your discretion in permitting lieutenant-colonel the honourable Arthur St. Leger, who has been suspended from the service of the honourable company, and directed to hold himself in readiness to proceed to England, to remain at Trichonopoly for a period not exceeding ten days, for the purpose of settling his private affairs.

I have the honour, &c.  
(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief secretary to government.

Fort St. George,  
1st May, 1809.

No. 11.—Letter from the Madras government to the governor-general, referring to Sir George Barlow's minute and the general orders, 1st May, and reporting the means adopted.

No. 12.—Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel A. St. Leger, 26th April, 1809; with an enclosure.

To the chief secretary to government, Fort St. George.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, a copy of a letter, only received last night, although of date the 7th instant, and in consequence of which I shall lose no time in repairing to Trichonopoly.

That the letter I have herewith the honour to enclose was intended by the honourable the governor in council to hurt my feelings, I am fully satisfied; but that he has succeeded I am unable to deny; that, although it may be in the power of the honourable the governor in council to wound my feelings, and degrade me from command, I am ignorant of any power or authority vested in him to annul that title to which my birth has elevated me, and of which your letter above alluded to deprives me; a deprivation I never once experienced when from my services relief was expected from the apprehended dangers in Travancore.

As removal from command is generally conceived a punishment for an offence committed, I am relieved from much anxiety as to the cause of my removal, by having received officially the copy of a letter addressed by the present commander-in-chief to the officer commanding in Travancore, respecting the expression of the general sense of the army on the unfortunate situation of major Boles, a paper to which I affixed my name, as being purely expressive of my sentiments on the subject to which it relates; and further, I have no hesitation to declare, that had I been appointed to sit as member of a general court martial to investi-



tigate the conduct of major Boles, as having refused to sign and publish the orders of his immediate commander-in-chief, on a subject to purely military I should have awarded cashiering, as a punishment only adequate to such disobedience.

I cannot abstain from adding, in support of my sentiments on this subject, that I believe the first and only time that the obligation of an officer to obey in all cases the orders of his superiors became agitated before the house of commons, was at the instigation of general Burgoyne, at the commencement of the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, when I believe it was admitted, that in cases where the orders to be obeyed were of a reasonable nature, and in these cases only did the responsibility attach to the officers who executed the commands of his military superiors.

From a reference to the public letters I have had the honour to receive from the honourable the governor in council during the whole of the period of my command of the detachment of troops serving in Travancore, I have been led to consider that my conduct had met the approbation of the government of Fort St. George; and although removal from command in this degrading manner be the only mode adopted to reward or mark that approbation, I shall nevertheless at all times feel the purest gratification in exerting my best abilities for the good of that service to which I have had the honour to belong for nearly thirty years, and for whose respectability I must ever feel the warmest interest.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) A. ST. LEGER,  
Lieutenant-colonel.

Camp at Oodagherry,  
26th April, 1809.

(Enclosure.)

To Lieutenant-colonel Macaulay, resident in Travancore.

Sir,—1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., intimating that you had instructed Lieutenant-colonel St. Ledger to proceed with the troops under his command to Veedagherry, and that Lieutenant-colonel Chalmers has been directed to return to Quilon.

2. You will be pleased to instruct Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger to return to Trichinopoly, leaving at Veedagherry the force which you have been authorized to place in that fortress.

3. The governor in council approves your application to Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, for a small party of cavalry consisting of a havildar, naick, and twelve troopers to serve as your escort.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief sec. to govt.

Fort St. George,  
7th April, 1809.

No. 13.—Copy of a letter to the officer commanding the southern division of the army.

Colonel Wilkinson commanding the southern division of the army, Trichinopoly.

Sir, 3d May, 1809.

1. I am directed by the honourable the governor in council to transmit for your information, copy of a letter from Lieutenant-colonel the honourable Arthur St. Leger, dated the 26th ultimo, and received yesterday.

2. I am also directed to inform you that in consequence of the letter above mentioned the governor in council has thought proper to rescind his orders to you of the first instant, which left it at your discretion to allow Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger to remain at Trichinopoly for a period not exceeding ten days; and also to rescind that part of the general order of the 1st instant which directed that officer to repair to the presidency, and to adopt the following resolution regarding him, which you are hereby required to see obeyed, viz.

1st. That Lieutenant-colonel the honourable Arthur St. Leger shall not be permitted to visit Trichinopoly.

2d. That he shall be required to proceed from Pallamcottah, or Madura, according as the orders may reach him, to the sea-coast, and to proceed by that route as far as Sadras, from whence he is to repair with all practicable dispatch to Poonamallee; report his arrival to the officer commanding that station, and wait there for the further orders of government, without coming nearer to the presidency.

If Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger does not give his word of honour to the officer who may be intrusted by Colonel Wilkinson to communicate these orders to him at Pallamcottah, Madura, or any other place, that he will conform to them in every respect, the officer making the communication, and who may not receive such an assurance from Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, is to be required to send him under an escort by the prescribed route to Poonamallee.

4. That if Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger should by any accident arrive at Trichinopoly without having received these orders, he shall not be permitted to remain there above twelve hours; and if it shall appear that he has gone there, after having received a communication of these orders, he shall be sent to Poonamallee with an escort of European infantry.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient servant,

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief sec. to govt.

Fort St. George,  
3d May, 1809.

Fort St. George.—Secret department.  
No 1.—General letter, 6th Sept. 1809.—  
Received per Ganges, 24th Jan, 1810.



To the honourable the secret committee of the honourable the court of directors,

Honourable Sirs,

1. Your honourable committee has been apprised of the reprehensible proceedings of a large proportion of the officers of the army of the honourable company, antecedent to the publication of our general orders of the 1st of May last, and also of the sentiments of the supreme government respecting those proceedings and orders, as stated in their letter to this government, dated the 27th of the same month.

2. We are now preparing for transmission to your honourable committee, by a sea-conveyance, a full detail of the unprecedented events which have since occurred in the army of this establishment. In the mean time, we have deemed it to be advisable to transmit to you, by an over-land dispatch, the following summary account of those events, and of the measures which we pursued for the support of the authority of the government, and for the security of the public interests.

3. No measures had been adopted by this government, relating to the army, subsequent to the publication of our orders of the 1st of May, and we entertained a confident expectation that the examples of punishment announced in those orders would have suppressed the spirit of insubordination which had manifested itself amongst the officers of the army.

4. We are concerned, however, to state that these examples failed to produce the beneficial effects which we had every reason to expect from them; and that principles of insubordination and sedition continued to prevail among the company's officers, if possible, with aggravated violence.

5. The officers of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, whose conduct had been favourably noticed in our orders of the 1st of May, immediately on the receipt of those orders, publicly announced to the army their participation in the sentiments of the disaffected officers, and intimated, in a threatening letter transmitted by the post directly to our president, their intention of separating themselves from the authority of this government, unless we consented to rescind our general orders of the 1st May. The garrison of Masulipatam, about the same time, broke out into open rebellion, and imprisoned their commanding officer.

6. Anxious to impress on the minds of the officers a sense of the impropriety of their conduct, we published to the army the dispatch from the supreme government, dated the 27th of May last, in which the reprehensible nature of the conduct of the disaffected officers was fully explained, and the measures adopted by this government, in consequence of that conduct, entirely approved. This solemn decision of the supreme authority in India, also proved in-

effectual. The officers at Hyderabad, in prosecution of the determination which they had announced of throwing off the authority of the government, refused, in a paper addressed to the officer commanding the subsidiary forces, to permit the march of a battalion ordered from that station to Goa, declaring that they might shortly have occasion for its assistance to support their cause. Those officers, at the same time, published to the army, and forwarded to this government, a most seditious paper, which they denominated their ultimatum; requiring, among other demands, a public revocation of our orders of the 1st of May; the restoration of all officers who have been removed by this government; and finally an amnesty for the whole army. The garrison of Masulipatam had placed itself in a state of open rebellion; the troops at Hyderabad and Seringapatam had followed their example; and an organized system of combination for the purpose of subverting the authority of the government by force of arms, was established throughout the greatest part of the company's army of this establishment.

7. These proceedings evinced that the disaffected officers had been actuated by a determined spirit of revolt, and which it became indispensably necessary to repress by the strongest and most decided measures, in order to obviate the fatal consequences which must have resulted from it to the constitution and the authority of this government, as well as the other governments in India. To have prostrated the public authority by yielding to the menaces of a body of men in a state of open rebellion, would have been a most criminal desertion of our duty, and of the interests of our country committed to our charge.

We considered it, therefore, to be incumbent on us to resist every appearance of concession to the threats of faction and sedition, and we determined to employ the power and resources at our disposal for the restoration of subordination, and for the maintenance of the honour and authority of the government.

8.—With this view it became necessary to ascertain the sentiments and dispositions of all the officers of the company's army, that we might know to whom we could, with safety, intrust the arms of the state. A letter was accordingly addressed on the 26th July, to officers commanding the several divisions of the army, directing them to require from the company's officers a declaration upon honour, they would obey the orders, and support the authority of the government of Fort St. George, in conformity to the tenor of their commissions. The officers commanding the divisions were, at the same time, ordered to remove for a time from the exercise of their military functions such officers as should refuse to subscribe to the declaration, placing other off-



cers of his majesty's or the honourable company's service in the charge of their corps. The officers so removed were directed to proceed and take up their residence at the different places on the sea coast, between Sadras and Negapatam. Every necessary precaution was taken to ensure the successful execution of the measure, and it was carried into effect at most of the principal stations of the army to the southward of the river Kistnah.

10.—By the adoption of this measure we secured the services of a large proportion of our Native army, and prevented the disaffected officers from involving, by means of delusion and misrepresentation, the corps under their command in the general combination and rebellion against the authority of the government. The Native troops, during the execution of these arrangements manifested the greatest steadiness and attachment to the state; and whenever an opportunity was offered of explaining to the Native officers the situation of affairs, and the nature of their duty to the government, they uniformly expressed their firm determination to adhere to their allegiance to the company, and to obey such officers as the government might think proper to command them. In some few instances the Native troops had been misled by the misrepresentations of their guilty officers, but they generally soon discovered the deception, and manifested an anxious desire to adhere to their duty to the government.

11.—We shall here only add, that the plans of the disaffected have been entirely defeated; that all the officers who were in open rebellion (excepting the officers at Jaulnah, whose public submission we are informed by the resident at Hyderabad may be daily expected) have submitted unconditionally to the authority of the government, have signed the declaration prescribed by its orders of the 26th of July, and have thrown themselves on its mercy.

12.—We ascribe the early and favourable termination of the late disorders chiefly to the successful result of the measure of the 26th of July, to the loyalty and discipline manifested by his majesty's troops, to the exemplary conduct and example of a considerable body of the most respectable of the company's officers, to the fidelity generally evinced by the Native officers and men, to the impression made by the bodies of troops assembled in the vicinity of the presidency for the protection of the seat of government, and at other commanding situations, and to the declared determination of the government to employ all its power and resources for the maintenance of its authority.

13.—It now only remains to reward those officers who have faithfully discharged their duty to their country, to punish those who have violated that duty; and to make

such arrangements as shall effectually guard the public interests against the recurrence of the dangers by which they have been assailed.

14.—We have judged it to be our duty to reserve the consideration of these important questions until the arrival of the right honourable the governor-gen., whose wisdom will, we are persuaded, adopt such decisions regarding them as will be best calculated to establish the public authority and interests on the most secure and lasting foundations.

We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,

Your faithful, humble servants,

(Signed) G. H. BARLOW,

W. PETERL,

J. OAK S,

J. H. CASAMAJOR.

Fort St. George,  
6th September, 1809.

#### ENCLOSURES.

(No. 2).—In Madras secret letter, of 6th September, 1809.

General Orders Head-quarters of the army, Choultry Plain, 3d August, 1809.

[*Inserted in the Madras Occurrences for August.*]

(No. 3).—Orders by the Madras government, 4th August, and 6th August, 1809; and 7th August, containing further details of appointments to supply the vacancies occasioned by the orders of the 1st May, and the refusal of the test.

[*Inserted in the Occurrences at Madras for the month of August.*]

No. 4.—The G. O. of lieut. Minto, of 20th July.

[*Inserted in the occurrences for Madras for the month of Sept.*]

No. 5.—General orders by Madras government, 9th August, proclaiming pardon to the non-commissioned, and private soldiers, at Masulipatam.

[*Inserted in the occurrences at Madras for the month of August.*]

No. 6.—G. O. 12th August recapitulating the proceedings relative to the army, from the departure of general Macdowall, to the present time; justifying all the acts of the government.

[*Inserted in the Madras occurrences for the month of August.*]

No. 7.—G. O. by gov. 18th August, 1809.

Announcing the victory, obtained over two battalions of sepoys, who were attacked, on the march to Seringapatam, by the forces under the command of colonel Gibbs.

[*Inserted in the Madras occurrences for August.*]



Fort St. George.—Secret Department.  
GENERAL LETTER, 10th September, 1809.—Received per Rautenakke, the 12th March, 1810.

To the honourable the secret committee of the honourable court of directors.

Honourable Sirs,

We had the honour of transmitting to your honourable committee on the 28th of June last, through the channel of your secretary, a copy of the letter from the supreme government, under date the 27th of May last, on the subject of the reprehensible conduct of a considerable number of the officers of the company's army of this establishment.

2.—Since the date of those dispatches, the seditious proceedings of the disaffected officers have threatened the most serious danger to the public interests; it is with sentiments of the greatest satisfaction we inform you that the measures of the government have entirely succeeded in re-establishing obedience to its authority throughout the army of this presidency.

3.—Your honourable committee have been already apprized of the events which rendered it necessary to adopt the measures communicated to the army in our general order of the 1st May last: in publishing those orders, we entertained a confident expectation that the examples of punishment which they announced, and which were confined to the officers who were generally known and fully proved to have been principally instrumental in promoting disaffection, would have effectually checked the criminal course of proceedings which they had pursued, and prevented the necessity of more extensive punishments; the immediate result of those orders corresponded with our expectations, and confirmed the correctness of the grounds on which they were issued, the justness of the principles which they were calculated to enforce, and the necessity of the examples of punishment which they announced were generally acknowledged; they produced an impression entirely favourable to the public interests throughout the greatest part of the army, and would have suppressed for a time the spirit of insubordination which prevailed, if that spirit had not been again excited by the proceedings of the officers of the subsidiary force at Hyderabad.

4.—It was judged expedient, on grounds of policy and justice, to distinguish by the approbation of the government, in the orders of 1st of May, those branches of the army which had manifested a zealous sense of public duty, by refusing their concurrence to the criminal proceedings of the disaffected officers; the thanks of the government were accordingly conveyed to his Majesty's troops, and to the company's officers attached to the Hyderabad subsidiary force; but this expression of public approbation, so creditable to the persons to whom it was applied, and so gratifying to the feelings of soldiers, was received by the officers of the subsidiary force in a manner which too plainly evinced that they were

neither deserving of that honourable testimony nor free from the seditious spirit with which a large proportion of the officers of the army were so deeply affected.

5.—Disatisfied with expressions of approbation which they conceived were calculated to separate them from the rest of the army, and to ascribe to them a disapproval of the proceedings of their brother officers, and an acquiescence in the propriety of the measures of the government, they circulated on the 18th of May, an address to the army, intimating their entire approbation of the seditious proceedings which had been adopted by the disaffected officers, their unqualified condemnation of the acts of the government, their resolution to contribute towards the support of the officers who had fallen under its displeasure, and their readiness to join in any legal measures for the restoration of those officers to their situations in the service.

6.—Lieutenant-colonel Montresor, the officer commanding the subsidiary force, having obtained private information of the intention to prepare this address, reported the circumstance to the officer commanding the army, and urged the most forcible arguments to dissuade the officers from adopting a step so repugnant to every obligation of their duty; lieutenant-colonel Montresor, however, (unfortunately in our judgment) did not on this occasion deem it advisable to adopt those timely measures of decision which could alone have been expected to check the progress of sedition.

7.—The example of the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, which derived importance from its strength in company's troops, its position, and complete state of its equipment for field service, had powerful effect on the rest of the army, and was generally followed.

8.—A spirit of sedition again broke out, and the measures of the government were discussed and condemned in the most public and indecent manner, and committees of officers were established at all the military stations. These committees assumed the exercise of the highest powers, and commenced an active correspondence with each other, for the purpose of forming and combining their plans of revolt.

9.—The ostensible objects of the disaffected officers were, a redress of alleged grievances, the obtaining of Bengal allowances, the dismissal of unpopular officers from their offices, and the restoration of the officers who had been removed from office, or suspended from the service by the government. There is every reason, however, to believe that those objects were considered as preliminary only to the accomplishment of more extensive and dangerous views, and particularly the subversion of the present government.

10.—The correspondence of the committees were conducted with the greatest secrecy, and we were induced, for a short period of time, by an appearance of order, to encourage a be-



liaf that the officers had begun to abandon their improper proceedings.

11.—This belief was, however, soon proved to be without foundation, by the conduct of the Hydrabad force, who after the circulation of their address to the army, which we have already mentioned, communicated to their commanding officer a draft of an address which they proposed to transmit to the government. They threatened in that paper to separate themselves from the authority of the government, unless their demands should be granted, and intimated that, in case of a refusal, the scenes acted at Vellore might be repeated with increased effect. The officers were induced, by lieutenant-colonel Montresor's remonstrances, to delay for a few days the transmission of this seditious address; they, however, employed the interval in obtaining the signatures of that part of the force which is stationed at Jalaah, in the province of Berar, and on the 23d of June they forwarded the paper directly to the Government, with the signatures of one hundred and eighty-six officers affixed to it, and with no material alteration from the draft submitted to colonel Montresor, excepting the omission of the observation relative to the mutiny at Vellore.

12.—During the occurrence of these transactions at Hydrabad, the officers at Masulipatam formed and executed a plan of open mutiny. This event originated, in reality, in the prevailing spirit of disaffection and revolt. But it will be necessary to review, in a summary manner, the circumstances by which that mutiny was ostensibly produced.

13.—The Madras European regiment stationed at Masulipatam, had been for some time remarkable for a relaxation of discipline. The insubordination of that corps (which had been considerably increased by the very exceptional speech addressed to it by the late commander-in-chief) induced major-general Gowdie to select lieutenant-colonel Innes, an officer of approved zeal and public spirit, for the charge of it, and we at the same time appointed that officer to the command of the garrison of Masulipatam.

14.—Lieutenant colonel Innes found it necessary, immediately on assuming the command of Masulipatam, to exert his authority in checking the intemperate proceedings of his officers. The violent and disrespectful conduct of lieutenant Forbes and Maitland at the mess of the regiment, on the evening of lieutenant-colonel Innes's arrival, obliged him to recommend to the officer commanding the army in chief, the measure of marking their misconduct by detaching the former to a remote station, and suggesting the removal of the latter from the situation of quarter-master. The officers affected to consider this measure as an act of unmerited rigour, derogatory to the character of the regiment, and of the service.

15.—About this time an urgent applica-

tion was received by us from the naval commander-in-chief, for the services of 100 Europeans to act for a time as marines on board of his majesty's ships. It had for some years been customary to detach parties of troops to serve as marines on board his majesty's ships, when required by the exigencies of the public service. Orders had, however, been recently received from his royal highness the Duke of York, forbidding the employment of his majesty's troops on that duty, excepting in cases of the greatest emergency. His majesty's regiment had for some years furnished the parties required for this duty, and several of those parties had been nearly two years detached from their corps. The Madras European regiment had been long unemployed, and the services of the whole corps were not required at Masulipatam; we determined, therefore, to comply at once with the urgent application of the naval commander-in-chief, and the orders of his royal highness the Duke of York, by directing a detachment from the Madras European regiment of three officers and 100 men to embark on his majesty's ships. The ships of war intended to receive those men arrived at Masulipatam on the 24th of June.

16.—The officers of the European regiment being prepared for mutiny by the concurring causes already described, resolved to avail themselves of this opportunity to execute their purpose; and to obtain the co-operation of their men, they persuaded the men that the embarkation of the detachment was only a preliminary step to breaking the regiment, and transferring the men to the navy. They assured the men that it was their intention to resist this unjust and oppressive act of the government, and called upon them in return to support their officers. A deputation from the officers of the garrison waited upon colonel Innes, informed him of their determination to resist the orders for the embarkation of the detachment, recommended to him to wait the result of a reference to Madras on the subject, and proceeded, on being apprized of his determination to execute the orders of the government, to place him in close arrest. Major Storey, of the 19th regiment of Native infantry, the officer next in seniority at Masulipatam, assumed the command of the garrison to obviate, as he pretended, the dangerous consequence which would have resulted from an attempt to enforce the embarkation of the detachment. It has been ascertained, that the whole of this proceeding had been concerted and communicated to the rest of the army some time previous to the period of its execution.

17.—On receiving intelligence of the mutiny, we appointed lieutenant-colonel Malcolm, in whose zeal and talents we entertained the fullest confidence, to the command of the Madras European regiment,



and the garrison of Masulipatam, for the purpose of re-establishing the authority of the government over the troops, inquiring into the causes of the mutiny, and placing the most guilty of the offenders under arrest. Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm was not furnished with any written instructions: it was left to his discretion to adopt such measures as circumstances might render advisable, with the view to the accomplishment of the objects of his deputation.

18.—Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm immediately proceeded by sea to Masulipatam: on his arrival he found that the officers of the garrison had formed themselves into a committee, in which every officer had a voice. The greatest anarchy and confusion prevailed, and it was with difficulty that he prevailed on the officers to acknowledge his authority.

19.—As it was never in the contemplation of the government to disband the European regiment, it was expected that Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm would have taken the earliest opportunity to communicate to the men a distinct and public disavowal of that intention on the part of the government, and have employed the most strenuous exertions to recal the men to a sense of their duty, by impressing upon their minds the degree of guilt and danger in which their officers, for purposes entirely personal to themselves, had endeavoured to involve them. It was also expected that Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm, by establishing his influence and authority over the troops composing the garrison, would have secured their obedience, and by that means have deprived the officers of the power of prosecuting their designs, and brought the leaders to trial for their mutinous conduct.

20.—Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm appears, however, to have adopted a course of proceeding entirely different from that which we had in view in deputing him to Masulipatam. He abstained from making any direct communication to the men; and when we authorized him, with a view of detaching the troops from the cause of their officers, to proclaim a pardon to the European and Native soldiers for the part which they might have taken in the mutiny, he judged it to be proper to withhold the promulgation of the pardon from an apprehension (as stated in his letter to our president, dated the 18th of July,) of irritating the minds of the European officers, and driving them to despair.

21.—To this apparently unreasonable forbearance and attention to the feelings of officers, who had by their acts of violence and aggression forfeited all claims to such consideration, may, we conceive, be ascribed Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm's failure in the establishment of any efficient control over the garrison; and he appears to have been principally occupied, during the period of his residence at Masulipatam, in negotia-

tions with the disorderly committees, calculated in our opinion to compromise rather than establish his authority, and in fruitless attempts to induce them by argument to return to their duty, and abandon the criminal combination in which they had engaged. Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm's reasons for pursuing this line of conduct, and for recommending to us the adoption of conciliatory and temporizing measures, are detailed in his letters to our president dated the 4th, 5th, and 6th of July. In those letters, he states, that the officers at Masulipatam had received assurances from most of the military stations of the army, applauding their conduct, and promising them effectual support; that the whole army were united in a resolution to oppose the authority of government; that the combination was general; that there was not a single corps from Gangam to Cape Combrin which was not prepared to break out into open rebellion. The measures recommended by lieutenant-colonel Malcolm, as constituting in his opinion the only means of averting the most dreadful calamities, consisted of a modified repeal of the orders of the first of May, the restoration to the service, and to their appointments, of all the officers whom we had found it necessary to suspend or remove, with an intimation to the army, that their claims to Bengal allowances would be brought to the notice of the honourable court of directors. Lieutenant-colonel Malcolm returned to Madras on the arrival of major-general Pater at Masulipatam to assume the command of the northern division of the army, having succeeded no further in accomplishing the object of his mission, than in preventing the officers from adopting any flagrant acts of outrage to authority during his residence at Masulipatam.

22.—Previously to lieutenant-colonel Malcolm's return to the presidency, we received advices from lieutenant-colonel Montresor, stating that the officers at Hyderabad had in a body refused obedience to the orders of the government, for the march of a battalion from that station to Goa. Those officers addressed a letter to colonel Montresor on this occasion, in which they stated, that having united amongst themselves, and with the whole army, in a resolution to obtain a redress of grievances, they consider any attempt to divide them as incompatible with that resolution; that they would not therefore consent to the march of the 2d battalion, 10th regiment of Native infantry, whose assistance might soon be necessary to them, and of whose attachment to their cause they were assured, but that they were ready to obey all colonel Montresor's orders for the internal regulation of the force. Every argument was used by colonel Montresor to induce the officers to abandon the dangerous and criminal intention which they had announced, but his remonstrances were ineffectual.

23.—The officers at Hyderabad followed up



this act by presenting to colonel Montresor, on the 21st of July, a paper containing certain demands which they styled their ultimatum, but at the same time pledged themselves to remain quiet until an answer could arrive from the government. This paper demanded, first the repeal of the general order of the 1st May, in the same public manner in which that order was promulgated. Secondly, the restoration of every officer who had been removed or suspended by the government. Thirdly, the trial of lieutenant-colonel Innes, for his general conduct at Masulipatam. Fourthly, the removal from office of the officers of the general staff, whom they supposed had advised the government. And lastly, a general amnesty for the measures which the officers of the coast army had adopted. The signatures of all the officers of the subsidiary force, excepting the staff, were affixed to this address.

24.—The nature of the conditions contained in that paper, so derogatory to the honour and authority of the government, and so repugnant to every principle of military discipline, afforded a convincing proof of the determined spirit of sedition which prevailed in the army at that period of time. The resident at Hyderabad, in a letter addressed to our president, described the extreme agitation which prevailed in the army; dwelt on the calamitous consequences which must result from the threatened separation of the civil and military authorities, and appeared to anticipate the horrors of a civil war, unless means could be devised to appease the irritation in the minds of the officers, whose men he stated were prepared, he believed, to support their officers in their opposition to the authority of the government. In a subsequent letter of the 23d July, the resident, however, mentioned, that upon full enquiry he did not find that the European officers had taken any steps to gain the Native troops to their cause.

25.—On the 28th of July our president acquainted the resident, through the channel of his military secretary, that it was the firm and unalterable determination of the government not to compromise the public authority in the slightest degree, as any such compromise would lead to evils of the greatest magnitude, which would be irremediable.

26.—The force at Jaulnah prepared, on the 3th July, an intemperate address to the governor-general, requesting that he would proceed to Fort St. George, and assume the government of this presidency, in order to relieve the army from the intolerable oppression under which they stated it to be labouring. The address was, however, returned to its authors by lieutenant-colonel Montresor, and was not forwarded to the governor-general.

27.—It may be proper to observe, that the army had no grievances, and no causes of complaint: the licentious and turbulent spirit which actuated them was equally adverse

to the efficiency of their own body, which must always depend on its discipline, to the authority of the government, and to the interests of the nation. We have, therefore, during the whole progress of these disturbances, been influenced by an earnest solicitude to suppress a course of proceedings so pregnant with disastrous consequences; and we conceived that this important object would be accomplished by a firm, but temperate maintenance of our authority, by pursuing measures equally remote on the one hand from increasing the spirit of insubordination in the army by an appearance of weakness on the part of the government, and on the other from exciting discontent by undue severity, by making reasonable appeals to the patriotism, the reason, and the zeal, of the officers, and finally, by exhibiting salutary, but moderate examples of punishment, when such measures became necessary to repress insubordination, and to enforce discipline. It was a leading principle in our proceedings to temper punishment with clemency, to avoid measures of unnecessary rigour or improper concession, and to maintain the authority of the government by a just, dignified, and decided exercise of its powers. We concluded that there were a number of loyal and thinking men in the army, who, although misled for a moment by the influence of circumstances, would abandon their designs when they became likely to produce serious consequences; and we supposed that the army, in general, when they found that the government was not to be intimidated into a compliance with their demands, would return to their ordinary habits of obedience and discipline. Our conduct was regulated by these considerations, until the proceedings of the army, in opposition to all our endeavours, arrived at lengths which imperiously demanded the most vigorous measures for the preservation of the state from the evils attendant on military anarchy and a complete dissolution of all legal authority. The memorial of the army, on the subject of the Bengal allowances, although it indicated a considerable relaxation of discipline in that body, did not demand a particular exertion of our authority; and the formal manner in which that highly improper paper was recommended to our favourable notice by the late commander-in-chief, rendered it difficult to mark our displeasure of its contents without adopting extreme measures towards that officer. The subsequent conduct of the commander-in-chief, in connection with his former proceedings, was too dangerous to the public authority to be permitted to pass unnoticed, consistently with the maintenance of the first principles of government, and with the state of affairs at the time under this presidency. We were of opinion, that the example of necessary punishment, adopted on this occasion, would have effectually checked the spirit of insubordination which appeared in the army; and when we found that some factious and discontented



persons were again employing endeavours to foment that spirit, we judged it to be sufficient to order the commander-in-chief to apprise the army, in a circular letter, dated the 5th of March, of the improper and criminal nature of their proceedings and to call upon them, by the most powerful motives of honour, loyalty, and duty, to relinquish those proceedings.\* In the same temper we published to the army the letter from the supreme government, dated the 20th of February last, which gave the sanction of the highest authority in India to the measures which we had adopted. These communications having been found insufficient to check the activity of the faction formed in the army, we judged it proper to direct the commander-in-chief to issue another circular letter, dated the 10th of April, explaining the powers and authority of the government, describing the penalties which would attend a violation of that authority, and again exhorting the officers, by an appeal to their reason, their discipline, and their patriotism, to adhere to their duty. The improper proceedings of the army had hitherto been carefully concealed, and these appeals to their honour and virtue had, therefore, no appearance of concession or of weakness on the part of the government. The minds of the officers had however received at this time too strong a bias towards disorder and turbulence to be reclaimed by the voice of reason, and their proceedings assumed a character of unqualified insubordination and sedition, which again demanded an example of punishment. The general orders of the 1st of May could not indeed have been delayed without producing the deepest injury to the authority of the government, and hastening the arrival of an extreme crisis, which they had the effect of retarding. The state of submission and obedience produced by these orders, would, no doubt, have continued for a considerable period of time, if it had not, as already stated, been interrupted by the proceedings of a few factious officers at Hyderabad. Encouraged to pursue their designs by the impunity which attended their first acts of insubordination after the publication of the orders of the 1st of May, those officers took the lead in exciting rebellion, and their example was soon followed by a large proportion of the officers of the army. The first memorial to the government for the repeal of the orders of the 1st of May, and the intelligence of the mutiny at Masulipatam, reached the presidency about the same period of time. On a careful consideration of the measures proper to be adopted in this conjuncture, it appeared to be advisable to adhere to the principle which we had hitherto observed of maintaining discipline by a firm, determined, and dignified exercise of the public authority. The events which had occurred at Hyderabad and Masulipatam could not be viewed with in an isolated light. It was

necessary to act regarding them with reference to their connection with the feelings of a large proportion of the army, and to the general maintenance of the public authority. The memorial from the officers at Hyderabad was of a most criminal nature, and demanded our serious notice; but as the officers professed their willingness to execute their duty until they should receive an answer to that paper, it was expedient to postpone a consideration of it until the more dangerous occurrences at Masulipatam should be brought to a satisfactory termination. The officers of this garrison were in open rebellion; it was indispensably necessary to reduce them to order; and the means of accomplishing that object, with a question, the determination of which was attended with the greatest difficulty: it was to be effected either by concession, by force, or by pursuing such a line of conduct as would avoid the danger of these two methods, and re-establish order by the ordinary exercise of authority. Concession, in the face of open mutiny, was inconsistent with every principle of government, and entirely inexpedient, while any other means remained of removing the evil. To subdue the mutiny by force could be effected only by sending a body of troops to Masulipatam; but it was believed that this measure would precipitate the officers there, and at Hyderabad, and even in other parts of the army, into open rebellion; a state of things to be avoided until the last extremity. It was therefore judged advisable to send to Masulipatam an officer of rank, talents, and experience, vested with full powers to adopt the most effectual measures for the restoration of order, an arrangement which appeared to promise success, when it was considered that the soldiers had no interest in supporting the cause of their officers. We had hitherto continued to expect that the firmness of our measures, and the good sense of the officers of the army, would have finally succeeded in restoring order; but we were convinced by the failure of lieutenant-colonel Malcolm's mission, by the addresses received from Hyderabad, and by the intelligence obtained from other quarters, that it was necessary to calculate on the possibility of the officers proceeding to the last extremities of rebellion, and to consider the means of preventing, or finally of meeting, that arduous state of things. The moderate course of conduct pursued by the government, and which was founded on a favourable opinion of the loyalty of the army, had failed, and we were reduced to the alternative of making the concession demanded by the officers, or subduing them by force.

28.—We considered concession to the demands of the dissaffected officers to be pregnant with consequences more dangerous to the public interests than any which could result from the most strenuous efforts for the maintenance of our authority; concession



would have effectually confirmed the spirit of sedition and insubordination which pervaded the army; it would have established an ascendant power in the army uncontrollable by the government, it would have strengthened the presumption, contempt for authority, and confidence in their power, which were but too prevalent in the army, and, if it had not actually caused the subversion of the government, would have reduced it to a degree of weakness which would have led to the most fatal disorders. Any attempt, even for the purposes of conciliation, in the existing state of things, would have been productive of equally pernicious effects. To have endeavoured to conciliate at a time when the conduct of the army demanded signal punishment, would naturally have produced the conclusion, that our measures were dictated by a consciousness of our weakness, and would in fact have borne the appearance of submission to the outrageous conduct and menacing language of the army. These considerations derived force from the peculiar nature of the demands of the army. They required the repeal of orders issued by the government for the punishment of officers who had committed great offences. The repeal of those orders would in fact have been an acknowledgement of their being either unjust, or of the army having a right to screen persons from the punishment due to their offences. In either case, that measure would have transferred one of the most important rights of government to the army, and have made that body entirely independent of the law. We therefore resolved, after mature reflection on all the considerations which entered into this most important question, to avoid concession, and to maintain the just right and powers of the government by a firm exertion of its authority, and by a prompt employment for that purpose, of all the means at our command. This resolution was also founded on a consideration of the resources at our disposal for defeating the designs of the disaffected officers, if they should proceed to extremities. We knew that his majesty's troops were entirely loyal, and we calculated on having at our command a force sufficient to overawe the disaffected officers, or, if necessary, to reduce them by force.

29.—We were not insensible to the great responsibility which we should encounter, in the execution of this resolution, to maintain the authority intrusted to us unimpaired, but we entertained no doubt of the ultimate success of that course of proceeding; and as we have already stated, we were convinced that it would involve no consequences which were not infinitely less dangerous to the national interests than those which would have necessarily resulted from submission to the demands of a revolted army.

30.—Having found it necessary to take our contemplation, the possibility of disaffected officers proceeding to extremi-

ties, we lost no time in making the military arrangements which would be requisite, in that event, for the public security. These arrangements were directed to the immediate objects of obtaining the services of the largest proportion practicable of his majesty's troops, and making such a distribution of the company's army, as would place it, to the greatest possible extent, under the controul of his majesty's regiments. Although we had a considerable force of his majesty's troops at our command, we deemed it to be advisable to apply to the governments of Bombay and Ceylon, for the services of such proportions of his majesty's troops as could be spared by those governments. Arrangements were at the same time adopted, for making such a distribution of the company's troops, as would place the principal bodies of them at the same stations with his majesty's regiments, and divide the rest into small parties.

31.—The march of a battalion of the 10th regiment from Hydrabad, formed a part of those arrangements. Three battalions had also been ordered to march from Travancore, where there was a preponderating force of the company's troops. His majesty's 12th regiment was ordered to proceed to Seringapatam, in order to secure that important fortress, but having experienced great sickness on its rout, it was permitted to halt at Trichinopoly; it then became necessary to weaken the garrison of Seringapatam, which was entirely composed of the company's troops, in order to prevent them from maintaining themselves in that large fortress. A battalion of sepoys, and a company of artillery, were accordingly ordered to march from Seringapatam to Bangalore.

32.—The orders for all these movements of the company's troops were issued on the 9th of July, but in consequence of subsequent intelligence of the designs of the disaffected officers, we found it necessary, on the 12th of July, to direct the disposable troops in the centre division, to encamp in the vicinity of Fort St. George, for the purpose of protecting the seat of government, overawing the discontented officers, and placing ourselves in a state of readiness for the prosecution of such measures as might eventually become necessary.

33.—The officers at Hydrabad had now, in the manner already described, openly thrown off their allegiance, and declared that the whole army had united with them, and the intelligence received from every other quarter confirmed the truth of their declaration.

34.—In this state of things, it became imperiously necessary to adopt, immediately, either a course of conciliation and concession, or to prepare to oppose the designs of the disaffected officers by open force. The evils of the former, course of proceeding were great and certain, and apparently irreparable, while it appeared to be probable, that a



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vigorous course of measures in support of the authority of the government, would either overawe the disaffected officers, or force them into submission at an early period of time.

35.—In order, however, to be able to adopt a system of vigorous measures, with hopes of early and decided success, it was essentially necessary to ascertain the real disposition of all the troops under our authority, to secure immediately, on the side of the government, the largest proportion practicable of the Native troops, to remove from authority all officers who had imbibed sentiments of sedition, and to apprise the Native troops generally of the designs, and deliver them from the influence of the disaffected officers. The officers at Hyderabad had declared, that the whole army were united in their cause, and the troops assembled by government for the enforcement of its authority might be expected, in a situation of emergency, to join the revolted officers and act against the state.

36.—These considerations induced us, on the 26th July, to adopt the resolution of demanding from the officers of the honourable company's service a pledge of their fidelity to the government, and of removing for a time from the exercise of authority, such officers as should refuse to give that pledge. We were satisfied of the practicability of carrying this important measure into execution at all the stations to the southward of the river Kistnah, without material difficulty or danger, as the company's troops at most of those stations were under the controul of his majesty's regiments.

37.—We accordingly, in circular letters which we addressed on the 26th of July to the officers commanding the principal divisions and stations of the army, (who happened fortunately to be officers of his majesty's and the honourable company's service, on whose fidelity we could depend) enclosed copies of the letters from the officers at Hyderabad to lieutenant-colonel Montresor, announcing their determination to resist the orders of the government for the march of the ad battalion, 10th regiment. We pointed out the indispensable necessity which existed for the adoption of a course of measures of a most decided nature, as the plans of the disaffected threatened either a civil war, or such a blow to the power and constitution of the government as would produce evils of the most fatal nature: we expressed the satisfaction which we derived from the gratifying reflection, that we might confidently rely on the discipline, zeal, and national attachment of his majesty's troops, together with a persuasion that a number of the company's officers would be impressed with a sense of the dangers which the infatuated conduct of a party of disaffected men threatened to themselves and to their country, and would avoid all participation in a course of proceedings of the deepest guilt, and pregnant with the most

fatal calamities. We further pointed out to the officers commanding divisions, the absolute necessity which existed, at that alarming and unprecedented crisis, to employ all the means at our disposal for the suppression of a spirit of insubordination, sedition, and usurpation, which menaced the subversion of the government. We informed them that these considerations, the actual state of affairs, and the necessity of averting such serious dangers, had rendered it requisite that we should ascertain the principles and sentiments of the officers entrusted with authority under us; that we did not suspect individuals, but that when so great a proportion of the army had manifested a determined spirit of revolt, we considered it to be essentially requisite that the zealous and faithful should be distinguished from those who were not disposed to support the authority of government, and that the latter should be no longer permitted to exercise functions which they were unwilling to employ in the service of their country. Influenced by these reasons, we directed them to assemble immediately, on the receipt of our instructions, all the European officers of the company's service, at their respective stations, to communicate to them the tenor of those instructions, and to call on them to subscribe the following declaration:—

"We, the undersigned officers of the honourable company's service, do, in the most solemn manner, declare upon our word of honour, as British officers, that we will obey the orders, and support the authority of the governor in council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which we hold from that government."

38.—We further directed, that such of the officers as should decline to subscribe this declaration, should be forthwith removed from the execution of duty with the troops, and allowed to resign, drawing their ordinary allowances at such stations on the sea coast as they might select for their residence, between Sadras and Negapatnam, until the state of affairs, and the temper of their own minds, should admit of their being again employed with advantage to the state. We added, that those officers could have no reason whatever to complain of this measure, or consider it a hardship, for they could not expect that the government would intrust them with an authority which they were not willing to employ in its support.

39.—We further instructed the officers in command of divisions, to assemble, after the execution of those orders, all the native officers, to explain to them with candour and confidence, the grounds on which the orders were issued; to inform them, that certain European officers, in pursuit of objects entirely personal to themselves, had formed designs against the government of the most criminal nature, and were desirous of involving the native troops in the guilt and danger attending



their execution; and to impress upon the minds of the native troops that their first duty was to the government, and that they were to refuse a belief to any suggestions calculated to mislead their minds, or excite discontent.

We further instructed the commanding officers to state to the Native officers, that the government were more anxious to improve their situation than (as had been reported) to tender it less favourable, and to recall to their minds the constant solicitude which the government had manifested for their welfare; and, finally, to assure them, that the utmost confidence was placed in their discipline and fidelity; that the existing disturbances would be soon composed; and that the government entertained a firm persuasion that they would on no account violate the duty which they owed to the state.

40.—The officers commanding divisions were finally apprized, that similar instructions had been communicated to all the officers commanding divisions of the army to the southward of Kistnah.

41.—As the orders of the 26th of July very considerably influenced succeeding events, and materially contributed to the suppression of the late disorders, we think it proper to detail their immediate effects in the several divisions of the army.

42.—The orders were carried into immediate and complete execution throughout the whole of the centre division of the army, including the garrison of Fort St. George, the camp in the vicinity of Fort St. George, the garrison of Vellore, and the several subordinate posts. All the company's officers (with the exception of the staff, and a few others) having previously pledged themselves to support each other in their plans of sedition, refused to sign the declaration; they were, in consequence, immediately removed from the exercise of their military functions, and ordered to proceed with all practicable expedition to such places on the sea coast, between Sadras and Negapatam, as they might select for their residence; officers of approved loyalty were attached to the corps.

43.—Lieutenant-colonel Conran, commanding the troops at Fort St. George, lieutenant-colonel Hare, commanding the camp formed near the mount, and lieutenant-colonel Lang, commanding at Vellore, carried this measure into effect with exemplary firmness and ability, and were supported in the most zealous manner by the troops. The native troops at all those stations, on receiving the explanations which we had prescribed in our orders of the 26th of July, immediately recognized the obvious principles of duty which we had stated to them, and unanimously declared their firm determination to adhere to their allegiance to the state, to obey no orders but those of the government, and of the officers whom the government might appoint to command them. The immediate result of the measure of the 26th of July in the centre division was, that all the company's troops were brought completely under the controul of the government,

and that every officer disposed to disobey its orders, or disturb public order, was removed from the exercise of his functions.

44.—The same result took place in the Ceded districts, under the orders of major general Croker. The company's officers at Bellary, Gooty, and Cummam, were removed from authority, in consequence of their refusal to sign the declaration: officers of known zeal were appointed to supply their place, and the troops manifested the most unshaken fidelity and attachment to the government. Major-general Croker's conduct, on this emergency, reflected great credit on his resolution and zeal.

45.—Colonel Wilkinson, commanding the southern division of the army, carried the orders of the 26th of July into complete execution at Trichinopoly, where a greater number of the company's officers adhered to their duty than at the other stations above-mentioned; a considerable proportion, however, of the company's officers declined to sign the declaration, and were removed from authority. Colonel Wilkinson proceeded, in conformity to our instructions, to Dendegul, Madura, and Pullunrottah, a head of a respectable detachment of troops, and enforced the execution of the orders of the 26th of July at these stations.

46.—It has already been stated, that orders were issued on the 9th of July for the march of three battalions from Travancore. These orders were also disobeyed; the company's officers having declared in a body to lieutenant-colonel Stuart, the officer commanding in Travancore, that as they perceived it was the intention of the government to detach and divide the Native corps, for the purpose of placing them under the controul of his majesty's regiments, they would not yield obedience to the orders for their march. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart soon afterwards received our instructions of the 26th of July, but he suspended the execution of them from an apprehension, that the attempt might be attended with dangerous consequences.

47.—Having, however, repeated our instructions in the most positive terms, and rejected, for obvious reasons, a conditional declaration which the officers in Travancore had tendered, lieutenant-colonel Stuart carried our orders into complete effect, and removed nearly the whole of the company's officers, who did not deny that they were involved in the criminal combination against the government. The native officers and men in Travancore manifested the utmost steadiness and attachment to the state, a circumstance which proved, that the apprehensions which had been industriously excited in the mind of lieutenant-colonel Stuart, were without foundation.

48.—Lieutenant-colonel Forbes, commanding in Malabar and Canara, also took upon himself to suspend the enforcement of the orders of the 26th of July, and had been induced to accept from the officers a qualified declaration, entirely incompatible with the object



of the declaration prescribed by those orders. Colonel Forbes, however, on receiving a repetition of our orders, carried them finally into effect with the same success which attended their execution at the other stations which we have mentioned.

49.—In the several military divisions above specified, our orders of the 26th July were carried into complete effect, although in some cases, owing to the indecision of commanding officers, with considerable delay; and the result of those orders fully corresponded with our views in issuing them. Greater difficulties were, however, found to attend their execution in Mysore, in the northern division and at Hyderabad.

50.—Colonel Davis, the officer commanding in Mysore had proceeded from Bangalore (his usual headquarters) towards Seringapatam; and the troops which on the 9th of July we ordered to march from Seringapatam to Bangalore, delayed their movements until the 20th, and then refused to leave that place. Lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, the senior officer at Bangalore, suspended in the first instance the execution of our instructions of the 26th of July. On receiving a repetition of those orders he carried them into effect, but after a delay which might have occasioned considerable embarrassment. Colonel Davis was at Mysore, in the vicinity of Seringapatam, when the orders of the 26th of July reached him: the fortress of Seringapatam was then occupied by a small party of the 80th regiment, two companies of artillery and two battalions of Sepoys, under the command of the senior officer, lieutenant-colonel John Bell.

51.—A considerable degree of agitation had prevailed for some time among the officers of that garrison, originating in the seditious spirit which obtained in the army. The officers having received a vague report arising possibly from the disposition of the native corps, which had been apprised of the intention of government, to adopt some measures with regard to the European officers; and having been apprised also of the refusal of the officers of the Hyderabad force to allow of the march of the battalion of the 10th regiment, they declared their determination not to permit the march of the native battalion and company of artillery, which had been ordered to move from Seringapatam to Bangalore. Lieutenant-colonel Davis proceeded immediately, on the receipt of our instructions of the 26th of July, from the residency at Mysore, where he was residing in extreme ill health into the fort of Seringapatam, but found the garrison in a state of ferment and agitation which rendered it entirely inexpedient to attempt to carry his orders into immediate execution, especially as he was unsupported by a commanding force of his majesty's troops. It was, however, soon understood in the fort that lieutenant-colonel Davis had received the orders of the government for the removal

of the officers, and great confusion in consequence prevailed.

52.—The proceedings of the officers of the garrison soon assumed the appearance of open rebellion. They intimated to Lieutenant-colonel Davis, that he would not be allowed to leave the fort, and required of himself and his Staff to confine themselves to the house in which they resided.

53.—The officers then proceeded, on the 30th of July, to seize the public treasure belonging to the department of the acting collector, Mr James A. Casamajor, to whom spirited remonstrance they paid no attention, and on the same evening intimated to Lieutenant-colonel Davis, in reply to his representation that he might quit the fort, provided he would promise to make no attempt against them; they further informed him that his detention had been unintentional, and that the guard placed over him was meant as a mark of respect. Lieutenant-colonel Davis immediately returned to Mysore, but without acceding to the promise which the officers had attempted to exact from him.

54.—On the following day Lieutenant-colonel Davis sent the declaration prescribed by our orders of the 26th July, to Lieutenant-colonel Bell as senior officer, with instructions to tender it to the officers of the garrison for their signature, and in the event of their refusal, to endeavour to prevail on them to accept the option allowed by these orders, of returning from the exercise of their military functions, until circumstances should admit of their resuming them with honour to themselves and advantage to their country.

55.—Lieutenant-colonel Bell returned the declaration with his own signature affixed to it, as stated, that he had lost all authority over the garrison, but at the same time expressed his intention of remaining in the fort, as long as he conceived his presence might be of service to the state; Lieutenant-colonel Davis received Lieutenant-colonel Bell's signature to the declaration with sentiments of the highest satisfaction, and acquitted him, that Mr. Cole, the acting resident, and himself, would be happy to receive him whenever he thought proper to leave the fort; Colonel Bell, when he returned the declaration with his own signature, stated, that the officers of the garrison had unanimously rejected it, and had subscribed instead of it, a paper of a most mutinous and seditious tendency, declaring that they would not obey the orders or support the authority of Sir George Barlow.

56.—The conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Bell had previously been by no means satisfactory, and it appeared that at the commencement of the mutiny of Seringapatam, he had acted, after the subversion of his authority as commanding officer, as a member of a committee, which had assumed the



control over the Garrison under the appellation of the committee of safety.

57.—On the receipt of his signature to the declaration, Colonel Davis concluded, however, that he had determined to withdraw himself from the seditious proceedings of the garrison, and gave him credit for the utmost sincerity in subscribing so solemn a pledge of allegiance to the Government of his country.

58.—On the 31st of July the garrison drew up the draw-bridges of the fort and cut off all communication with the country, they seized the paymaster's cash chest, containing about 10,000 Pagodas, and detached a party of troops, which intercepted and seized a sum of 30,000 Pagodas, which was on its way to the paymaster from the ceded districts.

59.—These acts of violence and outrage induced the acting-resident, Mr Cole, in concert with Lieutenant-colonel Davis, to apply to the government of his Highness the Rajah of Mysore for assistance, and to adopt such precautions as might be necessary to prevent an attempt on the part of the mutineers to seize the fort of Mysore and the person of his Highness the Rajah.

60.—On the 2d of August, the garrison detached a body of troops with guns for the purpose, it was supposed, of meeting and escorting into the fort two battalions, which they had called from Chittledroog; and on the 3d, they sent out of the garrison the party of his Majesty's 80th regiment, with orders not to proceed to Mysore; the party however reached Mysore by a circuitous route.

61.—It now became evident that the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam had resolved to persevere in a course of open rebellion to the authority of the government, and that the adoption of the most vigorous measures was absolutely necessary to reduce them to obedience.

62.—Upon this trying and unprecedented occasion, Poorniah, the Dewan of the Rajah of Mysore, afforded to the resident that ready and cordial support which might have been expected from his known fidelity and attachment to the British government. A body of 3000 Silladar horse, which had previously received orders to hold itself in readiness, was directed to invest the fort, and to cut off all its supplies, and the whole of the resources of the Mysore government were immediately placed at our disposal.

63.—Lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, the senior officer at Bangalore, had been directed by Lieutenant-colonel Davis to proceed with a part of his force towards Seringapatam, but in consequence of the delay, which we have already stated had occurred in the execution of our orders of the 26th July at Bangalore, and a want of money to pay the troops, this officer had not been able to comply with Colonel Davis's requisition. Colonel Davis had received intelligence that the battalion of Native Infantry stationed at Chittledroog

had plundered the Rajah's treasury, at that place to the amount of about 12,000 Pagodas, and that this corps, together with a battalion of the 8th regiment of Native Infantry, then on its march from Bedenoor to the centre division, having been summoned by the officers at Seringapatam to join them, had actually commenced their march to effect a junction with the troops composing that garrison.

64.—It appearing that the objects of the disaffected officers were to assemble in the first instance, a large force at Seringapatam, in order to enable them to maintain that fortress against the troops of the government, until the force at Hyderabad should march into the Carnatic, and afterwards to concentrate at Seringapatam all the native battalions in Mysore and the adjoining divisions, for the purpose of strengthening their measures of opposition to the public authority; Colonel Davis determined, at all hazards, to intercept any corps that might attempt to move towards Seringapatam, and to make every possible exertion to deprive the garrison of an accession of force, which might enable them not only to maintain themselves in the fort, but to commence offensive operations against the subjects of his highness's government.

65.—A detachment consisting of 1500 Peons, and 3000 Silladar horse, was consequently sent to impede the progress of the two battalions, which were expected from Chittledroog, and positive instructions were transmitted to colonel Gibbs, who had at length carried the orders of the 26th July into execution, to move with the whole of his force, with the exception of a small detachment to be left at Bangalore, with all practicable expedition to Seringapatam.

66.—Lieutenant-colonel Bell, in violation of the solemn pledge which he had given to adhere to his duty, remained in the fort, and afforded the sanction of his authority to the outrageous and rebellious conduct of the garrison, but Mr. Cole and lieutenant-colonel Davis still entertained a hope that he had been induced to remain by the consideration stated in his letter to them, or that he had been detained and confined by the garrison.

67.—On the 6th August, however, colonel Davis received from lieutenant-colonel Bell a letter, in which he affected to consider the fort of Seringapatam to be in danger of an attack from the Mysore government; and stating, that as he was not in possession of the fort and island, it became his duty to his King and country not to deliver it up but to legal authority, and he therefore requested that this intention might be communicated to the governor-general. It was difficult to discover the real object of this address. Colonel Bell, at the same time dispatched a letter to the Dewan, complaining of his preventing provisions from passing into the fort of Seringapatam, accusing him of having broken the treaty with the British government, and threat-



ening him with vengeance, if he persevered in his operations against the garrison.

68.—In answer to this letter, Pooniah, with great propriety, referred him to the resident, as the proper channel of communication with the Mysore government. This answer, it is supposed, led to the measure adopted by the officers, of placing a guard over the Dewan's house in the fort, in which the whole of his private property, and part of the Rajah's, was deposited.

69.—The party of Mysore troops, which had been dispatched under the command of Ram Row, an able and spirited officer of the Mysore government, to meet the battalions advancing from Chitiedroog, fell in with those corps at the distance of about thirty miles from Seringapatam.

70.—Captain Mackintosh, the officer in command of the battalion, requested a conference; in consequence of which Ram Row waited upon him, and informed him, that he had received orders from his government, to prevent the advance of the detachment to Seringapatam.

71.—Captain Mackintosh informed Ram Row, that he was at liberty to act as he might judge proper, but that he was determined not to draw his sword, or adopt any offensive measures. Upon this communication Ram Row applied to Mr. Cole for orders, and received in reply positive instructions from that officer and lieutenant-colonel Davis, to use every exertion to impede the advance of the battalions until he should be joined by the force from Bangalore.

72.—Ram Row was, however, directed, before he proceeded to measures of hostility against the battalions, to communicate to the officer commanding them, a paper, signed by Mr. Cole and colonel Davis, and stating, that the further advance of the corps would not be permitted; that the officers must either sign the declaration prescribed by the orders of the government of the 26th July, or accept the alternative of withdrawing from the exercise of their military functions; that any attempt to advance would be resisted by the troops under the command of Ram Row, and by the force from Bangalore, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Gibbs; and finally, that if, after the receipt of this communication, they should attempt to proceed towards Seringapatam, Ram Row had received the most positive orders to oppose their advance, and to consider them as enemies of the British government.

73.—Ram Row was also furnished with translations of our general orders of the 3d August, which he was directed to distribute among the troops.

74.—The detachment under lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, consisting of His Majesty's 25th regiment of light dragoons, the 5th regiment of Native cavalry, His Majesty's 20th regt. and a battalion of the 3d regiment of Native infantry, and a company of artillery, had arrived in the vicinity of Seringapatam, and had

encamped within three miles of the fort on the 10th August.

75.—Notwithstanding the positive and repeated orders communicated to the officers commanding the battalions from Chitiedroog they persisted in their advance, to join the revolted troops at Seringapatam, and compelled the British authorities to prevent their entrance by force.

76.—The details of the action which followed between these battalions and the troops under the command of colonel Gibbs and the Mysore horse, are contained in the reports of that officer, and of lieutenant-colonel Davis.

77.—It appears that about 300 of the reports are killed and wounded, the rest dispersed, and most of them made their way into the fort; captain Mackintosh was wounded and taken prisoner, and lieutenant Best, of the 5th regiment of Native infantry, died the night after his arrival in the fort, in consequence of fatigue. In lieutenant colonel Gibbs's detachment, the only casualties which occurred was, lieutenant Jefferies, of the 25th regiment of dragoons, slightly wounded, and one horse of the 25th dragoons killed, and one wounded.

78.—During the engagement, the fort cannonaded colonel Gibbs's camp, and a party under lieutenant-colonel Robert Munro, with 10 guns, made a sally, but was driven back by captain Bean of the 25th dragoons, who commanded the troops left for the protection of the camp.

79.—During the night, the garrison kept up a heavy fire, and bombarded the camp, but with little effect, a few followers and horses having been killed and wounded; and on the morning of the 12th, lieutenant-colonel Gibbs changed his ground for a greater distance from the fort, and delivered over the command of the force to colonel Davis, who, although labouring under severe indisposition, with that zeal and ardor which has so eminently marked his conduct during the late transactions, proceeded from Mysore, and established his head-quarters in camp.

80.—It appeared, from the report of the prisoners (which has been subsequently confirmed) that the officers had, by misrepresentations, deluded the unfortunate men under their command, and had succeeded in persuading them, that the Dewan of Mysore was in rebellion, and that they were marching in concert with the European force from Bangalore, for the purpose of securing the fort of Seringapatam for the British government.

81.—In consequence of the critical state of affairs in Hyderabad, we deemed it expedient to appoint colonel Close to the command of the subsidiary force, under a conviction, that his rank, eminent talents, and distinguished character, would contribute most essentially to re-establish discipline and subordination in that force.

82.—We dispatched to that officer, and to major-general Fater, commanding the northern division of the army, copies of the orders



of the 26th of July leaving it to the discretion of these officers to carry the orders into execution or not, as circumstances might render desirable.

83.—General Pater did not deem it expedient to attempt the execution of the orders at Masulipatam, under an apprehension as he stated, that he would have aggravated the spirit of revolt which reigned in that garrison.

84.—Considerable apprehension had been excited in the minds of the officers of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, by the appointment of colonel Close to the command of that force, as his appointment was ascribed by the officers to a design on the part of government of employing his influence with the Native troops, for the purpose of separating them from the European officers.

85.—While colonel Close was on his way to Hyderabad, he received a letter from the officers of the Hyderabad force; in which they intimated that his services were not required, in a military capacity, as commandant of the force; but that in conjunction with lieutenant-colonel Malcolm, he might be useful at the presidency in promoting the cause of the army. They therefore recommended him to pursue his journey to Madras; but in any event to halt at one stage from Hyderabad. A paper of proposals containing four articles, which they termed their ultimatum, and which was similar to the paper which had been transmitted by them to the government, was submitted to their letter.

86.—Colonel Close arrived at Hyderabad on the 3d of August, and determined to lose no time in carrying the orders of the 26th July into effect.

87.—As preparatory to the execution of this measure, he resolved to place himself at the head of the troops, and to endeavour to establish his authority over them.

88.—For the details of colonel Close's proceedings on the 3d of August, with a view to the accomplishment of that object, we beg leave to refer your honourable committee to his report of that date.

89.—On the day following a letter was addressed by the officers of the subsidiary force to colonel Close, stating that his conduct in the execution of the orders of government being highly prejudicial to that confidence which subsisted between the sepoys and their officers, and subversive of that discipline which they were anxious to maintain; they required him to depart from Hyderabad in the course of that day, intimating, that on the event of his refusal, more unpleasant and decisive measures would be adopted with regard to him.

90.—For the reason stated in his letter of the 4th of August, colonel Close left Hyderabad and retired slowly towards Poonah.

91.—The zealous and spirited exertions of that highly distinguished officer on this trying occasion, although they failed in their

object of immediately establishing his authority over the force, produced the most salutary impression on the minds both of the officers and men, and essentially contributed to the favourable and important result which soon afterwards occurred.

92.—The officers at Hyderabad could have no doubt of the general object which the government had in view in the appointment of colonel Close to the command of the subsidiary force; that they were aware that they had already incurred the penalty of mutiny and rebellion, they were bound to support what was termed the cause of the army, by the most solemn pledges, they had in fact been the instigators of rebellion throughout the army, which looked up to them for support; and they felt that if colonel Close were allowed to assume the command of the force, his well-known character, and personal weight and influence with the Native troops, would speedily remove the veil which they had drawn over their own conduct, and by opening the eyes of the sepoys to the guilt and destruction in which their officers were endeavouring to involve them, at once defeat their plans.

93.—With the view of preventing this result, and maintaining their influence over the minds of the troops, various misrepresentations were circulated among them. Private information was received, that the men were told that it was the intention of government to disband half the battalions, to reduce the pay of both officers and men, and in the event of resistance being made to these arrangements, that the king's troops would be ordered to march against them, and put them all to the sword. The men were at the same time assured that their officers were determined to protect them, to stand by them to the last, and to assist them in opposing the unjust and arbitrary decrees of a government equally hostile to them all. Other arguments of this nature were employed to mislead and irritate the minds of the Native troops, and they were particularly cautioned against colonel Close, who they were informed was charged with the execution of these obnoxious measures.

94.—The most vigilant exertions were also employed by the officers, to suppress and keep from the knowledge of the men, the general orders and proclamations which we had deemed it expedient to address to the Native troops, and also to conceal from them the line of conduct adopted by the Native officers and men at the other stations of the army.

95.—Under these circumstances, and at the same time awed by the presence, and probably by the threats of their officer, it cannot be matter of surprise that the men should have resisted at the moment the strenuous endeavours of colonel Close to establish his authority over them. But the deep impression which the conduct of colonel



Close on the 8th of August produced on their minds,\* soon became apparent: it induced them to reflect upon the situation of affairs; it discovered to them the real views, and designs of their officers; and we are persuaded, that its immediate effects essentially contributed to the early submission of the officers, by convincing them that the men would not join in their plans of revolt.

96.—Upon the departure of colonel Close from Hyderabad, the committee at that station dispatched a requisition to the detachment at Jaulnah to join them without delay. Several applications to the same effect had been previously made to the detachment at Jaulnah, with which they had not however thought proper to comply.

97.—The spirit of rebellion appeared to break out now among all the company's troops which had not been secured on the side of the government by the operation of our orders of the 26th of July, and daily manifested itself in open acts of violence, outrage, and revolt.

98.—The officers at Hyderabad, in addition to their requisitions to the troops at Jaulnah, summoned the corps at Masulipatam, and in the northern Circars, to join them with all expedition; and no doubt can be entertained that they had resolved to persevere in the guilt of rebellion, and to march into the Carnatic for the purpose of subverting the government.

99.—The troops at Masulipatam continued in a state of open mutiny, and had actually made the necessary preparations for their march towards Hyderabad.

100.—A garrison order directing the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march, and orders to the different departments to prepare the necessary equipments for their accommodation, were issued by major Storey as senior officer.

101.—The officers of the 1st battalion of the 24th regiment at Ellore, seized the person of their commanding officer, lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, who had formed a plan to remove them from the exercise of the military functions, and drove him from the place.

102.—This zealous and spirited officer had ascertained, that the whole of the officers of his battalion were hostile to the authority of the government, and had entered into the rebellious combination which pervaded so large a proportion of the army. He accordingly determined to remove them from the exercise of authority, and by these means to secure the fidelity of his corps; and he would have succeeded in the execution of this determination, but for the treachery of his Native adjutant, to whom he had communicated his intention, and who betrayed him to the officers.

103.—The battalions at Samulcottah, Chicacole, and Vizagapatam, had seized the public treasure in their respective districts, and commenced their march to the southward,

for the purpose of joining the Hyderabad subsidiary force, and the garrison of Masulipatam.

104.—The garrison of Seringapatam continued in a state of active hostility against the troops of the government, and it was concluded that the force at Jaulnah would commence their march immediately to join the rebellious troops at Hyderabad, and in the northern Circars.

105.—A large proportion of the officers of the company's service had now placed themselves in a state of declared rebellion to their country; and in situations where they still retained the command of their corps, they had employed misrepresentation, seduction, promises, and threats, to engage their men to support them, and had actually commenced a civil war.

106.—Having found that measures of moderation and forbearance were entirely nugatory, that we had appealed in vain to the discipline, duty, national attachment, and professional honour of the company's officers; that, on the contrary, the spirit of rebellion was daily gaining ground, and threatened the most calamitous consequences in the British empire in India; we felt ourselves compelled to have recourse to the most vigorous and decided measures for the preservation of the state, and to prepare even for the employment of a military force for the suppression of this daring and unprecedented revolt. In this arduous situation, it was a most gratifying circumstance, that the distinguished zeal and loyalty of his majesty's troops, and of a considerable number of the most respectable of the company's officers, the favourable result of the decided measures which we had already adopted, and the timely assistance which we received from the governments of Ceylon and Bombay, enabled us to make the most efficient arrangements for the prompt suppression of this unnatural rebellion.

107.—The operation of the orders of the 26th of July had secured the services of all the Native troops to the southward of the river Kaniab, with the exception of the garrison of Seringapatam; and in addition to his majesty's regiments serving on this establishment, a regiment of European infantry had arrived from Bombay, a large proportion of two regiments, and a detachment of royal artillery from Ceylon, and another of his majesty's regiments was on its march from Goa.

108.—The only troops in rebellion which could oppose resistance in the field to the British forces, were those at Hyderabad, Jaulnah, and in the northern division of the army; and it appeared to be indispensably requisite, that a considerable body of troops should be put in motion towards Hyderabad, for the purpose of reducing the force there at the earliest practicable moment, of preventing their march to the southward, in the event of their having determined to adopt that course of proceeding, of maintaining



tranquillity in the dominions of his highness the Nizam, of preventing the incursion of any of the large bodies of predatory hordes which were assembled on our northern frontier, and generally, of acting in support of the interests of the state, as circumstances might dictate.

109.—Arrangements were accordingly made for the formation of a force in the Ceded districts, of 18,000 men, of which upwards of 4000 consisted of Europeans, and it was intended to place this force under the command of colonel Close, who was returning slowly from Hyderabad, in order that he might be in readiness to join it. A respectable force under the command of lieutenant-colonel Davis blockaded Seringapatam, and maintained the public authority in Mysore.

110.—A considerable detachment was formed in the southern division under colonel Wilkinson, and put in motion towards Tinnevely, for the purpose of securing tranquillity in Travancore; and an efficient force, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Hart, was retained in the vicinity of the presidency, in order to protect the seat of government, and be in readiness to support the public authority in any other quarter.

111.—These arrangements were conducted by the officers to whom they were intrusted, with the greatest zeal and energy, and were calculated to suppress the rebellion at an early period of time.

112.—Lieutenant-colonel Conran, with the force placed under his command, commenced his march from the Mount on the 13th of August. This force proceeded to Gooty, the point of junction with the troops from Goa and the Ceded districts.

113.—We judged it to be expedient, at this momentous juncture, to publish to the army a general order (dated the 19th of August) stating the measures of moderation and forbearance which we had pursued, with respect to the disaffected officers, the obstinate and criminal perseverance of those officers in a course of sedition and revolt, and the necessity which was imposed on us, of adopting the most strenuous and determined measures for the maintenance of the public authority, and the preservation of the national interests.

114.—We have already stated, that the Native troops, at all the stations where the presence of his majesty's regiments facilitated the enforcement of our orders of the 26th of July, manifested the most unshaken fidelity to the state; but as these orders could not be carried into effect at Hyderabad, Joulnah, and in the Northern division, the Sepoys, ignorant of the real situation of affairs, continued under the influence and control of their European officers.

115.—We, however, omitted no suitable means of rendering the whole of the Native army acquainted with the real designs of

their European officers; a general order was published for this purpose, on the 3d of August, stating, that we judged it proper to announce to the Native troops, that the very improper conduct of some of the European officers of the company's service, and the refusal of others to acknowledge their allegiance to the government, had rendered it indispensably necessary to remove, for a time, a considerable number of European officers from the exercise of authority. That this measure, however, would not, in any respect, affect the situation of the Native troops, who must know, that their first duty is to the government which they serve, and from which all authority is derived. That we continued to entertain the same solicitude for the welfare and comfort of the Native troops, which had been invariably manifested by the British government. That we had no intention of making any change in their situation, and that we expected the Native troops would display, on every emergency, the unshaken fidelity to government, which constitutes the first duty of a soldier; that they would obey with zeal the orders of the officers whom the government might place in authority over them; that they would refuse a belief to all reports calculated to agitate their minds, and diminish their confidence in the government; and that they would not allow themselves to be involved in measures in any respect adverse to their duty and allegiance.

116.—We conclude by expressing our approbation of the good conduct which had been recently manifested by the Native troops at the presidency, in the camp, at the mount, at Trichinopoly, and Vellore; and by declaring our confidence, that their behaviour would be equally correct and loyal at all other stations of the army. Translations of this order were circulated, and communications were made to all the Native corps, calling upon them to adhere to their allegiance and duty.

117.—A proclamation was also issued on the 9th of August declaring that all troops, moving without orders, were to be considered to be in open rebellion against the government, and to be opposed accordingly, by all civil and military officers.

118.—These measures produced the most beneficial effects, and, together with the impression made by colonel Close's exertions at Hyderabad, on the 3d of August, induced the Native troops there to express to their officers, their determination to adhere to allegiance to the government, and not to march without our orders. This circumstance, combined with the advance of the large force in movements towards Hyderabad, and our declared determination to maintain our authority, discovered to the officers the desperate situation in which they were involved. In a private letter of the 6th of August, from the resident at Hyderabad to the military secretary of our president, it was



suggested, that a general amnesty would induce the force to return to their allegiance, as they now saw nothing but ruin could attend their further perverseness in their criminal course of proceeding. Any intention, however, of granting an amnesty, or of listening to any terms but unconditional submission to authority, was distinctly disavowed in our president's reply to captain Sydenham.

119.—On the 11th of August the whole of the officers of the subsidiary force spontaneously subscribed the declaration of the 26th of July, offered their unconditional submission to the authority of the government, and, in an address to the right honourable the governor-general (whose arrival was daily expected at the Presidency) expressed a hope, that his lordship would be pleased to grant a general amnesty to the army, for the part they had taken in the late irregularities.—They, at the same time, circulated to several of the stations of the army, a paper, stating, that imperious circumstances and mature reflection had induced them to sign the declaration, and that they earnestly intreated their brother officers to follow their example, and submit to the authority of the government.

120.—An address of the most violent and intemperate nature, dated the 7th of August, had been received by us from the garrison at Masulipatam. The events, however, which took place at Hyderabad, on the 11th of August, soon opened the eyes of that garrison to a sense of their situation.

121.—We have already stated, that at an early stage of the mutiny at Masulipatam, we had authorized the grant of a pardon to the men, with the view of separating their cause from that of their officers; but that lieutenant-colonel Malcolm had not judged it to be expedient to carry that measure into effect.

122.—The orders of the 26th of July had been transmitted to major-general Pater, but, as we have before observed, that officer abstained from making any attempt to carry them into execution.

123.—Although the men were not originally disposed to deviate from their duty it was probable that the scenes of irregularity in which they had now been so long engaged, would have almost eradicated from their minds all sense of subordination; we nevertheless were not without hopes that they might still be recalled to their duty, and were of opinion that a proclamation of pardon might induce them to submit to the authority of the government, and save themselves from the punishment due to their crimes. We accordingly repeated our instructions on this subject to Major-general Pater, who having paraded the troops made a tender of pardon to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Madras European regiment, and to the Native commissioned, non-commissioned offi-

cers and privates of the 2nd battalion 125th regiment Native infantry, upon condition that they would support his authority and return to their duty to the state. This offer, however, was generally rejected, with a considerable degree of clamour, because their officers were not included in the pardon.

124.—From the confidence with which the officers allowed General Pater to communicate with the men it may be concluded that they had fully prepared them for the occasion, and that they had completely succeeded in extinguishing in their minds all sense of duty and discipline.

125.—On the 16th of August, however, the officers at Masulipatam having received intelligence of the submission of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, Major Storey and Captain Andrews addressed a letter to General Pater, stating, that the time was arrived when they found that they could no longer oppose the authority of the government without injury to the interests of their country; that they therefore invited him to assume the command of the garrison, and pledged themselves, upon the honour, to obey all his commands, and submit entirely to his authority. On the same day General Pater proceeded to the fort, for the purpose of assuming the command, and of receiving the signatures of the officers to the declaration of allegiance.

126.—General Pater found the garrison in a state of the greatest agitation, arising from the apprehension, on the part of the men of the Madras European regiment, that this sudden change in the conduct of the officers, and their readiness to sign the declaration, indicated an intention of deserting their cause, and of abandoning them to punishment; General Pater, in consequence, judged it to be expedient not to present the declaration to the officers for signature, and to rest satisfied with the willingness which all of them had manifested to subscribe it.

127.—The agitation, however, continued among the men; they assembled tumultuously, and threatened to shoot any officer who should offer to sign the declaration. General Pater states, that not knowing to what extremes this agitation might lead, and apprehensive of the occurrence of a scene of disorder, he was induced to yield to the clamours of the soldiery, and promise, in the name of the government, a general pardon to both officers and men.

128.—This proceeding pacified the men for the moment, but they still were unable to account for the sudden change in the plans of their officers, and continued to apprehend some concealed treachery towards themselves.

129.—The confusion and disorder prevailed during the whole of the next day, and 180 men of the European regiment, with a few artillery men, came to the determination of proceeding to Madras. To



this resolution General Pater appears to have given his consent, and the party marched under charge of officers who were selected by the men, and who were permitted by General Pater to accompany them. After the departure of this detachment, tranquillity and subordination were completely restored in the garrison, and the whole of the officers signed the declaration.

130.—The treasure which had been seized at Cocanada was restored by the officers who had taken possession of it, on finding, as they stated, that the general opposition of the army to the measures of the government ought no longer to exist.

131.—The first battalion of the 11th regiment also returned to Samulcottah, and the officers signed the declaration.

132.—All the officers in the northern division followed the example of the garrison of Masulipatam, and signed the declaration successively, as intelligence reached them of the submission of the Hyderabad force.

133.—Major-general Pater took upon himself to extend the pardon, which he had granted to the garrison of Masulipatam, to all the officers in the northern division. We considered it our duty, however, to lose no time in distinctly disavowing the pardon granted by General Pater, as being an act for which he had no authority. We at the same time directed the Madras European regiment, and the battalion of the 19th regiment of Native infantry, to proceed to the presidency, with a view to remove them from a scene where they had witnessed every species of disorder and irregularity, and of bringing them more immediately under the controul of authority.

134.—Whilst these occurrences were passing to the northward, Lieutenant-colonel Davis had continued to blockade Seringapatam, and to cut off all supplies from the garrison.

135.—A sally had been made on the Mysore side, under the command of Captain Turner, but without any effect; and several letters had been addressed by Lieutenant-colonel Bell to the governor, and to Major-general Gowdie, the contents of which were of the same extravagant nature as those of the letter from that officer already noticed. When the officers, however, received information that the force at Hyderabad had submitted unconditionally, and that there was no prospect of their obtaining support and assistance, the whole of the troops which composed the garrison surrendered at discretion, and marched out in the morning of the 23d of August, leaving their arms upon the parade; the corps were separated, and marched to different stations at a considerable distance from the place, to await our orders respecting them. The declaration, with the signatures of the officers in Seringapatam, was accompanied

by a very intemperate and seditious address to the governor-general, by no means consistent with a returning sense of duty.

136.—The senior officers of the garrison, the officers commanding corps, and those who had been particularly active in the rebellion, were ordered into close arrest, and the remainder of the officers were placed in arrest at large, until such time as the pleasure of the governor-general should be known respecting them.

137.—The artillery and the Native battalions had their arms restored to them, and those corps were placed under the orders of officers in his majesty's service.

138.—The detachment at Jaulnah, in compliance with the requisition of the Hyderabad force, already noticed, quitted their post, and advanced towards Hyderabad on the 10th of August, the troops having been previously harangued by Lieutenant-colonel Doveton, with the view of insuring their steady adherence to the cause of the officers.

139.—The annexed declarations, several copies of which were found in the private letters from Jaulnah, intercepted by our orders, signed by Lieutenant-colonel Doveton, and the whole of the misguided officers of that detachment, and circulated previously to their march, will, no doubt, be perused by your honourable committee with equal concern and astonishment.

140.—On the 15th of August the force reached Partorr, about thirty miles to the southward of Jaulnah: at this place they received information from the officers at Hyderabad, that they had submitted to the authority of the government, and that the presence of the Jaulnah force was neither required nor wished for by the officers of the force at Hyderabad. The Jaulnah force, in consequence, returned to that station, where they arrived on the 18th of August.

141.—Lieutenant-colonel Doveton subsequently endeavoured to justify his own conduct, by stating, that the troops having resolved on proceeding with him, he thought it advisable to accompany them, in order to prevent bloodshed, and that he had with difficulty prevailed upon them to return to Jaulnah.

142.—The intercepted letters, however, leave no room to doubt, that he was the leader in the rebellious proceeding of the force under his command; and a degree of guilt attaches to his conduct, proportionate to the importance of the charge confided to him.

143.—The submission of the force at Jaulnah completely terminated the daring course of opposition to the public authority, which had been pursued by the disaffected officers, and the whole army returned to its duty.

144.—It will be a most satisfactory reflection to your honourable committee, that this highly important result has been obtained without the least compromise of the authority



of the government, and without involving a condition in any respect incompatible with its honour and dignity.

143.—We have every reason to believe, that the troops at Hydrabad would not have marched against the government, and that the disaffected officers would every where have been very soon entirely abandoned by their men, if they had persisted in their course of revolt. Even if they had experienced a firmer support to their cause from the troops to the northward of the Kistnah, they could not have sustained the attack of the powerful force which would have been brought against them. By their timely submission they averted the afflictive consequences which, in either case, must have fallen on themselves. That submission is regarded by us with sentiments of the most cordial satisfaction, as it has afforded to the public interests all the advantages of success, without the evils of a contest in arms.

146.—It is a most gratifying part of our duty, to express to your honourable committee, the sentiments of approbation and confidence that have been excited in our minds by the conduct of parts of the army acting under this government. Our first acknowledgments are due to his majesty's troops, who have manifested, with scarcely an exception, the greatest zeal, loyalty, obedience and discipline, during the late commotions. Although endeavours were employed to seduce some of his majesty's troops from their duty, they were resisted with the most honourable firmness. Our confidence in the support of his majesty's service, afforded considerable encouragement to the prosecution of those decided measures, which have saved the government from the evils of anarchy, and military usurpation. Indeed, the exemplary conduct of those troops was conspicuous on every occasion, and gives them the strongest claims to the approbation of their sovereign and their country.

147.—A number of able and respectable officers of the company's service, also displayed during the whole of the transactions which we have described, a zealous spirit of patriotism, and afforded, by their steady adherence to their duty, by their exertions and example, a useful and seasonable support to the measures of the government. The conduct of the native troops, particularly deserves our commendation. Exposed to seduction by officers to whom they were taught to look up with sentiments of respect and obedience, and naturally ignorant of the true situation of affairs, they were placed in a situation particularly calculated to mislead them from their duty. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the native troops manifested a firm and unshaken attachment to their allegiance, they obeyed with steadiness, cheerfulness, and zeal the officers whom we placed in authority over them, and abandoned the cause of their officers whenever they had the means of discovering their real designs. The conduct of the native troops entitles

them, in an eminent degree, to the confidence of the government, and removes any doubts that may have been excited by former events, of their fidelity and attachment.

148.—To express to your honourable committee our sentiments respecting all the officers who merit our approbation, would extend this report beyond the limits which we are desirous of prescribing to ourselves. But we consider it to be an act of indispensable justice, to express our sense of the benefit which the public interests have derived from the assistance which we received from major-general Gowdie, the officer commanding the army in chief, who, throughout the late period of commotion, has manifested the most honourable and loyal principles which have always distinguished his character, and who, by his conduct and example, has afforded us the most important aid in maintaining the public authority.

149.—It is also our duty to bring to the notice of your honourable committee, the zealous and able conduct, in the execution of our orders, of major-gen. Croker, commanding in the Ceded districts, Col. Close, Col. Wilkinson, commanding the southern division of the army, lieutenant-colonel Conran, who commanded the troops at Fort St. George, lieutenant-colonel Davis, commanding at Mysore, and lieutenant-colonel Hare, commanding the centre division of the army.

150.—We have great pleasure in being able to state, that the internal tranquillity of the company's dominions under this presidency, suffered no interruption during the late commotions in the army. The revenues have been realized in the most satisfactory manner, and no disposition has been manifested by the people to take advantage of those commotions. Our external relations have also continued uninterrupted.

151.—We have already stated to your honourable committee, in our letter of the 6th instant, that we had reserved, for the consideration of the right honourable the governor general, the measures which it may be necessary to adopt with respect to the officers who have been principally concerned in the late criminal proceedings, as well as any arrangements which may be requisite to afford to the government complete security against the recurrence of similar disorders.

We have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect  
honourable Sir,  
your faithful, humble servants,  
G. H. BARLOW,  
W. PETRIE,  
T. OAKES,  
J. H. CASAMAJOR.

Fort St. George,  
10th Sept. 1809.

ENCLOSURES.

No. 1.—To Major-general Gowdie, commanding the army.



Sir,

It is with regret I have to state to you, that the government order of the 1st of May, has caused an uneasiness in the minds of the greater part of the company's officers belonging to this force. They had certainly shewn the greatest degree of moderation, in regard to the events which have of late so much agitated the army, and, I am persuaded, were anxious to avoid any discussion that could disturb their quiet; but, unfortunately, they conceived that, by the order in question, the army would suppose they implicitly approved of some late acts of government, which, I am sorry to say, is not the case, notwithstanding the respectful and proper silence the officers have shewn.

As soon as I heard the effect the order had, I used my influence in strongly recommending a continuation of the same conduct, which had been marked by the approbation of government, stated how creditable it was to the force, and that the orders was of course never intended to convey an idea of the subsidiary force approving or disapproving the acts of government, but, merely in justice to the officers, took notice of their correct conduct. An impression of a contrary nature is, however, so strong in the minds of the great majority, that I have no doubt they will not rest satisfied until it is explained.

To give orders against the promulgation of an address, which, I was convinced, would be made, was likely only to cause irritation, and not to be attended with any good effect, but I used all the influence I possessed, to urge the officers, in any expression of their sentiments, not to permit the most distant idea being entertained, that any act contrary to the strict rules of honour, order, and subordination, would be supported by them, or that they would ever deviate from the line of conduct which their profession required of them, and which their country would approve of.

From what I hear, and I have no doubt of the fact, the greater part of the officers mean to make it known to the officers of the army, that they deem it necessary, in consequence of the orders of the 1st May, to explain to them, that by no means they approve of the suspension, without trial, of so many of their brother officers, and that they shall endeavour to support them by every legal means, but with temper, firmness, and dignity. At the same time, whilst they thus avow their sentiments, they will persevere in the observance of that spirit of order, discipline, and subordination, they have hitherto observed, being convinced their best mode of obtaining redress is to shew their superiors that, by their moderation and forbearance, they deserve it.

I have spoken to several officers on this subject, and I can venture to say, if an address is sent forth, the sentiments contained in it will be nearly similar to what I have stated, that the expressions will be moderate

and respectful, and that the whole of the this force will continue to be marked by a temperate conduct, and conformable to the rules of discipline and subordination.

THOS. G. MONTRESOR,  
Lieutenant Colonel.

Secunderabad, 15th May, 1809.

No. 1 also contains the reply of the commander-in-chief to lieutenant-colonel Montresor, commanding the subsidiary force serving with his highness the Nizam, dated 23 May, 1809, which acknowledges the receipt of the letter, is concerned that the officers should be dissatisfied at having obtained the approbation of the government, directs that colonel Montresor will take the most decisive measures to prevent combination of the officers, or the circulation of addresses, and desires that colonel Montresor will assemble officers commanding corps, and read this letter to them, informing them, that any combination, however limited, for the purpose of signing an address in opposition to the proceedings of government, will be considered as disobedience of orders, and will be punishable as such.

In this number is also included a letter from colonel Montresor to colonel Barclay, dated 18th May, communicating for the information of the governor, a report similar to that made to general Gowdie, on the 15th.

And lastly, a letter from colonel Barclay, to colonel Montresor, dated 27th May, acknowledging his letter, and urging the firm exercise of the powers vested in him.

No 2.—Copy of a letter from the officers of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, to the officers of the Madras army.

Gentlemen,

In the late government orders, dated May the 1st, the conduct of the officers of this force, with respect to the late occurrences, is particularly mentioned in terms of approbation.

This unexpected compliment may probably have impressed our brother officers throughout the army with the idea that we have tacitly approved of those acts of government, to which the orders refer, and that we are divested of those sentiments and feelings which have been excited throughout the army.

Under these impressions, we feel it a duty incumbent on us to declare, that we have viewed with the most lively emotions of concern those extreme acts of power and exertion of authority, by which so many valuable and respectable officers have been displaced from their commands, and suspended the service; and while we assure you of our resolution to contribute to the support of those officers, who have incurred the displeasure of government for their exertions in a cause which we must pronounce to be just, we shall be ready to contribute in any



legal measures of temperance, dignity, an firmness, which may be thought effectual to remove the cause of the present discontent, and to restore our brother officers to the honourable situations from which they have been removed.

Here follows 4 letters to lieutenant colonels Chalmers Bell, St. Leger, and captain Marshall, dated Jaalua, 20th May, 1809, and expressing that the officers, serving in Berar, experienced much surprise and concern at the arbitrary removal or suspension of the officers whom they address; declaring that they will adopt any measure that may tend to their reinstatement, and towards alleviating the difficulties of their present situation.

N. B. These letters have no signatures.

Secunderabad, 30th May, 1809.

No. 3—Dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your private of the 22d instant, and of your public letter of the following day, which came by express.

I feel too confident, in the knowledge you must have of my sentiments, to doubt you will impute my not conforming to your orders, but to the best intentions. It has been by a conciliatory conduct, and obtaining the confidence of the officers, that I have been able to prevent an address being forwarded from hence, which contained expressions less respectful to government, and of a more exceptionable nature, than that which I lately had occasion to notice. Had I pursued another line of conduct, the address would have been forwarded in its original form; the contents would have been probably withheld from the officers more immediately in my confidence, and I should be ignorant of what is passing.

I am so perfectly convinced of the temper of the force, that had I acted in conformity to your orders, every officer in the company's service, under my orders, (staff excepted) would have immediately publicly avowed his signing the address, and been equally implicated in the framing of it. I am further convinced it would have led to a much less temperate address; and the influence I possess, in urging the officers to a moderate conduct, would be considerably weakened, if not lost. In short it would irritate them in the highest degree; and, I have no doubt, be attended with the worst consequences. I trust, under these circumstances, you will approve of what I have done, and rest assured, that nothing but a strong conviction on my mind of what I have stated, would make me hesitate in obeying your orders. If, after what I have stated, you should still be of the same opinion, I must, of course, conform to your instructions, but I earnestly intreat it may not be insisted on, and that you will rely on my using every exertion of insubordination,

and doing that which, at this critical period, is best for the service.

I have now, to give you information of a subject that causes me great concern; accounts arrived here by some means yesterday of the serious discontents in other parts of the army, and of their pursuing measures which must cause the greatest alarm. In consequence of this, I understand a meeting of officers has taken place, and an address framed which was privately communicated to me. The object of it was to state to government the information that had been obtained, of the very alarming state the country is in, and earnestly to recommend the recall of the orders of the 1st May, regarding the suspension of officers, as the best, and, perhaps, only means of allaying the ferment; but there were parts of it I thought so objectionable, that, upon my sentiments being known, it has again, I understand, been taken into consideration; and I have some hopes, upon my making you publicly acquainted with the sentiments of the force, no address will take place; but such is the agitation and warmth it is taken up with by some, that it is impossible to say.

Excuse the liberty I take, in requesting that the contents of this letter may be made known to government, as the late hour prevents my writing. I remain, &c.

(Signed) THO. G. MONTAZOO.

P. S.—A paper has just been shewn me, which differs a little from that I saw this morning, and though it may not be forwarded, contains the sentiments which I know generally prevail.

(Signed) T. G. M.

P. S.—I am just informed, that my informing you of what is passing, and the sentiments that prevail, has led to dropping the address altogether, and I believe it to be the case; I shall, however, write to-morrow, in the mean time beg to say, no measure of any nature will take place without my previous knowledge.

(Signed) T. G. M.

Secunderabad, 31st May, 1809.

Dear Sir,

In a postscript of the letter I had the pleasure of addressing to you yesterday, I stated my hopes, that the idea of forwarding an address from the officers of this force, and which had been so warmly taken up by the greater part of them, would be abandoned. I now write to inform you, that I have learnt, with the greatest satisfaction, that the officers have wisely relinquished all intention of forwarding any address whatever.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant,

(Signed) T. G. MONTAZOO.

To Major-General Gowdie,  
Commanding the Army.

No. 4—To the honourable Sir. G. Barlow, K. B. governor in council, Fort St. George.

Honourable Sir,

The under-signed officers of the Hydr.



bad subsidiary force, viewing with the most poignant sensations of grief and concern, the present unexampled and alarming crisis, conceive it a duty incumbent upon them, as forming a considerable and respectable part of the coast army, and consistent with that anxiety they feel for the public interest and welfare, to come forward, at this period, with a proffer of their sentiments to government.

The late acts of government, and particularly the order of the 1st May, has excited such a serious degree of alarm and apprehension throughout the minds of the officers of the army, that they fear, nothing but some act of conciliation on your part, can tend to lessen or remove it. This order, Sir, removing from their situations, and involving in disgrace, so many valuable and respectable officers, for their zeal and exertions in a cause which their acts have rendered sacred to the army, has excited such great and general irritation, that we have strong reason to fear the most fatal and disastrous consequences. Under these impressions, we feel compelled to make some effort to avert the evils we see impending; or, what may be the possible, and probable consequences, the separation of the civil and military authorities. The destruction of all discipline and subordination amongst the Native troops, the ultimate loss of so large a portion of the British possessions in India, and the dreadful blow it will inflict on the mother country; these, Sir, are the fatal prospects we foresee, with the most painful emotions of grief and concern.

We are anxious, Sir, that government should be undeceived, as to this irritation and discontent, being but partially diffused throughout the army: we are all well assured, that, with the exception of a few individuals, holding confidential staff situations, or dependent upon government's favour and interest, the whole of the officers of the army possess but one sentiment and opinion relative to the late acts of government; they are actuated by one common feeling, and consider themselves solemnly pledged to support each other in obtaining redress.

Such, Sir, we are confident, is the general sentiment, and, under this conviction, we cannot but apprehend the fatal effects that may ensue, by a perseverance on the part of government, in using coercive measures. If the irritation and discontent, as they conceive, were but partially excited, such steps might tend to effect the desired object; but, in the present case, where all are united in a cause which they consider themselves solemnly bound to support, it can only widen the breach, and aggravate the evil.

We trust, Sir, that government will justly appreciate our motives for coming forward at this period; we are actuated solely by our anxiety for the public good and welfare, by a serious contemplation of the evils we have so much reason to dread, and an ardent desire to avert them. It is by no means our wish

intention to dictate to government, or comment on their acts: our only object is, to exhort them to a serious consideration of the present crisis, and to induce them to adopt some measures conducive to public tranquillity.

We have no doubt within our own minds that this much-desired object would be effected, by rescinding the orders of the 1st of May, and restoring to the service, and their situations, all those officers who have been suspended. Such an act, we feel confident, would effectually appease that spirit of alarm and irritation which now exists; and the officers of the army would patiently await the decision of their superiors at home.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed by one hundred and fifty-eight officers of the Jaulnah and Hydrabad forces.)

Camp, Jaulnah, 15th June, 1809.

[Here follows a letter from colonel Montresor to general Gowdie, noticing the construction of the preceding address by the Jaulnah force.]

No. 5.—To the adjutant-general of the army, Fort St. George.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that in the afternoon of yesterday, I received a message from the officers of the garrison of Masulipatam; informing me, that a ferment of a most serious nature existed among the troops. I was at that time in the cantonment, but as soon after I had received this information as possible, I proceeded to the fort, and on my arrival found, in consequence of an opinion that prevailed amongst the officers of the garrison, that it was the intention of government to disperse and finally disband the Madras European regiment, they had earnestly intreated lieutenant-colonel Innes to detain the three detachments ordered to embark as marines, until a representation on the subject had been submitted to the commander-in-chief for the decision of the governor-in-council. Colonel Innes positively refused to comply with their request, stated his determination to carry the orders regarding the three detachments, into execution by force, and, for the purpose, threatened to get a body of men landed from his Majesty's ships then in the roads, and a detachment of artillery;

When I reached the general parade of the garrison, I was informed, that the Madras European regiment was paraded in the square of their barracks, that the Native troops were also drawn up in their respective barracks, and every thing seemed to be in a state of preparation to resist the execution of the orders alluded to; I immediately waited upon colonel Innes, and stated to him the situation of the troops in garrison, and the permission in his hands to march, and he had every reason to be permitted to conclude with



the most serious and dangerous consequences, to prevent which, I deemed it my imperative duty to place him under restraint, and assign the command of the garrison; I then ordered the senior officers present to dismiss the men of the different corps, which, I am happy to say, was done with the greatest regularity, and tranquillity immediately restored.

In a short time afterwards, it was intimated to me, that the artillery stationed at the cantonment were also determined to support the troops in the fort, at the request of the officers of the garrison. I herewith transmit their reasons for wishing to detain the three detachments of the Madras European regiment.

(Signed) J. STOREY,

Major, in charge of Masulipatam.

Masulipatam,

25th June, 1829.

The deputation appointed by the officers composing the garrison of Masulipatam, have the honour to present to lieutenant-colonel Innes, the annexed explanation of the resolutions, with which they yesterday evening made him acquainted.

In order to enter upon the cause of the proceedings which were yesterday adopted, it will be necessary to revert to the measures of government with regard to lieutenants Forbes and Maitland, who, upon the representation of lieutenant-colonel Innes, without any trial or investigation into their conduct, as specified to have been observed on the 7th May, at the mess-room in the Madras European regiment, were immediately punished; the one by being deprived of the appointment of quarter-master to the regiment, and the other by being ordered to proceed and take charge of Coondapilly, (and relieve the officer then commanding it, with a party of sepoy's from his own corps) with positive orders not to quit it till necessitated so to do by ill health.

The letters which contained the removal of lieutenant Maitland from his appointment, and the appointment of lieutenant Forbes to the solitary command of Coondapilly, particularly specify, that these steps were taken in order to mark, by a suitable example, the authors of the exceptionable conduct that had come to his (the commander-in-chief's) notice. The same letter directs lieutenant-colonel Innes to express to the officers of the Madras European regiment, the officer commanding the army's highest disapprobation of such conduct, and inform them, a repetition of such irregularity will involve the *whole Corps* in the severest penalty to which such insubordinate proceedings are liable. This letter lieutenant-colonel Innes thought proper to insert in the regimental orderly book of his corps, and consequently obtained publicity, not only among the officers, but the non-commissioned officers and privates of the regiment; can it then be wondered at, that the serious alarm which, in the first instance, pervaded the different ranks of the Madras European regiment,

should have extended to the other corps, not only in the garrison, but in the district and division?

Nor was the substance contained in the above reprimand the only source of danger to be apprehended: lieutenant-colonel Innes informed a deputation of five officers, who waited upon him with a request that they might be furnished with a copy of the information which had been sent to government, relative to the conduct of the officers of the Madras European regiment, at their mess-room, on the night of the 7th of May, that it was in contemplation of government, in consequence of the report received of the irregular and insubordinate behaviour of the regiment, to *disband it and place the officers on half-pay*. As British subjects, we have a right to demand, whether the Madras government have the power to inflict punishment of so severe a nature on their officers and men, on the mere report of an individual, without giving them a fair trial, as enacted by the laws of our country.

While lieutenants Maitland and Forbes were suffering under the imputation of insubordinate and highly irregular conduct, a party was ordered from the European regiment, to prepare to go on board one of his Majesty's vessels, and act as marines, and lieutenant Maitland expressly pitched upon to command them; at the same time, lieutenant Forbes was ordered to hold himself in readiness to proceed to the presidency, and thence to Penang, in order to relieve *Captain Phillips*.

Lieutenant Forbes, who was accused of being the author and supporter of that highly indecorous conduct, contrary to every principle of military subordination, which was observed at the mess-room of the Madras European regiment, being fully sensible of his innocence, requested an investigation into his conduct by a court martial, but was denied that indulgence, on the plea of its being "inadmissible," notwithstanding his character as a soldier had been so materially injured, and publicly made known to the regiment at large.

The whole of the officers of the Madras European regiment had likewise the honour of addressing the adjutant-general of the army on the 27th May last, begging leave to assure him, for the information of major-general Gowdie, that the account he had received of the conduct of those officers, who were present at the mess on the evening of the 7th, was erroneous, and requesting to be furnished with a copy of the information which had been received, so prejudicial to the character of the officers of the Madras European regiment; that they might thereby be enabled to convince the officer commanding the army in chief, that their conduct did by no means merit the severe censure with which it had been marked; but even this indispensable request, so absolutely necessary to clear the characters of the numerous body of officers composing the regiment, from the stigma they had received, has not been complied with.



These unmerited hardships, and deprivation of the privilege of British subjects, which ordains their not being condemned without a hearing, together with the information received from lieutenant-colonel Innes, that government had it in contemplation to disband the Madras European regiment, followed up by three detachments therefrom, being ordered to be held in readiness to proceed on board his majesty's vessels to act as marines, appearing to us, (and certainly with great reason,) as the first step towards disuniting the corps, previous to the measure above alluded to; have created in our minds the most serious alarm lest this system of punishment, on the bare and false reports of an individual, should extend itself to other parts of the Madras army, and have determined us to resist such dangerous and unprecedented acts, until a fair investigation of the conduct of the officers of the Madras European regiment shall take place before a military tribunal.

We have not here noticed the former acts of government, of a similar nature, in suspending some, and removing others of our most valuable officers from situations of trust and confidence without any trial whatsoever; but we cannot help expressing our fear lest this system of terror should exceed the bounds of forbearance, and ultimately produce consequences of the most serious nature.

At the same time, we beg to assure the governor in council, and the commander-in-chief, that we continue as heretofore, the supporters of the British interests in India, and faithful and loyal subjects of our king and country.

(Signed)

H. KELLY,  
Capt. 1st bat. 19th reg. N. I.  
H. HARRINGTON,  
Capt. 1st bat. 19th reg. N. I.  
G. L. NIXON,  
Lieut. Madras Europ. Reg.  
CHAR. FORBES,  
Lieut. Madras Europ. Reg.  
J. S. SPANKIE,  
Lieut. Madras Europ. Reg.  
for the garrison of Masulipatam.

(A true copy.)

(Signed)

T. N. BALMAIN,  
Assist.-adj.-gen.

Masulipatam,  
25th June, 1809.

To the adjutant general of the army, Fort St. George.

Sir,—I have the honour of reporting to you, for the information of the officer commanding the army in chief, and the honourable the governor in council, the particulars of the dating and premeditated mutiny which occurred here on Sunday the 25th of June, about two or three o'clock, P. M., when three detachments of the Madras European regiment were ordered to embark on board the fleet as marines.

2.—On the arrival of the Piedmontaise frigate, and Samarang sloop of war at this place, I sent off a letter to captain Foote commanding the two ships, intimating that the three detachments of the Madras European regiment were ready to embark, was prepared and authorized to receive them on board his ships; the non-commissioned officers and privates appeared to be highly pleased at going on this duty.

3.—About sun-set, I observed a boat landing with some naval officers, and having invited captain Foote on shore, went down to meet and receive him at the sea-gate, to conduct him to my quarters, that we might communicate fully on every subject which could tend to promote the public service, in carrying the orders of the officer commanding the army in chief into execution.

4.—Just as the naval officers were nearly landed, I was called aside by lieutenant Charles Forbes, of the Madras European regiment, who was accompanied by captain Kelly and Harrington, of the 1st battalion 19th regiment N. I., lieutenant and adjutant Nixon, and lieutenant and quarter-master Spankie, of the Madras European regiment. Captain Kelly then read a paper, which they were deputed to communicate to me, not only by the officers of the garrison (but those of this division,) requesting I would postpone the embarkation of the detachments of the Madras European regiment till they could receive an answer to an address they had it in contemplation to submit to the commander-in-chief, and the honourable the governor in council, *demanding* a redress of *grievances*. To *this* application I pointedly objected, having no authority to set aside the instructions I received from the commander-in-chief.

5.—Lieutenant Spankie then boasted of their having the most positive assurance of support from the troops at Hydrabad, Jaulnah, the Bombay army, and every division on the coast; I then observed, that I hoped those expectations would not induce them to resist the embarkation, by being guilty of mutiny, and by trying whether the troops would obey them or me; to order the whole in array was *now* my *only* alternative: this however I could not attempt, or expect their obedience to my authority, under existing circumstances, "and standing alone."

6.—At this instant, the purser of the Piedmontaise delivered to me a letter from captain Foote annexed, which upon opening it, proved to be an official letter from the chief secretary of government, dated 22d June 1809, ordering me to embark the detachments of his majesty's 59th regiment of foot on board the Samarang with the least delay; I then enquired of the purser if he had not brought any other letter for me from captain Foote; he replied in the negative; nor did he hear of any detachments being ordered on board but that of the 59th: this the deputation saw and heard.



7th.—But apprehending some mistake had occurred, I told the deputation I expected a reply to my letter of that day sent to captain Foote, which would elucidate the subject; at 10 o'clock P. M. it reached me; I of course concluded, that the one from the secretary of government was the one he alluded to, and sent captain Foote's letter to lieutenant and adjutant Nixon directly, and we concluded, that the detachments of the Madras European regiment were not expected to embark, which I communicated to the officers on parade next morning, adding, that they must be prepared to embark at one hour's notice on any other ships that might arrive to receive them on board, which appeared to give much satisfaction, finding they were not going by this opportunity.

8.—About one o'clock P. M. the purser and Mr. Midshipman Sheppard of the Samarang, returned from the Petrah to my quarters, and, to my astonishment, put captain Foote's first and original letter (alluded to in his second) into my hands; which, by mistake they had omitted to do the previous evening. I then expressed my regret at what had passed, although I was convinced it made no difference, as I conceived, from what had passed the evening before, that the embarkation of the Madras European regiment detachments would be resisted by the *officers of the garrison*.

8.—I then sent for lieutenant and adjutant Nixon, shewed him captain Foote's letter, No. 4, and directed him to have the parties ready to go on board at 6 P. M. and to send the officers ordered on this duty to receive my instructions. I at the same time observed to the adjutant, that, from what had passed the previous evening, I had every reason to suppose the embarkation would be resisted, and begged and conjured him to consider of the consequences; and to inform the officers, that if they would pledge their *honour* not to interfere with me in the *execution of my duty*, by carrying the orders of the commander-in-chief and government into execution, it would afford me the highest satisfaction, and preserve order and tranquillity.

10.—If, however, resistance was intended to be offered by the *officers* to the embarkation, I should reluctantly be reduced to the disagreeable necessity of applying to captain Foote, of the Piedmontaise, to land the marines of both ships, and every seaman who could be spared, to see the orders of government and the commander-in-chief *respected*, and to enable me to carry them into execution.

11.—So soon as the order for embarking was made public, and shewn to the officers, they ran in a disorderly, tumultuous, and mutinous manner to the barracks of the Madras European regiment, and the 1st battalion 19th regiment Native infantry, calling on the men to arms, and prevailed on them to join them in the mutiny and opposition to my orders, and those of the commander-in-chief and the honourable the governor in council.

12.—Captain Kelly and lieutenant and quarter-master Spankie, and some other officers, came over to my quarters, conjuring me not to insist on the embarkation, or to send to captain Foote, for assistance, which could only occasion the shedding of much innocent blood, and endanger the loss of the country; all this passed before the naval gentlemen; their first observation was a most serious one, having got the two corps to join them in the mutiny.

13.—Another party of officers came shortly after up to my quarters, repeating what the others had done, and upbraiding me with giving incorrect information to government and the commander-in-chief, relative to what had passed on the 7th ultimo at the mess, on which they acted, and dispersed the regiment, on my suggestions, as a punishment, which they never would accede to. Many other observations passed, which I do not exactly recollect; but I again intimated to the gentlemen, that had they obeyed the orders issued, no mutiny could have occurred, or the public service impeded by their conduct and exertions.

14.—Major Storey, who had been sent for by the officers in the Fort, to join in their mutiny, then came to my quarters, told me the two corps were under arms, and would not be dismissed but by a proper authority, and that he was called upon by the gentlemen to assume the command, and put me under close arrest, for the preservation of the garrison.

15.—I observed to major Storey, that I neither could nor would acknowledge his illegal arrest and usurped authority (although he might put me into close confinement,) for which he and the officers would have to answer hereafter, having not only mutinied, but prevailed on the troops in garrison to do so, by ordering them under arms, (without my authority) which they prevailed upon them to resist.

16.—Major Storey then ordered my letters to be seized, that were coming from the post office, to be examined by him, and not to allow any to pass out, or any gentlemen to visit me without his permission; He then, "I hear," issued a garrison order, assuming the command (as captain Andrews did of the Madras European regiment) and sent off letters to Hyderabad, Jaulnah, Bombay, Travancore, and every other station and encampment that had united with them in the diabolical conspiracy against the government of Fort St. George, as will appear, on reference to the register of letters dispatched, after having completely laid aside the mask, publicly avowing, and boasting of the support they depended upon receiving from their friends; in having their grievances redressed, imposed on them by their tyrannical government.

17.—Here it is requested to observe, that lieutenant-colonel Dr. Anderson, and Mr. assistant-surgeon Jones, of the Madras European regiment, did not join in the mutiny,



nor do I think the non-commissioned and privates of the Madras European regiment, or the Native commissioned, non-commissioned officers and privates of the 1st battalion 19th Native infantry, would, had they not been *misguided* by their *guilty officers*, who even *then*, "I hear," had some difficulty to prevail on them to mutiny against my authority, and that of the commander-in-chief and government.

18.—Lieutenant Cecil, who commanded the main guard, having declined (on every occasion) to join the other officers in their disorderly and insubordinate conduct (by resisting the measures of government), was relieved from the main guard by the mutineers, not, however, till he had *twice* waited on me, at the risk of his life, the second time after I was arrested, when I told him to submit, opposition being then of no use, and being ill, to report sick, to avoid future ill-treatment from the mutineers.

19.—Finding my letters seized by the mutineers, I sent a letter secretly to Captain Foote by his purser, with request, that copies of it might be transmitted without delay to the commander-in-chief and the honourable the governor in council, for their information, having no other means of reporting to them, till I was liberated, when a statement of circumstances would be duly forwarded; which will fully *prove*, that *nothing* was wanting on *my part* to carry my instructions into execution instantly, notwithstanding the state of affairs here, so frequently reported since my assuming the command of the Madras European regiment, the garrison, and division, previous to which their opposition to the measures of government, and confederacy alluded to already, has commenced with the Madras and Bombay armies.

20.—In justice to the purser of the Piedmontaise, I must here observe, that his mistake in not delivering the letter sooner, was of no other consequence, but that of delaying the mutiny a few hours, it being regularly organized and resolved upon, for some time past, and my being arrested, that I might not impede their seditious plans against government, so actively carried on, sorry I am to add, with too much success. Understanding that general Pater will not reach this place before July 15, I forwarded this letter in the most private and secret manner, that government may be in possession of the fullest information on the 9d of July, in case I may be put to death by the mutineers before or after the arrival of major-general Pater, commanding officer of this division.

(Signed) JAMES INNES,

Lieut.-col. command. Masulipatam.

Masulipatam,

26d June, 1809.

[There follows the correspondence between colonel Innes and captain Foote, commanding his majesty's ship, Piedmontaise.]

Letter from colonel Innes to the adjutant-general of the army, Fort St. George, dated 29th of June, 1809;—suggesting, that letters may be intercepted and inspected, and complaining of the hardship and indignity, with which he has been treated, on account of his being a *friend* to government.

No. 6.

Extract from the Madras Gazette of the 24th of January, 1809.

Extract of a letter from Masulipatam, dated 1st of January.

On the morning of the 24th, the general reviewed the Madras European regiment, which after passing in review performed a variety of manoeuvres, and at the conclusion his excellency was pleased to address colonel Taylor at the head of the regiment, nearly as follows:

"Colonel Taylor, in performing a necessary part of my duty by reviewing the different corps on this establishment, it was my peculiar wish to see those in the Northern circles, and particularly the Madras European regiment; from many circumstances, this regiment has in a manner been overlooked, indeed I may say neglected; placed in a corner of this extensive country, it has seldom had its practice of duty with the other corps of the army.

"Notwithstanding these circumstances, from my knowledge of your zeal and ability, colonel Taylor, I was confident I should find this corps in the high state of discipline it has this morning evinced; and it shall be my business, as much as lays in my power, to let the service benefit from this state of discipline, by calling it into more general notice, for I know that this state of inactivity must be painful to the feelings of honourable gentlemen and officers, and painful to the feelings of brave soldiers; indeed I am at a loss to know the reason for this neglect. This regiment has always been forward for its courage and loyalty; you are composed of the same materials, as the other European corps in the service, and I am certain that the same brave and generous spirit actuates you.

"Any praise I can bestow upon you, colonel Taylor, individually, would add but little to the character of an officer of your rank and long standing in the army, and to one who has always given much satisfaction to his honourable employers, and to me, ever since I had the pleasure of your acquaintance.

"Have the goodness to convey my thanks to the officers, who from the business of this morning appear to have given you so much support and assistance; assure the regiment at large of my sincere approbation for its appearance this morning, and of my confident hopes that they will do justice to my partiality, if that praise can be called so, which is so justly merited."



No. 7.

(Private and secret)

Dear Sir, Masulipatam, 4th of July.

I arrived here early this morning; nothing can be worse than the state in which matters were. Major Storey seems a weak man, and the garrison was commanded by a committee of violent, spirited young men. They deliberated after my arrival on the measures they were to pursue, and were at first, I am assured, disposed to resist my authority; they next made a demand of an act of amnesty for all late proceedings in the garrison of Masulipatam. This I told them it was quite impossible for me to grant, that a regular military proceeding had been instituted to inquire into late proceedings, and that I could declare, it was the intention of government to order a court martial to try any person this court thought ought to be tried, but I could say no more. They had, I found, pledged themselves most deeply to resist government, to almost all the stations in the army, and had received the strongest assurances of support from Hyderabad, and I believe a movement towards that quarter was intended in a day or two. The public avowal of their determination to resist government, made them feel reluctant to relax in their opposition, and their fear of *suffering* for what has passed rendered them quite desperate. They however, after a conference of some hours, became more reasonable, and professed their obedience to my authority, and their acquiescence in the enquiry that had been ordered. I issued the general orders and directed the instant release of lieutenant-colonel Innes from arrest. I saw him: he is no doubt a very good, but he is a weak man: he feels naturally very indignant at what has past; but will be moderate in his conduct. I could have had no idea of the length to which matters have proceeded before to day; an organized opposition to government was to have commenced as the day after to-morrow; and in the present temper of men, I know not if that event can be avoided. Nothing can be so unfortunate as the occurrence of the mutiny here, as numbers have been hurried into guilt, from which they see no escape, but in all being equally involved. This is a melancholy state to have minds in; I have certainly succeeded in making them abandon their violent measures for the moment, but a relapse is to be apprehended, particularly as it would appear difficult, if not impossible, to tranquillize them by an act of amnesty. What am I to do, in case of an extreme?—the combination is general. Excuse this hurried note.—I have not a moment.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.

(Private and secret.)

Dear Sir, Masulipatam, 5th July, 1809.

I wrote you a hurried letter last night. I have since come to the knowledge of many addi-

tional facts, and have had some time to reflect on what I have seen and heard, and I should be as wanting in my duty to you, as to my country, if I was withheld by any motive whatever, in stating my sentiments in the most undisguised manner, on the present state of affairs; and whether you coincide in my opinion or not, you can have no doubt regarding those motives that led me to express, in that sacred confidence which your knowledge of my character authorises me to use, the conviction of my judgment on the steps necessary to be taken upon the present unfortunate crisis. I have now seen the concerted plans of almost the whole of the army against the authority of government, and can say with almost an assurance, that I am correct; that there is not one company's corps, from Cape Comorin to Ganjam, that is not implicated in the general guilt, and that is not pledged to rise against government, unless what they deem their grievances are redressed. Be assured, that no commanding officer, whatever they may write, has any real authority over their corps; and though in some places where there are king's regiments, they are more guarded, their resolution is the same, and they mean to act the moment the example is shewn by those parts of the army who they consider as most likely to be successful in their first efforts. The Hyderabad and Jaulnah force are chiefly looked to, and the northern division of the army and the European regiment, has, from what they style its regimental grievances, become the corps from which they expect the first act of opposition. Its late proceedings are applauded, and confirmed by the force at Hyderabad, and I know it was intended, if there had been the slightest indication of any coercive measures, or even had the commander-in-chief arrived, to have marched this corps, and the two Sepoy battalions, in the division to effect a junction with the Hyderabad force, in order to organize an army, to commence hostilities with government. Their march was to have taken place as to-day, and it was for five hours after my arrival, a subject of warm discussion, whether I should be recognized or not as their commanding officer; and after stating every thing a man could state, to reclaim them to better feelings, I was obliged to give them the choice of the extreme, of either immediately submitting to the order of government, or of opposing it. They chose at last the former, but placed it on the grounds of that general respect which was paid by them, and all their brother officers, to my character; I did not think it necessary to fight regarding the grounds of their obedience on this point, being satisfied with the substance, and particularly as I had received this proof after they were informed of my sentiments and intentions. Though an immediate open rebellion against government has been prevented by my arrival at Masulipatam, the danger is not past, and we must not deceive



ourselves, or any longer evade this serious question: *The officers of the company's army on the coast are, no doubt, at this moment, in a state of actual insurrection against the government, and the combination against authority is every moment maturing, and spreading wider.* I have seen the letter from the Bombay army to that of the coast, and it is unequalled in its condemnation of the orders of the 1st of May, and its promise and support; several private letters have been received from Bengal, and an address from that army, to the same effect as that of Bombay, is expected. At all events, they appear certain that no human power will lead the Bengal troops to act against them. They calculate upon opposition from the king's army, and their plans are concerted to meet it. These deluded men are aware of the ruin they are bringing upon themselves, but their infatuation is so great that they are reconciled to that ruin, in the expectation that it will equally involve that government, against which their rage has been so industriously and so successfully excited. All attempt to reason with men in the state of mind they are appears vain: even the circulation of the able letter from Bengal, is, as I apprehended, likely to inflame instead of appeasing their passions. It is so true, that when men's minds have gone completely wrong, that which ought to put them right, has in general a direct contrary effect; and the fact is, that all those correct principles and loyal feelings which are so eloquently expressed in the letter from the supreme government, but serve to impress them more forcibly with a sense of that guilt into which they have so precipitately rushed and to render them more desperate in their proceedings; as they can after what has past, and particularly late events at this place only see individual safety in all being equally involved in the deepest guilt. I intreat you to be persuaded, that these sentiments are quite general, or at least, that the few who do not entertain them have neither the means nor the courage to oppose their progress, and allow themselves with an indefensible passiveness, to be borne along with the tide.

Under such a state of circumstances, all hopes of this spirit of insurrection subsiding must be at an end; some steps must instantly be taken, and no good can result from the application of any partial remedy. The disease is general and the remedy must be so also; it remains with you to decide on the measures that are to be adopted. The first and most military, though not, perhaps, the most political, that suggests itself, is the employment of actual force. In such a contest, however, not only the means must be calculated, but the result, and, as far as I can judge, success, even in this extreme, would not save us from the most baneful consequences. It seems, therefore, not wise to have resort to such a measure, till every other that it is possible for government to take,

without the annihilation of its own power and dignity, has been tried, and failed: unequalled concessions to the demand of the army, either in dismissing public servants of government, or in rescinding its orders, would be a virtual resignation of its power, and cannot, therefore, be made; it would, indeed, be better and more honourable, if matters were at the worst, that government should fall by any hands than its own. Should government not resolve on having immediate recourse to force, one line only remains that could, at the present moment, afford a rational hope of the necessity of having recourse to that extreme being avoided, or, at least, of its being resorted to with advantage: which is, to meet the crisis at once by a general order to something of the following purport. "Government finds with concern, that it can no longer indulge that sanguine hope which it once entertained, that the irritation, which a variety of causes have combined to produce in the minds of the company's army on the coast, would subside; and as it is satisfied, that the evils which must result from the existence of those combinations against its authority, that are now formed in almost every station, will, if suffered to continue, be as injurious to the public interests, as if those, by whom these proceedings are carried on were in a state of open hostility to government; it feels compelled to anticipate every extreme that can occur, and to publish to the army at large the final resolutions which it has adopted, under this extraordinary and unparalleled situation of affairs; and these resolutions will, it is satisfied, be found to combine as much attention to the feelings of the army, as it is possible to shew, without a sacrifice of the public interest, and an abandonment of the authority and dignity of government.

"The governor and council can, and does, make every possible allowance for feelings so strongly excited as those of the officers of the coast army have been, and is disposed to refer that great agitation of mind, into which they have been thrown by a concurrence of causes which must greatly mitigate, if they do not altogether extenuate, that degree of criminality which must always attach to such proceedings; and, under such impressions, he can view their extreme solicitude regarding those of their brother officers, whom he thought it his duty to suspend the service, with that consideration which is due to a highly meritorious body of officers acting under the strong impulse of warm and honourable, but mistaken, feelings; and with such sentiments he cannot deem it derogatory to government to state, that he intends, in the full confidence that the officers of the coast army will abandon their present dangerous course of proceeding, to recommend to the honourable the court of directors the restoration to the service of



those officers, whose suspension, and the reasons which led to it, have been reported to them, and who are consequently the only authority by which that act can be repealed; and he can have no doubt but the earnest desire of their brother officers, combined with the high character which most of the officers under suspension formerly held, will induce the honourable court to overlook their late conduct, and comply with his recommendation. Acting upon the same principle, government is pleased to appoint colonel Bell to the charge of the battalion of artillery at the Mount, and colonel Chalmers to the command of the subsidiary force in Travancore.

"Lieut. Maitland is appointed quartermaster of the European regiment of Infantry.

"The committee of inquiry ordered to assemble at Masulipatam, is repealed, and no act, either of any body, or of individual officers in the company's service, of which no cognizance has yet been taken, and which occurred before the present date, will be made subject to future notice, or even operate to the disadvantage of such body of officers or individuals, unless they should, by a perseverance in the same course, and a repetition of the same conduct, forfeit all claims to such lenity and consideration. At a moment when government has taken such steps to tranquilize the agitated minds of the army, and to leave even the most mistaken without a plea for perseverance in their present dangerous course, it must declare its positive and final resolution, neither to alter or modify this proceeding. It will yield no more to the intreaties or demands of the army; and if any officers are so infatuated and so lost to every consideration of the public good, and the general prosperity of their country, as not immediately, on the promulgation of this order, to abandon their present course of proceeding, government must, however much it may deprecate such an extreme, meet it with that firmness and courage which becomes a constituted authority of the empire of Great Britain. It has contemplated this possible, though it trusts highly improbable event; and the different officers entrusted with command, are directed, should any spirit of turbulence and insubordination appear among the officers of the troops under their command, to punish the individuals with all the severity of martial law; and should the operation of the regular course of justice be impeded either by a combination among the officers or men, such will instantly be proclaimed rebels against the legal authority of government and their country; as government is perfectly satisfied, that the public interests will receive more injury from any effort to conciliate men who persevere (after what has past) in principles so opposite to the restoration of order and discipline, than it even can meet from them as open enemies to their king and country."

I am aware that a thousand objections may be made to an order of this nature, but it must only be tried by the times. Matters have arrived at that crisis, that something decisive must *instantly* be done. There is not an hour for delay; and what I have suggested is only the first proclamation, in a war, that seems to me, even with this step, almost unavoidable. If human means could avoid it, this act will, for it holds out every motive that can incline men to good, and deter them from evil. It concedes no doubt, in some points, but the case is urgent, and the spirit of concession is corrected by the firmness and resolution which is mixed with it; but your own mind will suggest every thing. I am, as you know, devoted to the cause of my country. It will depend upon you where I am to act. If matters draw to an extreme I should prefer my station, My sore, as that in which I have most influence, and could, in consequence, contribute most to the support of the public interests. I cannot conclude, without again entreating you not to allow yourself to be lulled into security, and to be satisfied of the absolute necessity of taking some step or another to save the state from the imminent danger to which it is exposed. But inaction, even dangerous as it is, may be better than the commencement of a coercive system, before steps have been taken to gain more friends to government than it has at present in the army. And I confess, I can see no mode of doing this, but by a measure which is completely decided and final; and which, while it grants every indulgence even to erroneous feelings, looks to the close of this great question, with a moderate and conciliatory, but a firm and manly spirit. I shall be most anxious for your sentiments as soon as possible, on the line I am to pursue at this place. The question of the marines and the removal of some of the officers, had, I find, (for they have shewn me all their papers,) been anticipated by the other stations, and the opposition here was in part by instruction. Subsequent letters sufficiently shew, that this case is no longer that one, nor of the garrison of Masulipatam, but of the whole army, and that they are most deeply pledged to the support of each other. Indeed, *there cannot be a doubt*, but the punishment of any one would cause the whole to break out. This I feel it my duty to avoid, as well as to prevent their marching, which was their intention, and which they expect to be called upon to do, till I know the general line you mean to pursue.

I am, my dear Sir,

With respect,

your faithful servant,

(Signed) J. MALCOLM.

Hon. Sir G. H. Barlow, Bart. K. B.

In this place is introduced a further letter from B. General Malcolm to Sir G. H. Barlow; confirming his former statements.



To the preceding correspondence with Sir G. Barlow, are added two confidential letters to colonel Barclay, to the same purport with the letter to the governor.

No. 8.

Fort St. George, 12th July, 1809.

Dear Malcolm,

Sir George Barlow has received your letter of the 4th instant, and he desires me to express his entire approbation of all your proceedings, as reported in that letter.

The obedience to your authority, manifested by the officers and men of the garrison, has afforded to the governor the greatest satisfaction.

As it is possible that considerable delay may arise in the arrival of the other members of the committee appointed to enquire into the circumstances which led to the late occurrences at Masulipatam, the governor authorizes you, if the measure should appear to you to be advisable, to proceed in the enquiry by yourself, reporting the result for the information and orders of government.

In the mean time, Sir George Barlow leaves it to your discretion, to grant a pardon to the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Madras European regiment, and to the Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates of the Native corps, for any part which they may have taken in the late irregularities.

The governor presumes that you have explained the circumstances which led to the orders for the purpose of performing marine duty on board of His Majesty's ships; and that you have distinctly stated, that there never existed any idea or intention on the part of government, to disperse or break the Madras European regiment, and place the officers on half-pay, or inflict any punishment, or impose any mark of disgrace or disapprobation whatever on that corps.

Sir George Barlow has also received your letters of the 5th and 6th instant, and will reply to them without delay.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) R. BARCLAY,  
Military Secretary.

To colonel Malcolm.

Fort St. George, 12th July, 1809

Dear Malcolm,

You will have received my letter of this date, in reply to your letter of the 4th inst. which related more immediately to the recent occurrences at Masulipatam, and to the measures which you had adopted with regard to that garrison.

I am now directed by Sir George Barlow, to reply to your letters of the 5th and 6th inst. respecting the state of the army generally, and the course of policy which you recommend to be pursued.

Sir George Barlow desires me to express to you his thanks for the very unreserved manner in which you have communicated to him your opinion on this important subject.

After the maturest consideration, he cannot

satisfy his mind of the policy of the course of measures which you have recommended to his adoption.

You have indeed been long apprized of the sentiments of Sir George Barlow with regard to that course of policy, and the information which you have now communicated to him instead of altering those sentiments, has confirmed him in his opinion of the necessity of maintaining the authority of the government with unshaken firmness and resolution.

You cannot now render a more acceptable service to the public interests, than by exerting your influence and ability in keeping the garrison of Masulipatam firm to their duty, and in satisfying the officers that it is not less for their interest, than it is consistent with that duty, to await the decision of the authorities in England, on the several questions which have occasioned so much agitation in the minds of a considerable portion of the army of this establishment.

As Sir George Barlow entertains the fullest confidence that your endeavours for this purpose will prove successful, that no extreme cases of the nature of those to which you allude occur. If, however, any such cases should occur, he leaves it entirely to your discretion to adopt such measures as you may deem best calculated to meet the exigency of the occasion, and to enable you to maintain your authority in the garrison under your command.

In consequence of the information communicated by you, Sir George Barlow has deemed it to be expedient to assemble a considerable force, consisting of His Majesty's and the honourable company's troops in the neighbourhood of Madras, for the purpose of protecting the seat of government, and enabling the government to maintain its authority under all possible circumstances.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) R. BARCLAY,  
Military Secretary.

Colonel Malcolm.

No. 9.

Letter from colonel Malcolm, dated Masulipatam, 17th July, to Sir G. Barlow, acknowledging the receipt of colonel B.'s of the 12th, and urging (with apology) the arguments used in his letters of the 5th and 6th, also earnestly begging permission to go to Madras, for the purpose of making communications on the state of affairs, which it was impossible to convey in a letter.

Letter from the same to colonel Barclay dated the 18th July, reporting further information he had received, that the officers of the garrison were required by those at Hyderabad, to keep possession of Masulipatam.

Letter from colonel Barclay to colonel Malcolm, dated Fort St. George, 22d July, 1809, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 17th, referring him to the letters of the 12th, and desiring that colonel M. will on no account leave Masulipatam without Sir G. Barlow's orders.



No. 11.

(Private and confidential.)

Masulipatam, 18th July, 1809.

My dear Barclay,

I last night received your letter of the 19th instant; and am most happy to learn, that Sir George Barlow approves of my first proceedings.

I expect that Berkeley and Evans will be here the 21st or 22d, and it is my decided opinion, no investigation should be made till they arrive. This enquiry must be considered by the whole army as a regular military proceeding, and the impression made by the appointment of such a committee would be lost, if I was to execute its duties,—besides, the delay is trifling. If Sir George adopts no measure which supersedes the object of this committee, I should wish to be authorized to carry the report to Madras. I will travel Dawke, and can, if required, return in the same way. General Pater will be here, and Berkeley can, if necessary, be appointed to the temporary command of the regiment. If Taylor is not brought down, *which I think he ought, from Vizagapatam, believe me, it is of the utmost consequence* I should personally communicate with Sir George Barlow upon this important subject. I am glad Sir George Barlow has placed it at my discretion to pardon, if I thought it necessary, the non-commissioned officers and privates (Taylor is an excellent steady officer, has great weight with the regiment, particularly the men, and, though he signed some papers, is, I feel satisfied, true to his country and the government) of this garrison; but no circumstance short of an open attempt to throw off my authority, can ever lead me to think of such a step, as it would immediately drive to despair the European commissioned officers, on whose temper and moderation depends, at this moment, the allegiance of almost all the officers of the company's army on the coast, *few one line knowledge* at this moment spread the flames of mutiny over the peninsula. Under such circumstances, of what consequence would even a triumph over a few officers at Masulipatam be, supposing that certain, unless you were prepared for contest every where? I will never abandon my authority, or fail in the performance of my duty, but I never shall (unless positively ordered) take any step that I conceive likely to involve my country in a civil war. Such an extreme, it must be the wish of government to avoid, as long as it possibly can; nothing, indeed, can justify its commencement but the total failure of every possible means to prevent its occurrence. The present combutations of the officers of the company's army against the government, has hardly a feature common with an ordinary military mutiny, and there-

fore the principles that would apply to the one, are by no means applicable to the other. It is not the reduction of a corps or garrison to order and obedience, but the reclaiming a large body of men to their attachment and allegiance to the state they serve, which is the object; and this never can be done by partial measures, whether these are of a lenient or a coercive nature. I have no doubt but government would ultimately triumph in the contest, if it commenced this moment, but it would be a triumph over its own strength, and the occurrence of such a rupture must produce consequences that will shake our Indian empire to its base.

From the progress of the present agitation, I fear government will not have much time for consideration, and it should always be recollected, that in a crisis like the present, every thing depends on the moment at which measures are adopted; and the same act, which would be successful to-day, would perhaps totally fail of producing the desired effect, if adopted a month hence. You will satisfy Sir George Barlow, that one of the first things I did after I came on shore, was to satisfy the minds of the officers, and through them, of the men, of the intentions of government, in ordering a party of marines from the corps; and you will see, by the enclosed extract from my Journal, that I took the first good opportunity that offered, of stating this fact in the most public and impressive manner to the whole regiment.

I am most anxious to hear from Sir George Barlow, subsequent to his receipt of my letters of the 5th and 6th instant, as my mind is in a state of the most distressing anxiety. I have, however, to support me, the consciousness of having fulfilled my duty to him and to my country.

I am ever your's sincerely,

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM.

Another letter date same from the same to the same, saying, that he will in four days go to Madras, with a report of the enquiry he is making.

A third letter from the same to the same, dated 21st July.

A fourth letter from colonel Malcolm, to Sir G. Barlow, stating that the orders from the Hyderabad commander had produced an excessive ferment, that the officers had been instructed to call upon colonel Malcolm for an assurance that the orders of the 1st of May would be rescinded; and if this was refused, they were instantly to throw off their allegiance to government; that in consequence of his arguments, the officers had engaged to remain dutiful and obedient, until colonel Malcolm should go to Madras with his report, and return.

\* There are two distinct measures now in progress, one an *Appeal to Bengal*, and the other a *Plan* to obtain, by operations of a combined nature, if they cannot by remonstrance, the repeal of the orders of the 1st May.



Also stating that he had deferred every attempt to detach the men from their officers, because he knew that would be a signal for the whole to throw off their allegiance, and because he was doubtful of the success of such an attempt. Besides, "such an expedient would have been baneful to the service, and was not to be resorted to, while a hope remained of reclaiming the officers to a sense of their duty." The letter concludes with the following explanation of the motives of his conduct.

I hope the reasons will satisfy you of the wisdom of the part I have taken; and you must see, that unless I wished to precipitate the general revolt of the whole of the company's army, I could not, if I remained here, and waited your answer to my report, take any steps with the men to secure their fidelity; and I shal (if it is your wish I should) return to this command with your final orders, as strong, and probably stronger, in influence (as coming direct from the seat of authority) as I should have been, had I remained till your answer was received. There is little chance of any thing occurring when I am away, as most stations look to this; and the result of your proceedings on the report I make will be awaited. Thus the government will gain time, which, under every plan you can mean to pursue, must be an advantage to you, and a disadvantage to those combined against your authority. Their insanity is at this instant at its height, and every moment that action is delayed, reason has a chance of operating; besides, their committees are likely to differ in opinion, and this is a proof of weakness some of them already begin to discover. I have not lost a moment, as I will shew you by my journal and letter-book when I arrive, in disseminating correct sentiments, and in exposing to them in the boldest manner, the true nature of that deep guilt on which they are rushing. I have drawn their attention to a different nature, of the dangers and ruin that will attend their perseverance in this course, from what they have hitherto contemplated; and though the proceedings have brought a thousand calumnies upon my head, I know great effect has been produced in the quarters where it is most essential, the senior and thinking part, whom it has been my object to rouse; as I am satisfied, if extremes are resorted to, they will command the men.

When to all the reasons I have stated for my proceeding to Madras immediately (that is in three or four days from this date) is added the advantage you may receive from the very extensive information I can give you of the temper of the army, and of their general plans of combination and action, I cannot but anticipate your approbation of this step. At all events, you must be satisfied, nothing but a conscientious conviction of its being essential to the public interest,

could have led me to take it without your previous sanction

I am with respect,  
your's faithfully,  
(Signed) J MALCOLM.

Sir G. H. Barlow, Bart. K. B.  
&c. &c. &c.

P. S.—I have, since writing the above, seen some of the senior officers, who assure me, that they and their officers are as jealous of my honour as they would be of their own, and that if I think it necessary to go to Madras, they will pledge themselves for the orderly and dutiful conduct of the whole till my return, unless in the very unlikely case of a heretation rising in arms, which they will do every thing in their power to prevent, by representing to them the pledge they have made, which they will assure them is voluntary, and has been made without the slightest promise from me. I have more cautiously avoided any communication that could lead them to believe I entertained an opinion that government would make any concession; and the same language is held in the private letters I have communicated to them, with regard to the actual situation of the army at this moment.

I feel now much more assured of the continued subordination of this garrison during the period of my absence, than if I was present.

(Signed) J. MALCOLM.  
(True Copies)  
(Signed) A. FALCONER,  
Chief Secretary to govt.

#### Enclosure No. 12.

To the honourable Sir G. H. Barlow, Bart. &c. K. B. governor-in-council, Fort St. George.

Letter from colonel Malcolm, to the governor, dated 1st August, stating that he has transmitted to the Commander-in-chief an account of the inquiry into the proceedings of the officers at Masulipatam, previous to his arrival there, and recapitulating the occurrences during his command of the garrison.

Extract from lieutenant-colonel Malcolm's Journal; containing substance of a communication made by him, on the morning of the 18th July, 1809, expostulating with an officer, on the criminality of the proceedings of the officers, and represents in lively terms, the difficulties which are opposed to the success of their views from the inefficiency of their means, the disunion of their plans, and, above all, the badness of the cause in which they were engaged.

Extracts of a letter from an officer at Masulipatam, dated 23d July, shews that the Committee at Masulipatam propose, for the consideration of the other Committees, certain questions respecting the



nature of the conditions to be required from the government.

To Major-General Gowdie, Commander in-Chief of the Forces.

SIR,—I have before informed you, that in consequence of instructions I received from the honourable the governor, through the medium of lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary, I proceeded, without waiting the assembling of the Committee (that was ordered), to make an inquiry into the conduct of the garrison of Masulipatam. I considered that the best form in which I could make the inquiry was to collect from lieutenant-colonel Innis every information he could give, and to obtain such evidence from the officers of the garrison as appeared necessary to establish the leading facts of the transactions it was my object to investigate. I judged, that a minute and formal personal examination of the parties was equally unnecessary to the object of the preliminary enquiry with which I was charged, and unsuited to the temper of the times, or to the fulfilment of those objects, which I conceived the honourable the governor to have had in view at the time I was appointed to the command of the garrison of Masulipatam.

The officers of the garrison, whom I called upon for information, were of course cautious in committing to writing, or indeed in verbally stating, any thing that might criminate themselves; and I was induced by many reasons to avoid any examination of the men of the European regiment or Native battalion; such evidence was not necessary to the establishment of the principal facts, and it could not have been obtained without a complete sacrifice of that temper, which it was my object to maintain, until the government was in possession of the general result of my inquiry, and of that important information regarding the state of not only Masulipatam but of other stations in the army, which my employment upon this duty had enabled me to collect.

I enclose a statement given in by lieutenant-colonel Innis, with an appendix, and two private notes in reply to queries I put to him subsequent to his delivering in his first statement. I also enclose a paper which contains the substance of the information given me by captain Andrews, of the European regiment, and captain Kelly, of the 1st battalion 19th regiment of N. I., and which was corroborated by several of the officers of the garrison. I transmit a paper from lieutenant Nixon, the adjutant, whom I examined relating to the different causes which had led to agitate the minds of the men of the European regiment, and to make them, as well as their officers, forget their duty.

You are in possession of major Storey's letter, stating the nature of the situation

in which he was placed, and the steps which he adopted. In addition to that document, I enclose the substance of a verbal declaration which major Storey made to me upon this subject, and which shews the leading considerations which he states to have governed his conduct upon this occasion.

These enclosures will throw complete light upon the conduct of both lieutenant-colonel Innis, and the officers of the garrison of Masulipatam; and I shall, in the course of the few observations which I feel it my duty to offer upon their contents, state such additional facts as came to my knowledge from verbal communications upon this subject.

It is not possible to contemplate the conduct of the officers of Masulipatam throughout the different stages of this transaction, without constant reference to the general discontent and disaffection to government, which at the moment of their proceedings prevailed in the minds of a large proportion of the officers of the company's army on this establishment, and which must be considered as one of the chief, if not the sole cause, of their excesses.

Lieutenant-colonel Innis appears from his statement to have joined the corps he was appointed to command, with an impression that the officers of it were disaffected to government, and with a resolution to correct such improper principles in whatever place or shape he met them.

He landed at Masulipatam on the 7th May, and was invited on the same day to dine at the mess of the regiment; and it was after dinner, on this first day of their intercourse, that the groundwork was laid of all their future disparities. The only substantial fact adduced by lieutenant-colonel Innis on this occasion, and admitted by the other parties, was, that "the friends of the army," was given as a toast at this meeting by lieutenant D. Forbes, and seconded by lieutenant Maitland, quartermaster of the corps. This toast lieutenant-colonel Innis requested might be changed for "the Madras army;" but his proposition was not acceded to, and he in consequence left the table. This appears to be the only proved fact. Several observations are stated by lieutenant-colonel Innis to have been made by officers at the table, that were disrespectful to government, and contrary to the principles of subordination and good order; but the only one of these observations that he specifies, is ascribed to lieutenant Maitland, in a letter to that gentleman, which forms a number of the appendix. In that letter, lieutenant-colonel Innis, after regretting, that lieutenants Maitland and Forbes had not made the apology he required of them, for their conduct on the evening of the 7th of May, adds, "I will forward any explanation you may state to me with respect to the observations you made at the mess on the



7th instant so *publicly* with respect to the *Nizam's* detachment and officers, who are not friends of the army." Lieutenant Maitland, in his reply to this letter, states his wish that government will not decide upon lieutenant-colonel Innis's report, until he has an opportunity of defending himself; and further observes, until I received your letter this day, I never knew for what words or actions of mine an apology was required; for I most solemnly deny ever having given my opinion in any manner regarding the Nizam's detachment and its officers that night, or at any other time in your presence.

When Lieut.-Col. Innis left the mess-room, which he did, as has been before stated, in consequence of their refusing to change the toast to "the Madras Army," as he had proposed, it appears the officers proceeded to drink their original toast in the manner they were accustomed to drink it, with three cheers; and these it is not unlikely may have been mistaken by Lieut.-Col. Innis for further remarks of disrespect to him, and consequently to the authority by which he was appointed; but the officers of the regiment, who were present at table, deny the existence or expression of any such sentiments.

These different statements cannot be deemed surprising, when the nature of this meeting is considered. The parties could indeed hardly have been personally known to each other; and although no doubt can be entertained of the goodness of Lieut.-Col. Innis's motives, and the character of his laudable zeal for the government he served, it is perhaps to be regretted that his first efforts to correct the principles of the officers of his corps should have been made at a convivial scene, where it was to be supposed men would be less under restraint than in any other situation, and therefore less disposed to attend to either the voice of counsel or authority. But Lieut.-Col. Innis, from his statement, appears sensible of this fact: He observes, after recapitulating the motives that led him to report privately the conduct of the officers of the regiment at that dinner on the 7th of May to a confidential Staff officer, from whom he received what he terms "his original instructions," "I at the same time particularly requested that no *public notice* might be taken of what I found it expedient to state, unless I should be compelled subsequently to bring the business reluctantly forward officially, having intimated that I expected an apology to be tendered to me by Lieutenants D Forbes and Maitland, for their improper conduct on that evening, when the general order of the 1st May last was commented upon at the mess-room of the Madras European Regiment."

That such was the impression upon Col. Innis's mind, is confirmed by a note from Lieut. Nixon, the adjutant of the regiment, in which he asserts, that he made no official

report of the occurrences. It appears, however, that, contrary to Lieut. Col. Innis's expressed expectation, you considered it your duty to notice the private communication he had made of the occurrences of the evening of the 7th of May; and the letter which the adjutant general wrote to Lieut.-Col. Innis upon that subject, under date the 17th May, was immediately put into the regimental orderly book of the corps. It would be superfluous for me to dwell upon the irritation which the measures that were adopted upon this occasion, and the mode of carrying them into execution, excited, in the minds of the officers of the regiment. The nature and extent of that irritation are sufficiently explained in the accompanying documents. Its grounds were, the supposed incorrectness of Lieut.-Col. Innis's private communication to head-quarters; the neglect with which the representations of the officers of the regiment upon this subject were treated; the hardship of a respectable staff officer being disgraced by a removal from his station, without knowing of what he was accused, or being permitted to say a word in his defence; and the unusual and extraordinary measure of detaching (as a punishment,) an officer of the regiment to the command of a post, where there was not one man of his corps, and the refusal of a court martial to the officer on whom this unprecedented mark of disgrace had been inflicted.

In addition to these subjects of complaint, the officers seem to have considered the publication of the letter from lieutenant colonel Conway in the orderly book as an unnecessary promulgation of the displeasure and censure they had incurred among the men of the regiment; and lieutenant colonel Innis, would appear to have been sensible some time afterwards that this was the fact, as he desired the letter to be expunged from the orderly book.

You will observe from the documents enclosed, all that took place connected with the appointment of lieutenant Spankie; regarding which an impression was received by the officers of the regiment, from a communication made by lieutenant-colonel Innis, on the ground of a private letter (which he stated to them he had received from you) that it was in contemplation to dishband the regiment, and place the officers on half pay, if they did not alter their conduct; but that the fate of the corps would in a great degree be determined by the vote of lieutenant Spankie might take, that by the refusal of acceptance of the same, the quarter-master. This idea, which I can assure you was ever the intention of several officers, was directly intimated by lieutenant-colonel Innis, in the following words: "I believe that I am told, that you intended to refuse to accept of the quarter-master. Few are very different from me in these notions, it was equally proper



decline accepting of the quatermastership, as it is absolutely proper and necessary that you should accede to the general's wishes, to save a whole regiment.—Think of this. Your's truly, (Signed) J. INNIS.

This proceeding could not but greatly increase the irritation that before existed. It gave too much ground for the propagation of a belief, that the general punishment of the whole might depend upon the conduct of an individual (a young officer in the corps) on a question of a particular and personal nature; and it was not possible for an impression to have been made more calculated to increase the irritation and spirit of discontent which before prevailed in the regiment.

I shall now proceed to a concise view of the circumstances which relate to the order for the embarkation of a detachment of the Madras European regiment, for marines, and of the occurrences which took place on the 25th June, regarding which, however, the documents already in your possession are so ample as to require little further to complete your information upon the subject.

When lieutenant Forbes was directed to proceed to Penang, and a party of marines under lieutenant Maitland to be in readiness to embark on board the Fox frigate, no idea appears to have been entertained of opposition to these orders, though the officers of the corps felt that lieutenant Forbes and Maitland's being particularly ordered on these duties could only be as a punishment; and to avoid the stigma which they had conceived this proceeding would bring upon the corps, they solicited lieutenant-colonel Innis to allow other officers to exchange with lieutenant Maitland and lieutenant Forbes, and at the same time assured him, there was not an officer in the regiment that was not ready to take their turns of duty. This application, which proves the officers had no intention at that period of resisting the orders of government was refused by lieutenant-colonel Innis, for reasons stated in his note to me of the 22d y, which forms a number of the appendix.

Before the orders were received at Masulipatam for an increased number of marines embarking on board his majesty's ships, Piedmontaise and Samarang, the minds of the officers of that garrison had been much inflamed by communications they had received from the different stations of the army. These expressed (agreeable to the statement of captain Andrews and captain Kelly) a general opinion of the illegality of the orders regarding lieutenant Forbes and lieutenant Maitland, and of the unjust manner in which the Madras European regiment had been treated. It was also reported, from a variety of quarters, that the regiment was to be dispersed and disbanded; and these reports obtained, from the nature of preceding occurrences, a very ready belief both among the officers and men of the corps.

There can, however, be no doubt that the

garrison at Masulipatam, as well as other stations with which they communicated, contemplated the detachment of so large a party as that ordered from the European regiment as a serious diminution of their strength, and consequently injurious to the interests of the confederacy against government in which they were so deeply engaged, and that this consideration in some degree influenced them to that criminal course which they pursued; but I do not believe that this motive, unaided by others would have led them at that moment to so bold and daring an opposition to orders.

The account given by lieutenant-colonel Innis of the proceedings of the 25th June is, I am satisfied, perfectly correct. It is impossible for me to afford any further information than what you will derive from that document, major Storey's official letter, and the substance of that officer's verbal declaration to me (which forms a number of the appendix.) I can only add my conviction of two facts: 1st, that lieutenant-colonel Innis had it not in his power to coerce the obedience of the garrison, in the state it was in; and, 2dly, that had bloodshed taken place, it would (as major Storey states in his verbal declaration) have been the signal for the company's officers at many other stations throwing off their allegiance to government.

The accompanying deposition of lieutenant and adjutant Nixon is entitled to some attention. There is no doubt of the general facts which that officer has stated; they are, indeed, proved by the conduct of the men of the European regiment, who gave a ready support to their officers in an act which they must have known was meritorious, which it is not likely they would have done if they had not received unfavourable impressions of the intentions of government. These impressions were, however, the only predisposing causes; the immediate impulse, under which the deluded men of the regiment acted was a wish to support officers who had been long with them, and a feeling of resentment at threatened coercion; and under the action of this impulse, they would no doubt have opposed any troops that had been brought against them.

Though nothing can justify mutiny, it is impossible, when we consider that the non-commissioned officers and men of the Madras European regiment acted on this occasion at the call of almost all their regimental officers, not to acquit them in a very great degree of that share of criminality which must attach to all the individuals implicated in such proceedings. I am satisfied of the truth of which lieutenant Nixon states, regarding the discontent that exists among the men of the corps who have enlisted for an unlimited period of service. These men gave me a petition upon this subject, and prayed I would bring it to your notice. I communicated this petition to major-general Pater, as I thought it implied, from the terms in which it was expressed, that they were aware of their



situation, and were disposed to maintain their obedience to government. It was at all events clearly to be inferred from the mode and substance of this representation, that those by whom it was made, were sensible of the nature of the times and thought them favourable for the accomplishment of their object. It is impossible for me to state what officers have been most culpable in their irregular and unmilitary proceedings, into which I have been directed to inquire; but, with the exception of those stated in lieutenant-colonel Innis's letter (who had in fact no means of being useful) I believe that all the officers present with the Madras European regiment, and the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment, were implicated in the general guilt. Those that took the most forward part are stated in lieutenant-colonel Innis's letters. The company of artillery stationed out of fort had no concern whatever in these transactions, and has remained throughout perfectly faithful to its duty and to government. I need hardly state that the Native officers and men of the garrison of Masulipatam had no concern in this Mutiny. They fell in on their parade on the day of the 25th June, because a number of the officers of the corps called upon them to do so.

It is a justice I owe to major Storey and to captain Andrews, senior officers of the European regiment, to state, that from the 25th June until the 4th of July, the day on which I took the command, the utmost subordination and good order had been observed by the troops, and the duty of the garrison had been carried on with as great regularity and order as if nothing had occurred to disturb the usual routine of military discipline.

I feel it would be presumption in me to offer my opinion on the subject of my inquiry, and I have therefore confined myself to the object of laying before you, in as clear and concise a manner as I could, the leading and principal facts of those proceedings which I was directed to investigate.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN MALCOLM,  
Lt. Col. Com.

Madras,  
1st August 1809.

The numerous enclosures in the above letter confirm the general statements of general Malcolm, but do not seem to require a particular insertion in this place.

Enclosure, No. 13.

To Major Vernon, Military Secretary to the officer commanding the Army in Chief.

Sir,—You are desired to lay the enclosed paper before the officer commanding the army in chief for his information, and ultimately that of Government, as the unalterable resolution of that part of the honourable company's force at Hyderabad and Jaulnah.

Hydrabad, 11th July 1809

To the Hyderabad Committee.

Georgian,—It is the firm determination

of this force to afford the Madras European regiment assistance, and it is their wish that this intention should be made known to Government.

The Committee of the Jaulnah Force.

Approved by the Hyderabad Committee.

Hydrabad, 11th July, 1809.

Jadinah, 5th July 1809.

To the Honourable Sir George Hilary Barlow, Bart. K. B. &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—I do not lose a moment in transmitting to you a copy of a private letter which I have just received from Lieut.-Colonel Montresor. The Colonel has written to Major-General Gowdie, and has no doubt communicated every circumstance to him.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) T. SYDENHAM.

Hydrabad, 18th July, 1809.

The letter of Col. Montresor, inclosed in the above, is a mere abstract of the subsequent letter; it is therefore omitted.

To Major-General Gowdie, commanding the Army, Fort St. George.

Sir,—The letter I had the honour to address to you yesterday, will have informed you of the violent resolutions entered into by the officers of the honourable company's service belonging to this force, regarding the march of the 2d battalion 10th regiment; I now inclose you copies of the papers addressed to me, and a copy of a letter from me to Major Neale on the occasion, and will state to you what has passed on this subject.

I received a letter from the Quarter-master General of the Army, conveying your orders for the march of the 2d battalion 10th regiment from this station to Goa. On receipt of the order, I communicated the contents to the Resident at this court, who informed me there was no reason of a political nature to prevent your orders being carried into execution; and on the same day I desired the deputy quarter-master general of this force to acquaint Major Hawes, that orders for the march of his corps would be issued, and that the supreme government attached an importance to its early arrival at Goa. The next day (the 17th) orders to that effect were issued in detachment orders.

In the evening I was waited upon by the officers commanding corps, to request that I would rescind the orders of the morning. I told them of the impropriety of their even taking such subjects into discussion, and that nothing could be more contrary to their duty than to combine for the purpose of getting me to rescind the orders I have given, in compliance with the instructions I had received; I stated that no discretionary power was left to me, and that were I to yield to their request, my own conduct might be implicated by it. I pointed out, with all the force I could, the disgrace that must fall on them if they persevered in their plans, and that if they combined for the purpose of



making me recede my orders, I could give no other name to their proceedings than mutiny? I read them their own letter to me, in which they pledged themselves to observe a forbearance; I reminded them of their solemn assurances to me to maintain due subordination, and contrasted their present conduct with those assurances. In short I urged every thing I could to make them desist from their intentions. The officers left me, I am sure the greater number, convinced of the truth and justice of my remarks, and I still had hopes I had succeeded; but yesterday I received the paper conveying their resolutions.

To attempt to force compliance I knew was impossible, whilst I could expect no support but from his Majesty's regiment; and I think, under these circumstances, and the critical situation of this force with regard to our suspicious allies, I should have been culpable to have made an attempt at coercion which could only have failed, and indeed done greater mischief.

To express the anxiety of my mind and deep concern on this occasion is beyond my power; but you, sir, will judge of it, and my superiors will determine if I have acted as I ought.

I shall only add, I have seen some officers to-day, and find my letter to major Neale has made a strong impression on many; but I fear little is to be expected whilst the minds of officers are agitated with such ungovernable violence.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) THOS. G. MONTRESOR,  
Lieut.-col.

Secunderabad,  
19th of July, 1809.

To lieut.-colonel Montresor.  
Hydrabad, 18th of July, 1809.

Sir,

It is with infinite pain that the officers of this force have at length been driven to the extremity which the enclosed paper will inform you of. We deprecate any disrespect to you in this transaction, and beg leave to assure you of our unalterable esteem, which you have so well merited since we have had the honour of being under your command; and we beg leave to assure you, that we will still continue to obey all orders received from you which are not injurious to the cause of the coast army.

(Signed) The Hydrabad committee,  
for the rest of the officers.

To lieut.-colonel Montresor, commanding  
the Hydrabad subsidiary force.

Sir,

We the officers of the honourable company's service, of the Hydrabad subsidiary force, having united amongst ourselves, and also united with the whole army besides, in a resolution to obtain redress of our grievances, the particulars of which have already

been laid before government, deem any attempt to divide us as incompatible with and destructive of that resolution. We therefore will not consent to the removal of the 2d battalion 10th regiment Native infantry, whose assistance may soon be necessary to us, and whose attachment to our cause we are assured of. But we will nevertheless obey all orders addressed to us by the officer commanding this force for the interior regulation of its duties.

(Signed)

GEO. NEALE,  
Major 1st reg. cavalry;  
and the other officers of the  
Hydrabad subsidiary force.

Hydrabad,  
18th July, 1809.

Letter to major Neale, commanding the 1st regiment Native cavalry from colonel Montresor; expressing the concern he feels, at finding that the officers of the Hydrabad force have associated themselves, with the other parts of the army, in the excuses and irregularities which have prevailed; and strongly remonstrating with him on the occasion.

Enclosure, No. 14.

•(Separate and confidential.)

Letter from captain Sydenham to the governor, dated 21st of July, stating, that he has made arrangements to facilitate colonel Close's journey to Hydrabad; and expressing his apprehensions that the Native officers and men will support the European officers,

(Confidential)

To lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary.

Sir,

I request you will do me the honour to lay the enclosed papers before the honourable the governor in council; they have been this moment submitted to me by the senior officers of the force, and I promised to forward them, with an earnest request that I may obtain an answer by return of Tappaal. It is by so doing the officers have pledged me their word to remain quiet till the time I may expect an answer. I have given no pledge whatever in return, but merely told them, I would forward it; and that if I had any influence, it should be exerted in recommending what they propose. It must not be supposed, in consequence of what I am doing, that I am ignorant of what is due to the dignity of government. I know it well. I know how necessary it is it should be supported to the utmost, in order to enable it to maintain its authority; how incumbent it is on every officer at this moment to stand forward in defence of the government, and consequently how unjustifiable have been the late proceedings of the army; but I also know the dangers to be apprehended, if what is proposed is not acceded to. I am convinced, that the whole of the army in the company's service is united in this cause; that the officers deem the pledges they have given to each



other irrevocable; that they are determined to stand by each other to the last; that they have the most perfect reliance on the Scipios; and that should there ever be a contest, whatever may be the result of it, it will be the death-blow to the country. It is my opinion (and I hope at this momentous crisis I may be permitted to give one) that government will best shew its dignity by yielding to necessity; and that by a timely concession, they may prevent a sanguinary conflict, which must involve the ruin of the state.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) THOS. G. MONTRESOR,  
Lieut.-colonel.

Secunderabad,  
21st July, 1809.

To Lieutenant-colonel Montresor, commanding the Hyderabad subsidiary force.

Sir,

The undersigned officers commanding corps in the Hyderabad subsidiary force; in behalf of themselves and their officers respectively, most anxious to avert the dreadful calamities immediately impending, earnestly intreat you, Sir, to convey to government the enclosed proposition of measures, which, if adopted by them, we are well assured, Sir, will effectually restore that state of order and tranquillity so much desired at this fatal crisis. We exhort you, Sir, to recommend it most strongly to their attention. We, unequivocally on our part, most solemnly pledge ourselves to be satisfied with the concession of government to the above-mentioned proposition; that we will most strenuously recommend the same to the rest of our brother officers in the other divisions of the army; and we have no doubt, from the general confidence they have placed in this force, that they will most readily concur with us.

We have, &c. &c.

(Signed) Geo. Neale, major 1st reg.  
N. C.—J. Crodere, major.—H. Ma-  
sey, major 5th N. I.—W. Hawes,  
major 10th reg.—Chas. Deacon, ma-  
jor 16th reg.—Chas. Barran, major  
21st reg.

Secunderabad,  
21st July, 1809.

Hydrabad, 21st July, 1809.

1st. The rescindment of the general orders of the 1st of May last, to be acknowledged and published by government in the same manner as the order itself.

2d. The restoration of every officer who has been removed from his situation or suspended the service, to the service and his situation.

3d. The trial of lieutenant-colonel Innes, by a general court martial, for his general conduct at Masulipatam while in command of the Madras European regiment.

4th. The removal of those officers on the general staff from their situations, who ad-

vised government to prosecute the measures which have caused the present commotion in the army.

5th. A general amnesty, to indemnify the proceedings of the coast army in the measures they have been gradually led into, and ultimately forced to adopt.

N. B. Modification of the 4th article, as inserted in the original document circulated throughout the other divisions of the army.

4. It is earnestly requested and recommended, that the officers on the general staff, who by their conduct have forfeited the confidence of the army, be removed from their stations.

This ultimatum having been made public to the rest of the army, and some modifications and alterations having been now made

The Hyderabad force, can only answer for themselves; but they entertain every favourable hope, and will strenuously recommend to their brother officers of the other divisions, its acquiescence in this ultimatum as it now appears.

Hydrabad,  
21st July, 1809

Letter from Captain Sydenham to Sir George Burrow, expressing his opinion that Colonel Montresor has acted judiciously in forwarding the propositions from the officers, as time will be gained by the reference.

(Private and confidential.)

Sir, Hydrabad 23d 1809.

I have seriously reflected upon the present awful crisis of affairs; I have given the subject all the attention in my power; and I have lost no opportunity of procuring the most complete and precise information of the feelings of the officers, and of their ultimate designs. There is no person who is better acquainted than myself with the nature and extent of the calamities which menace us, or who has a more exact conception of the ruinous consequences that must inevitably follow the pursuit of those desperate measures which the officers are prepared to undertake. I am convinced, that the most solemn and binding pledges and promises of mutual support and assistance have been interchanged through all parts of the company's army; that the officers are prepared to sacrifice their lives in the support of that dreadful cause in which they are irrevocably engaged: they foresee the ruin and destruction in which they are about to involve themselves and the state, but they have calmly and deliberately resolved to meet that ruin and destruction, rather than forsake those solemn promises which they have given and received.

At the same time, I am well convinced that the majority of them are deeply affected with the present deplorable state of affairs, and that they are solicitous and anxious to avoid a dreadful and unnatural conflict against the established authority of government. But they conceive their situation to be de-



perate, and that submission would be followed by instant destruction. They are persuaded that they have advanced too far to retreat with either safety or honour to themselves. Every passion which can agitate the human breast impels them forward, and their only consolation is, the expectation that the ruin which awaits them will extend to those by whom they consider themselves injured. I am aware that my language is plain and strong, but it is the language of truth. I conscientiously believe that I have given you an exact description of the feelings of the officers.

I assure you, that I have done every thing in my power to moderate and repress the feelings which I have described; but the voice of reason is feeble in a contest against the passions, and the remonstrance of any individual can have little influence over the agitated feelings of a whole army.

In the circumstances in which I am placed, I have thought it my especial duty to communicate, unreservedly, to you and to Lord Minto, all the information which I could obtain. I am too conscious, Sir, that neither my talents, my age, my experience, nor my services, entitle my opinions to any weight or consideration with those who are so much more capable of deciding upon the momentous question before them; I have therefore not presumed to offer any opinion, but I conceived that a knowledge of facts might be useful to those whose province it is to decide; and I thought it would be equally unpardonable in me to withhold or to disguise any fact which came to my knowledge.

During the present course of our affairs, I have received all possible assistance from Lieut.-Col. Montresor, whose discretion, judgment, and conciliatory conduct, both on his public proceedings and personal demeanor, have produced the happiest effects, and appear to me to deserve the highest commendation. Those persons who are acquainted with some circumstances (which it is unnecessary and would be disrespectful to obtrude upon your notice) must be convinced that in saying what I have done regarding the conduct and proceedings of colonel Montresor, I can be actuated by no other motive than to render justice to the services of an honourable gentleman and a meritorious officer.

I have already taken the liberty to declare my sentiments respecting the advantages of the respite which has been obtained, by a reference to your authority, of the proposals from the officers of the army. Without presuming to offer any opinion upon the nature of those proposals, I conceived that a great advantage had been gained by arresting the progress of destruction; and though it should only be for a fortnight, I considered that the delay of a fortnight was inestimable, when every day and every hour were of value. It is upon these grounds that I venture to solicit your attention to the following

suggestions, which, whatever be the ultimate result of them, promise at least a further respite from danger.

In conversing with some gentlemen respecting the nature and extent of the proposals which have been submitted to your consideration, I have pointed out the difficulty of making any concessions that not only may be judged inconsistent with the dignity and authority of government, but which it may be now out of your power to make without the sanction of the governor-in-council, by whom the measures of the Madras government have already been approved and confirmed. This observation led to a discussion from which I am induced to hope that some advantage may be derived, from a reference to the authority of the supreme government. It appears to me, that the officers would take no further steps in the prosecution of their present designs until an answer should be procured from Fort William, provided they were assured that the Madras government would not in the meantime take any measures to break the present combination, either by the employment of actual force, or by any movement of the King's troops towards them. The officers are so suspicious and jealous of every act of government, that they feel alarmed lest the government should take advantage of the delay produced by reference to Fort William, to counteract their present designs, and to diminish their present strength; they are certainly prepared to throw off all obedience to the government of Madras, but they would probably be willing to refrain from so desperate and extreme an act, provided they were assured that a reference would be immediately made to the supreme government, and I think it more than likely that they would remain tranquil until an answer to that reference shall have been received: such an arrangement, if it were adopted, would be productive of a further delay of six weeks.

In order that I may not be misunderstood, I will take the liberty to state the arrangement of which I allude, in a distinct and precise form.

1.—If the government of Madras does not consider itself at liberty to revoke its orders, or to make any other concession, without a reference to the supreme government which has sanctioned those orders, and if the Madras government will condescend to refer the subject to the consideration of the supreme government, the officers of the army will remain tranquil until an answer be procured from Fort William.

2.—In the above case, it is expected that the Madras government will take proper means to communicate to the officers its intention of referring the subject to the consideration of the supreme government.

3.—But the Madras government in the meantime is not to adopt any hostile measures against the officers, or they will be compelled, in their own defence and for their own safety, to resort to their present designs.



4.—The officers will not relax in any measures which they may have concerted, to prepare for an ultimate appeal to arms, in case their overtures be finally rejected, either by the Madras government or the supreme government.

I have ventured to state the arrangement in a precise form, in order to guard against any misconception. But the object of the arrangement is, that circumstances may remain exactly in their present state until the pleasure of the governor-general be made known to the army.

It is proper that I should observe, that the arrangement does not come in the shape of proposals from the officers. It has occurred to myself as a mode of procuring a further respite from the instant danger of a general insurrection, and I am induced to believe that it would have the effect of tranquillizing the minds of the officers for the present, and of leading gradually to some plan of reconciliation between the government and the army.

I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that I have ascertained that the report of the Native officers having sworn to follow their European officers, is without foundation. I have been assured that the commanding officers of corps have hitherto made no attempt to debauch the minds of the Native troops, and that they do not intend to communicate any part of their designs to the Natives, unless some attempt be previously made to detach the Natives from their European officers. If any proceeding of that nature be attempted, it is probable that the officers will immediately communicate their designs to the Natives under their command. In the meantime, they feel no doubt of the perfect obedience and attachment of their men.

I have the honour to be,  
with great respect, Sir,  
your most obedient & humble  
servant,

(Signed) T. SYDENHAM.

To the honourable

Sir G. H. Barlow, Bart. K. B.

&c. &c. &c.

Fort St. George.

Letter, dated 28th July, from colonel Barclay to captain Sydenham, stating that it is the unalterable determination of Sir G. Barlow not to compromise the public authority, in the slightest degree—forwarding the test, to be used at the discretion of the superior authorities at Hyderabad, and urging that no improper effect can be produced by detaching the men from the officers; as the latter ought not to possess such an influence over the former, as to induce them to take up arms against government.

Enclosure, No. 16.

(Confidential.)

Secunderabad, July 11, 1809.

Dear Sir,—I have much regret in being under the necessity of laying before you the copy of a correspondence between

lieutenant-colonel Doveton and myself, relative to an address, which he has requested me to forward through you to the governor-general.

Lieutenant-colonel Doveton's communication of the 6th instant, is the first I have received from him of any nature indicative of the sentiments of the officers at Jaulnah; though I have long had reason to suspect they have been far from moderate. I fear my representation is not likely to be attended with the effect it ought to have, in which case it will be necessary for me to forward the address in a public and official shape. I wished, however, in the mean while, to make you acquainted with the temper of the officers, and trust you will approve of what I have done.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,  
your faithful and obedient servant.  
(Signed) T. G. MONTRESOR.

To Major General Gowdie,  
&c. &c. &c.

(Copy.)

To the officer commanding the Hyderabad subsidiary force, Secunderabad.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit you by express, an address, which has been delivered to me by officers commanding corps and detachment of the force at Jaulnah, to the right honourable the governor-general in council, to be laid before the governor of Fort St. George, through the officer commanding the army in chief.

(Signed) J. DOVETON,

Lieut.-col. comdg. detachment in Berar.  
Jaulnah, July 6, 1809.

P. S. I have likewise forwarded a copy of the address to the British resident at Hyderabad.

(Signed) J. DOVETON,  
Lieutenant-colonel.

(Copy.)

To major-general Gowdie, commanding the army in chief, Fort St. George.

Sir,—I have the honour to report for your information, that on the morning of the 5th instant, I was waited on at my quarters by the officers commanding corps and detachments of the force under my command, with the accompanying address to the right honourable the governor-general in council, and which I have deemed it absolutely necessary to transmit by express to the officer commanding the subsidiary force at Secunderabad, in order to be submitted, through you, to the honourable the governor in council.

I have been induced to this measure, both from the conviction of my own mind that I should have been guilty of a dereliction of my duty had I omitted to do so, as well as from the observations which I have been able to make of the present ferment produced in the minds of the officers composing this detachment, by the recent occurrences in the northern division of the army.



For my own part, Sir, I most anxiously implore the honourable the governor in council to abstain from further acts of severity and irritation, lest a scene too horrid for the mind of man to contemplate should be the consequence!!!

It is my thorough acquaintance with the disposition of the natives of this country, as well as the impression of events but too recent, have forced the above sentence from me, and for which, requesting your excuse, I remain with respect and esteem,

your very obedient servant,

(Signed) J. DOWTON,

Lieutenant colonel commanding a detachment in Berar.

Jaulnah, 6th July, 1809.

No. 4.

To Major-general Gowdie, commanding the army in chief.

Sir,—We have the honour to enclose an address, signed by all the officers of the corps under our charge, and have to request you will have the goodness to forward it to the right honourable the governor-general in council.

M. Stewart, major, 2d battalion 17th regiment.—J. Pollok, captain, 19th regiment.—J. L. Rushington, captain, 4th regiment, N. C.—G. M. Gibson, captain, 1st battalion, 10th regiment.—C. Hopkinson, captain, company artillery.—L. W. Poignand, captain light horse artillery.—A. M'Leod, captain of the 8th N. C.

Jaulnah, 6th July, 1809.

(Copy.)

To the right honourable Lord Minto, governor-general in council, &c. &c. &c.

My Lord,—We the undersigned officers of that part of the Hyderabad subsidiary force serving in Berar, have for a long time viewed with deep concern the extreme acts of power of the governor of Fort St. George, under the conviction that if such violent measures were persisted in, they must be attended with the most fatal consequences to the British interests in India.

The governor of Madras, notwithstanding he must be well aware of the general sentiments of the coast army, has continued to adopt measures the most unadvisably oppressive, and uncalled for.

Animated with loyalty, and possessing the most unbounded attachment to our country, we conceive it absolutely necessary no longer to defer addressing you, and to intreat that you will immediately repair to the presidency of Fort St. George, in order by your presence, and an accurate investigation of the causes of complaint on the part of the coast army, to check the evils that have already arisen, and those which must necessarily follow, by a perseverance on the part of government in its present measures.

You must, my lord, be already acquainted to what a desperate extremity this conduct has driven the Northern divisions, and we earnestly request your lordship to be convinced of our positive and unalterable sentiments on that head, and beg you will not consider this as an unavailing observation, but as the resolution of free-born Britons.

We cannot, however, for a moment doubt that your lordship will, by your immediate presence, relieve us from the insupportable evils which threaten us, and restore that subordination in the coast army, for which it has ever been renowned, and which nothing but the impolitic and unnecessary system of oppression that has lately been introduced, could ever even have shaken.

We are fully aware of the responsibility, as well as of the important interests confided to our care, from our peculiar situation on the frontier, and therefore consider ourselves bound not to lose sight of these important objects unless driven to the last extremity; and we accordingly again intreat you to proceed to the seat of government on the coast, and, in your wisdom, adopt such measures as may appear to your lordship most likely to restore order, and banish that discontent which now pervades the army at large.

Signed by all the officers, attached to the corps with the Jaulnah force.  
Jaulnah, 5th July, 1809.]

Letter from colonel Montresor, to lieutenant colonel Doveton, commanding detachment of the subsidiary force in Berar; recommending, for certain reasons explained, that the foregoing address to lord Minto, should be withdrawn.

Secunderabad, 18th July, 1809.

Dear Sir,

I enclose you a copy of a letter I received this morning from lieutenant-colonel Doveton. That there is a general pledge and combination of officers throughout the army to support each other, I am firmly convinced, but to what extent I cannot say; therefore, lest I might err in my opinion, I think it right merely to give col. Doveton's letter without comment.

I have the honour to be,

dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

(Signed) T. G. MONTRESOR,

To Major General Gowdie,  
&c. &c. &c.

(Secret.)

Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Doveton, to lieutenant-colonel G. Montresor, commanding subsidiary force, Secunder-

Sir,

Since forwarding you my dispatch of yesterday, I have, by an extraordinary occurrence, obtained undoubted information that the officers of the subsidiary force at Secunderabad, as well as Jaulnah, have pledged themselves



in the most solemn and irrevocable manner to march to the support of the officers at Masulipatam, should government attempt to employ force against them.

Let me conjure you therefore, Sir, to lose no time in communicating this circumstance to government, in order that those evils, which in such case must unavoidably be the result, may be avoided by their wisdom and forbearance.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

(Signed) J. DOVETON,

Lieut. col. comdg detachd in Berar.

Jaulnah,

7th July, 1809.

Letters from sir George Barlow and colonel Barclay to colonel Close, dated 14th and 15th July, acquainting him that the emergency of the present occasion, has induced the govt. to appoint him to the command of the Poonah and Hyderabad forces.

Letter from colonel Barclay to captain Sydenham, dated 15th July, informing him that colonel Close had been appointed to the command of the Hyderabad force.

From the same, to colonel Montresor, informing him of colonel Close's appointment.

From sir G. Barlow to general Maitland, 15th of July, soliciting the aid of all the troops he can spare.

Circular, from colonel Barclay, to officers commanding divisions, directing their vigilance to maintain discipline, and to check the circulation of opinions or reports unfavorable to the government; and stating that more detailed instructions will be communicated without delay.

From colonel Barclay, 21st of July, to the resident at Mysore, directing that 2000 Mysore cavalry, may be assembled and placed at the disposal of colonel Davis, also requiring a supply of dragoon horses.

From the same to colonel Davis, informing him of the orders sent to the resident of Mysore.

From colonel Wilkinson to colonel Barclay, acknowledging the receipt of the letter of the 14th of July, and desiring to know if the *punishment due to rebels is not to be inflicted immediately*, on any who may be taken in arms against the government.

From colonel Davis to colonel Barclay, dated 10th July, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 14th and stating that he will make every arrangement in his power to support the authority of government.

From general Croker, acknowledging colonel Barclay's letter of the 14th, and stating that he will employ every means in his power to maintain the good order and discipline of the troops under his command.

Letter dated Fort St. George, 19th July, 1809.—From colonel Barclay to colonel Long, enclosing copy of the circular letter to officers commanding divisions, and desiring that he will take measures, to put down committees of officers which are stated to be formed at Vellore.

Colonel Long, 22d July, replies to colonel Barclay, stating that he will adopt the precautionary measures suggested.

Colonel Barclay to colonel Close, 22d July, acquainting him that 12,000 troops will be prepared to move, and to be placed under his command.

Letter dated Trichinopoly, 21st July, 1809, From colonel Wilkinson to colonel Barclay, offering his opinion that it will be expedient to remove the whole of the officers of the Native corps, and to replace them by king's officers, engaging to effect this measure at Trichinopoly, and recommending that the same may be done at the same time in every part of the Carnatic.

Enclosure, No. 18.

(Copy.)

To colonel Wilkinson, commanding the Southern division.

Sir,—You will no doubt have been induced to adopt measures of precaution, in consequence of the spirit of insubordination and sedition which prevailed in certain parts of the company's army.

The enclosed copy of a letter delivered by the officers attached to the Hyderabad subsidiary force to lieutenant-colonel Montresor, the officer commanding that force, and received by the honourable the governor in council on the 24th instant, renders it indispensably requisite to prescribe a course of proceeding of a more decided nature, as the plans of the disaffected party threaten either a civil war, or such a blow to the power and constitution of the government, as would produce evils of a far more fatal nature than can result from the most strenuous exertions for the maintenance of its authority.

Every obligation of public duty, and every consideration of government and policy, urges the expediency of adopting the most vigorous and effectual measures for the purpose of frustrating the execution of those plans so pregnant in any event with disastrous consequence to the interest of our country; and it is a source of the most gratifying reflection, that the discipline, zeal, and national attachment of his majesty's troops may be confidently relied upon, at this arduous moment,



for the preservation of the empire, which their exertions have so much contributed to obtain.

The government are also persuaded, that a number of the company's officers will be impressed with a sense of the dangers which the infatuated conduct of a party of disaffected men threatens to themselves and their country, and that they will avoid all part in a course of proceeding of the deepest guilt, and pregnant with the most fatal calamities.

The undiminished power of the government is in this country so indispensable to its existence, that any course of proceeding calculated to weaken its authority, or impair its energy, would be productive of the most imminent danger to the preservation of the empire, and every maxim of policy, expediency, and duty, imposes upon the governor-in-council at the present unprecedented crisis the arduous task of suppressing, by a vigorous employment of the means at his disposal, a spirit of insubordination, sedition, and usurpation, which if submitted to would effectually disable the government from executing the ordinary functions of administration.\*

These considerations, the actual state of affairs, and the necessity of averting such serious dangers, have rendered it requisite that the government should ascertain the sentiments and principles of the officers entrusted with authority under it; the government do not suspect individuals, but when so great a portion of the army has manifested a determined spirit of sedition, it is essentially requisite that the zealous and faithful should be distinguished from those who are indisposed to support the authority of government, and that the latter should be no longer admitted to exercise functions which they are unwilling to employ in the service of their country; I am accordingly directed by the honourable the governor-in-council to desire that you will assemble all the European officers of the company's service at Trichinopoly, explain to them the considerations stated in this dispatch, and obtain from such of them as may be resolved to adhere to their duty, a declaration of the purport expressed in the accompanying paper. You will explain to the officers, that such of them as may decline to afford the pledge now required, will be removed from the immediate execution of duty with the troops, and allowed to remain at some particular station (which it is left to your discretion to prescribe) on the receipt of their ordinary allowances, until the situation of affairs, and the temper of their minds, admit of their being employed with advantage to the state. Those officers can have no reason whatever to complain of this measure, or consider it a hardship, for they cannot expect that the government will entrust them with an authority which they are not willing to employ in its support. After this proceeding, you will immediately remove from function all officers who shall decline to

afford the required pledge, and place the company's troops under such officers as you may consider to be deserving of confidence; you will even place King's officers in command, if all the company's officers should decline to declare in support of the government, and will extend the same arrangement to the artillery.

In the event of any of the staff officers of your divisions refusing to make the declaration required, they will of course be removed from the exercise of all military functions, and you are hereby empowered to appoint officers of his majesty's or the honourable company's service to those situations until the pleasure of the governor in council is known.

You will be pleased to transmit without delay, to the adjutant-general, a list of the names of the officers who shall sign the declaration, and also a list of those officers who shall refuse or omit to sign it, and you will immediately publish these lists in division orders, that the troops may know what officers they are to obey, and what officers have been suspended from their functions.

After the execution of these measures, you will be pleased to assemble all the Native officers, and explain to them, with candour and confidence, the grounds on which they were adopted; you will inform them that certain European officers, in pursuit of objects entirely personal to themselves, have formed plans of the most criminal nature, and desirous of involving the Native troops in the danger and guilt attending their execution.

You will impress upon the minds of the Native officers that their first duty is to the government, and that they are to refuse a belief to any suggestions calculated to mislead their minds or excite discontent; you will inform them that the government are more anxious to improve than to injure their situations, and will recal to their recollection the constant solicitude which it has manifested for their comfort.

You will finally acquaint them, that the utmost confidence is placed in their discipline and fidelity, that the present disturbances will be soon composed, but that they must on no account violate the duty which they owe to the state.

Having made the necessary arrangements for securing the services of the company's troops at Trichinopoly, you will adopt proper measures for carrying the same plan into effect with all the rest of the corps under your command, moving a force to any other point in your division, if you should find that step necessary, to effect the object described in this dispatch.

Instructions similar to these have been communicated to all the officers commanding divisions south of the Kurnah; and the government trust that the services of all the company's troops in these divisions will be effectually secured by the prompt and decided execution of this order.



It is proper not to conceal from you, that the present crisis demands the most strenuous exertions for the preservation of the national interests, and the measures now communicated to you are essentially necessary for the purpose of securing this most important object.

To officers commanding divisions.

Sir,—Government having received information that correspondence of a most seditious and dangerous nature, is carried on between a number of British officers of the company's army of this establishment, you are hereby authorized and directed to open all public tappals, and also all private tappals, conveyed by private hireerahs or messengers, and to open any suspicious letter which may be contained in the same, and to forward them to government should they contain matter of a seditious or improper nature.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,

Chief secretary to government.

Fort St. George,  
26th July, 1809.

Letter, dated 26th of July, from colonel Barclay, transmitting a copy of the foregoing to colonel Close, to be used at his discretion.

Letter, dated 26th of July, from the same to general Pater, transmitting the copy as above.

Letter, dated 26th of July, from the same to colonel Lang, transmitting the copy as above; and desiring the immediate execution of the order.

Letters from the deputy-quarter-master-general, stating that most of the officers at the Mount had refused the test, and that they had been removed from command, and the king's officers substituted in their stead.

A further demand of 150 horses from the Mysore government.

Letter, dated 16th of July, from colonel Stuart, commanding in Travancore, to the chief secretary of government, stating that the greatest ferment and discontent prevails through the officers of the Native corps, and that he has reason to apprehend the worst consequences.

From the chief secretary, dated 28th of July, to colonel Stuart, acknowledging his letter, and acquainting him that he may expect assistance from Ceylon.

From the chief secretary to colonel Wilkinson, dated 28th of July, desiring that he will form a field detachment at Trichinopoly.

The same to colonel Forbes, desiring that he will hold all his disposable force in readiness for service.

From the same, acquainting colonel Davis with the foregoing order.

A further requisition for troops from Ceylon.

Colonel Croker, on the 26th of July, reports that the officers under his command, are in communication with the other parts of the army, that his endeavours shall be used to avert the apprehended evils.

Sir, Quilon, 21st July, 1809.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant.

In my reply to the chief secretary to government, dated the 16th of this month, I fully stated what I understood to be the general sentiments of the company's officers in this command. I am now happy to say, from some private communications which have since been made to me, that I have reason to believe that it is the wish of the officers of the three corps at this station to remain quiet and peaceable for the defence of the country, and I have no doubt they will continue in their obedience to any orders, except one, which is to march against the rest of the army; this I know they would resist and disobey. If, therefore, I can keep them quiet here in the present serious and alarming situation of affairs, it will be as much as can be expected.

Any act of violence on the part of his majesty's regiment here would be attended with the most fatal consequences (when the numbers are so unequal) and create a scene of dreadful confusion, and the regiment would be left in Travancore with every Sepoy its open and avowed enemy, and probably they would be joined by all the people of the country.

What the sentiments or intentions of the corps at the other station may be, I, of course, cannot be so well informed, but I have great hopes that they also may remain quiet.

All opinions on the present state of affairs are kept in profound secrecy, nor do I ever hear of their being privately or publicly discussed.

I request you will assure the governor, that I shall do every thing in my power to check any improper proceedings; and that whatever may happen, I shall act according to the best of my judgment for the benefit of the country.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed) P. STUART,

Lieut.-col. comd. Travancore.

Lieut.-col. Barclay,  
&c. &c.

Letter from the acting resident in Mysore,



stating, that the horses will be supplied by the Mysore government; and concluding with the expression of his own attachment to the government.

Colonel Macaulay, resident in Travancore, forwards a report of colonel Stuart, of the alarming state of his force.

Sir, Quilon, 23d July, 1808.

I beg leave to report, for the information of the honourable the governor, that I this day assembled the officers commanding Native corps in this cantonment, to request they would impress on the minds of their officers, in the most forcible manner, the necessity there was for the strictest adherence to their duty; to point out to them the fatal consequences that must result from a different line of conduct; and also to shew how absolutely necessary it was to check the circulation of any report prejudicial to government, or any animadversions on its conduct.

I must do those officers the justice to say, that they appear fully aware of the necessity of the above measures, and will do their utmost to inculcate them into the minds of their officers.

In the course of the above conversation it was mentioned to me, that there was a report in circulation, which, though they themselves disclaimed any belief in it, still might operate strongly in the minds of violent or prejudiced men, unless contradicted by authority: this was, that government had made use of agents throughout the different corps in the country, to endeavour to alienate the attachment of the Native officers and Sepoys from the European officers, that in case of any disturbances the former might take the command of the corps and secure the latter. This, I of course told them, was not worthy of belief, but must have been circulated by some mischievous incendiary to inflame the already agitated minds of the officers.

At the same time, I beg leave to be allowed to suggest, that if the above report was contradicted by government, and that made known to officers commanding regiments, it would, in my opinion, be productive of very beneficial consequences.

I am happy in being able to add, that I never felt a greater degree of confidence in the steadiness of the battalions at this station; and I shall lose no time in urging officers commanding corps at other places to use the same caution in quelling the ferment that may exist among the officers under them, and pointing out the absolute necessity of strict adherence to duty, and obedience to the orders of government.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) P. STUART,

Lieut.-col. comd. Travancore.

Lieut.-col. Barclay,  
&c. &c.

Letter from colonel Long, dated 28th July, stating, that every officer belonging to the garrison had refused to give the oath.

(Private.)

Dear Barclay, Cranganore, 23d July, 1809.

I have not heard further from colonel Stuart. Enclosed is a short note from Mr. Macaulay, whom I am obliged to call upon, on account of my state of health; the reports respecting the disposition of the Nairs again to rise, have been no doubt set on foot by designing men.

Upon the subject of the unhappy ferment in the army, I explained myself fully to major Blacker when here; had what was then suggested been adopted, it is my opinion that discipline and good order would have prevailed.

I remain, dear Barclay,

Your's sincerely,

(Signed) MACAULAY.

Lieut.-col. Barclay,  
&c. &c.

My dear Uncle,

You will have heard from colonel Stuart the reports that are in circulation, respecting the disposition of the Nairs.

I believe that Mr. Arthur is the author of some of them.

Think of the officers commanding the Native corps having each ordered a piquet of 100 men, under an European officer, to prevent their being surprized and disarmed by colonel Stuart! this is open mutiny.

The day being bad, I am doubtful if I shall start before to-morrow.

Your's very truly,

(Signed) K. MACAULAY.

(Confidential.)

To lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, requiring of me to make a report of the state of the troops under my command, for the information of sir George Barlow.

To report the real state of affairs without any reserve, and even to offer an opinion thus confidentially, when I think it may benefit the country, I have always conceived it my duty; and though I may have to state facts which give me the deepest concern, and which must be distressing to the ear of government, still I shall continue to do so, and nothing shall damp my ardour.

You require of me to employ the most effectual measures to maintain the order and discipline of the company's troops. It becomes me then to say, in unequivocal terms, that the authority of government, as it tends to prosecute measures against the officers who have incurred their censure, is totally disregarded. It would be impossible for me to enforce any order, however trivial, that was



known to have that tendency; a compliance with my request might induce the officers to concede some points, and many have been obtained in delicacy to me; but I repeat, nothing can be enforced. It is well known, that all the officers (staff excepted) are sworn to support each other. They know they must suffer if they fail in the present struggle, and that nothing is left to them without unanimity and perseverance.

It is no longer now the justice of their cause they pretend to maintain, on the contrary, they know how unjustifiable have been their proceedings, that the charge of mutiny must even attach to them. But the greater their error is, and the stronger they are tainted with crime, the more necessary it appears to them to hold out in the present cause.

To check the circulation of opinions and reports unfavourable to government, has always been a great object of my attention; but, for these two months past, that has been impossible. Before the ferment had arisen to so great a height, and that the army had organized its opposition, I was enabled, in a great measure, through the staff and commanding officers of corps, to check the propagation of those reports, which were often evidently circulated with the most malicious intent; but it is long since commanding officers of corps themselves have lost the influence they ought to possess, particularly since they have let part of their authority fall into the hands of committees, whose power seems uncontrollable.

As to the Sepoys, there is no doubt they have long espoused the cause of their officers. They have, I understand, been made to believe that the European officers were about to be deprived of a considerable part of their allowances, and that it would probably be a prelude to greater reductions, which might affect themselves; whoever is well acquainted with their dispositions, must be convinced how eagerly they would listen to such a subject, and enter into such a cause they have been made believe so nearly affects their interests.

To attempt to set the troops against their officers, in a country where treason is so infectious, and when its effects may prove so fatal, would never be a remedy resorted to by any one, except in a case where no doubt could exist of its producing a safe and perfect cure, and I should conceive myself guilty in the extreme, did I not say I am convinced the attempt would completely fail; and the best that could be expected from the measure would be, the total disorganization and ruin of the force.

His majesty's 3d regiment is at my command, and, I have no doubt, thoroughly to be depended on; but surely no man of reflection will ever pretend that with a regiment of 300 effective men, I could succeed, and force obedience to my command against a fully united body of four complete battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry,

and a large body of European artillery. The 3d regiment would, I am sure, do its duty; but I should never be excused for engaging them in a contest which would prove their destruction, and I have no doubt be followed by a scene which can be better conceived than described. But supposing for a moment I could, after a bloody conflict, maintain a temporary authority, there is, at the call of the troops stationed here, a force in the field consisting of three battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, with horse and foot artillery, which it requires every act of persuasion to keep from rushing into action. By coercive means to enforce the authority of government, I again repeat, is impossible; and I pledge my character as an officer, that to make the attempt would be a wanton sacrifice of blood, causing the most fatal animosity among the troops, and leading to ruin of which the extent cannot be foretold.

I fear, by the removal from command, government is already displeased at the freedom with which I have delivered my opinion; but they may be assured, there is not in his majesty's service an officer who has been more zealous in the support of their authority, who has been more indefatigable in checking the promulgation of sentiments contrary to the principles of discipline and subordination, and in persuading the officers how sacred a duty it was to use the arms with which they were entrusted, for the support of legal authority.

There are officers who shudder at the idea of the miseries they probably may cause by the present proceedings; but the effect of all reasoning is lost. They are aware of the excesses they have committed, and acknowledge the extent of their guilt; but the consciousness of it, instead of making them recede, seems only to make them more desperate. It is no longer the secret meeting of the seditious, intriguing to gain certain ends; it is the open, determined opposition to government, as the last resource of despair.

It is then evident, that a general confusion in the force would be the immediate and inevitable effect of any coercive act of mine; and that it is of the utmost consequence I should endeavour to prevent it. To check any sudden and violent commotion has been a great rule of my conduct during the present ferment of the army, and I shall think it my duty to adhere to that rule as much as possible, until the period I make over my command to the superior judgment of colonel Close. In the mean while I shall exert the utmost of my ability in support of government, and trust with confidence, that my conduct will be ultimately approved of.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) THOS. G. MONTAGU,  
Lieut. Colonel.

Secunderabad,  
24th July, 1809.



Two letters follow here; one from colonel Long, relative to the refusal of an officer to sign the test; and another from colonel Forbes, respecting the state of the nature of corps under his command.

Letter from captain Sydenham to the governor, dated, 28th July, forwarding copy of a letter he addressed to colonel Doveton, commanding in Berar, wherein he remonstrates, and prohibits the march of any part of the Berar force, except by public authority.

A further letter from captain Sydenham to colonel Doveton; deprecating the march of any part of the Jauliah force to Hyderabad, describing the military force of the neighbouring powers, and their disposition to take advantage of such a movement.

24th July.—From colonel Clive, stating that he will leave Poonah, on 24th July, and proceed with the utmost celerity to Hyderabad.

Enclosure, No. 21.

To the military secretary to the honourable the governor, &c. &c.

From colonel Wilkinson, 30th July, reporting the seizure of 16 officers who had refused to sign the test, and forwarding the names of those who had signed it.

To lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary to the honourable the governor.

Sir,

At a late hour last night I had the honour to receive your letter of the 28th instant, by express, conveying to me copies of letters to lieutenant-colonel Davis, of the 26th and 27th instant, and directing me, in the event of lieutenant-colonel Davies not having returned to Bangalore, to proceed to carry into effect the orders of the governor in council stated in the letter of the 26th instant.

Impressed, as I have been, by experience, since I have had the honour of commanding them, with a high sense of the state of discipline, correctness of conduct, and attachment to this country, of the two native corps at this station, it could not but be a most painful and distressing part of my duty to assemble the respectable body of officers composing them, to tender for their signature a paper so evidently implying strong suspicions of their loyalty. In compliance, however, with the instructions I received, the whole of the officers of the honourable company's service stationed here met: at eleven o'clock this forenoon, at my quarters, when I communicated to them the orders of government, as conveyed to me, and presented the declaration for signature; with one voice, they professed their firm attachment to their King and country, their unshaken fidelity to their employers, and their indignation, that while unconscious of meriting suspicion such a paper should be presented to them; and in firm but respect-

ful language declined subscribing to it, confident, that in no instance whatever have the officers of the company's service under my command, attempted to bias the opinions of their native officers and men, or to estrange their affections from the government; but, on the contrary, that they have been particularly guarded, not to discuss ever in their presence the causes of their present discontent, or events which have occurred connected with it in other quarters. And viewing with well-founded alarm the probable dreadful consequences of removing the whole of the officers of the two native corps, and placing those corps under the command of others whom they know to be of a different service to themselves, I ventured to deviate in some degree from the instructions conveyed to me; and on receiving a solemn pledge from the officers, collectively and individually, that they would not in the interim take any step whatever to alienate the affections of these men from the government, I allowed them to return to their duty with their corps, till I am honoured with further instructions.

I trust the honourable governor in council will not condemn my presumption in thus deferring the execution of an order conveyed to me by him, or that he will not for an instant suppose, that I have acted otherwise than by an ardent zeal for the public service, and the most anxious desire to contribute all in my power to the preservation of that harmony between the two services, and between the company's army and the government, which, I am happy to say, as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, has ever existed among the troops under my command. I trust it will not be considered that the latitude I have taken is greater than the nature of the circumstances I have stated, and the present temper of the times, fully warrant. If I have erred, it has been in judgment, but certainly with the best intentions. It will appear to the honourable the governor in council, that should he persevere in his resolution of suspending all the officers of the company's service at this station from the exercise of their military functions, the measure will, at any future moment, be equally practicable as now, while they continue bound in honour to take no steps towards frustrating it; the delay may also enable government to send other officers of the company's service to take charge of the two corps, and preclude the necessity of appointing those of his majesty's service.—I have this day communicated to lieutenant-colonel Davis, commanding this division, my proceedings on this occasion, and shall await such further instructions as I may receive from him or from government.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) S. C. 211,

Lieut.-col. commanding at Bangalore.

Bangalore,  
31st July, 1809.



Fort St. George, 24 August, 1809.

Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo, to the military secretary to the honourable the governor, and am directed by the honourable the governor in council to acquaint you, that while he gives you every credit for your motives for suspending the execution of the orders of government of the 26th of that month, with respect to the officers of the honourable company's service at Bangalore, he thinks it proper to desire that you will lose no time in carrying those orders into effect.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,

Secretary to government.

Lieut.-col. Gibbs,  
commanding Bangalore.

Enclosure, No. 23.

Lieut.-colonel Barclay, military Secretary,  
&c. &c.

Mysore, 25th July, 1809.

Sir,—It is with the most painful sensation, that I address you upon a subject which distresses me even to think of.

Yesterday, at 12 o'clock, I received the letters, Nos. 1 and 2, from lieutenant-colonel Bell, commanding Seringapatam, stating the hard duty which the 2d battalion of the 15th would undergo, provided that the 2d battalion of the 19th left the garrison.

Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6, are likewise from that officer, containing three letters from the officers of the 15th, 19th, and the company of artillery now under orders for Bangalore.

The bold spirit so strongly expressed in those letters calls forth my utmost indignation, but as the means of compulsion are wanting, I have been under the necessity of complying with colonel Bell's request, and postponed the movement of the 19th and the artillery till I am honoured with the further commands of sir George Barlow.

No. 7 is a copy of a letter written by my order to colonel Bell in reply to his, No. 1 and 2, by which you will perceive that I have complied with colonel Bell's requisition, at the desire of colonel Munro, thus far preserving the appearance of discipline.

I am this instant honoured with your letter of the 21st instant.

As I happen to be at the residency I have communicated with Mr. Cole; and the 5,000 Sirdars will be placed at Cloreput in the course of a very few days.

Every exertion shall be made to equip the troops at Bangalore.

(Signed) HENRY DAVIS,

Lieut.-colonel at Mysore.

[Here follow the copies of the letters referred to in the preceding correspondence of colonel Davis.]

Enclosure, No. 24.

A further letter from colonel Davis to lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary, &c. dated Fort of Seringapatam, 26th July, 1809; reporting the present state of the garrison as before.

A letter from colonel Barclay to colonel Davis, approving his conduct.

Another letter from the chief secretary to government to the honourable A. Cole, sanctioning his acts, and communicating the authority of government to pass an amnesty to the privates and non-commissioned officers.

Enclosure, No. 25.

To A. Falconar, Esq. Chief secretary to government

Seringapatam, 30th July, 1809.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch under date the 26th instant.

My letter of yesterday's date to lieutenant colonel Barclay will have made the honourable the governor in council acquainted with the state of the minds of the officers of this garrison; and I now have the honour of transmitting to you an address which was last night delivered to me by a disputation of officers, which seeming to anticipate under a more unfavourable mode of proceeding the instructions contained in your dispatch, I deemed it expedient, for my own personal liberty, to postpone the execution of the order of the honourable the governor in council until I should be able to remove myself and staff beyond the walls of this fort, it having come to my knowledge that orders were given to prevent any officer from leaving the fort without special permission from the senior officer of the troops. In order to effect this purpose, without giving cause of suspicion, I requested the whole of the European officers of the company's service might be desired to wait upon me this morning, which after much hesitation and delay was complied with. I admonished them to return to their obedience to the government; not to be alarmed in consequence of the report they yesterday heard of the intention of employing the rajah's troops to act against them, as that was not the case; and, in short, endeavoured to tranquillize their minds as much as possible, for their own personal safety; and concluded by telling them that it was my intention to return to Mysore immediately. They replied by assurances of their readiness to obey all legal orders, but required from me a declaration that I had received no instructions to seize their persons, and by force separate them from their men. I declined making known to them the orders I had received from government, and they then (in the



shape of a request that I would remain with them for *their protection*, and to prevent the alarm which my leaving them would create in the then agitated state of their minds) gave me to understand I could not quit the fort. Thus situated I found it necessary to communicate to them the paragraph of the instructions contained in your dispatch, regarding the mode which the government meant to pursue for the disposal of such officers as were unwilling to enter into the obligation prescribed, and that communication is now under their discussion. I remain in a state of uncertainty with regard to my own situation, whether I am at this moment (a P. M.) a prisoner or not.

At a quarter before three captain Webster addressed a letter by my order to colonel Bell, intimating that it had come to my knowledge that orders had been given by him that no officer should be permitted to leave the fort without his authority; and that as it was my intention to proceed immediately to Mysore, I desired orders might be given to the officers on duty to allow myself and staff to pass the gates without any opposition. To this no answer was sent, but at a quarter past three the town-major called and informed captain Webster that an answer was preparing, and that until it was sent in I could not be permitted to leave the fort; that orders not to pass me had been given to the officer on duty; and that he was then going to repeat those orders to the guards. He further said that colonel Bell requested neither myself nor my staff, would quit the compound of the house in which we were living. A note which I sent by an orderly trooper to deliver to Mr. Cole at Mysore was stopped at the gate, and returned to me by the town-major; the man remains with his horse, and is a prisoner in the gate-guard. At half past three I received the letter No. 1 from colonel Bell. At four o'clock lieutenant-colonel Munro waited upon me with paper No. 2; in answer to which I desired him to inform colonel Bell that I would make no compromise of my authority; and to tell colonel Bell, and the other members of the committee, (for in the course of his conversation it came out that colonel Bell was one of the committee) it was my determination to remain no longer in the fort; and that if the gates were not open to me at five o'clock I could only consider myself a prisoner. At a quarter after four Mr. Smith the paymaster called and informed me he had been stopped at the gate; and just at that moment a note was put into his hand from the town-major, informing him that he could not be permitted to go out of the fort; at a quarter before five lieutenant-colonel Munro returned with colonel Bell's answer that I might save myself the trouble of leaving the house as I could not be permitted to pass through the gates. At half past six a deputation from the committee of safety waited upon me to assure

me that it was entirely a mistake my being detained in the fort, as it was never their intention to lay any restraint upon my person or that of my staff, and that the guard at my house was intended as an honorary guard only, &c. &c. I immediately left the fort and returned to Mysore.

Mysore, 31st July, 1809.

Not having had the means of dispatching the above until a very late hour last night I was induced to delay it until this morning, in hopes that the accounts of what had taken place at Madras, and in the camp near the Mount (which they were in possession of in the evening), would make some alteration in the conduct of the officers at Seringapatam. No reply has however been yet received to the communication made to them respecting the pledge required. It was not in my power, situated as I was in Seringapatam, to assemble the Native officers for the purpose of explaining the matter to them; for although the European officers thought proper to remove the restraint they had placed upon my person, I had every reason to suppose my authority remained equally invalid. It is therefore my intention immediately to call upon colonel Bell in my absence to put in force the orders of the government, and the result be communicated to-morrow, or as soon as received.

During the whole of yesterday the draw-bridges of the fort were up, and the greater part if not the whole of the garrison under arms.

I have the honour to acquaint you that I have this morning taken the necessary measures in concert with Mr. Cole, for searching the public treasuries, and stopping the circulation of all seditious papers and letters. I cannot conclude this dispatch without requesting you will assure the governor in council that Mr. Cole, the acting resident, and the dewan of Mysore, have shewn the utmost zeal, alacrity, and ability in forwarding the views of government on this trying occasion; and I feel that I shall receive from them the most useful assistance in carrying into execution their orders.

I also beg leave to mention that I have directed this month's pay to be withheld from the refractory troops, until the pleasure of government is known.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) HENRY DAVIS,  
lieut.-col. Mysore.

P. S. From the commencement of the present unhappy disturbances it has been my anxious study to avoid having recourse to coercive measures, and nothing but actual necessity will force me to proceed to extremities.

Signed as above.



To lieutenant-colonel Davis, commanding in Mysore, &c. &c.

Sir,—The most alarming intelligence for some days has been current (as a former communication already before the government will have shown) and has now been conveyed to us from other quarters, as the voluntary declaration of some among the oldest and most respectable Native officers in the service; they clandestinely informed their officers of the most dangerous and detestable means being resorted to by lieutenant-colonel John Munro to tamper with and seduce, by Native agents, the fidelity and attachment of the Sepoys from their officers, supported by the unjustifiable and groundless accusation, that the views of the European officers are to subvert the government; and daring to implicate the government in this infamous transaction, by holding out promises of future rewards and indulgencies in the name and sanction of that authority; thus adopting a line of conduct directly opposite to the salutary measures which a late government pursued in times of the most imminent danger to the British interests in India, arising from the effects of a disposition which such machinations cannot fail again to excite.

Under all the circumstances of the present critical conjuncture, which no mind can contemplate but with horror, we, with the confidence of men actuated solely by a feeling for the public safety, most earnestly intreat, that you will exert the influence which belongs to your character and situation to interpose with the government on the momentous occasion, when even the most moderate are compelled, by a sense of common interests, to take part in the cause, in order to arrest the dreadful consequences that must ensue from the dangerous councils which are, at present adopted, of separating the interests, not only of Europeans and Natives, but even of Europeans themselves.

(Signed) J. BELL,  
Lieut.-col. acting for self  
and officers.

R. MUNRO,  
Lieut.-col. com. ad bat.  
15th reg.

D. C. KENNIV,  
Major com. ad bat.  
19th reg.

The company's officers of this garrison request that Colonel Davis will have the goodness not to quit the garrison until the answer from government to their address of yesterday, and to his intimation of not acting upon the orders he has shown them this day, is communicated to them; and that he will assure them those orders have not been acted upon with any of the troops under his command; and that he will make them acquainted whether any violent or coercive measures are meant to be taken towards the company's officers; or until it may be deemed necessary for the be-

nefit of his health to proceed to the coast, in which case, however, they further request his assurances that he will issue no orders against their safety.

My dear Sir,

You having, in the conference of this day expressed a feeling of discontent, under the idea that your orders would not be obeyed in this garrison, I have the pleasure to assure you that every order from you shall be obeyed which does not involve the safety of the company's officers.

Whatever may be their actions in the present important and emergent crisis, the whole of the officers are anxious to assure you of their unalterable respect and esteem.

(Signed) J. BELL.

Colonel Davies.

30th July.—Mr. Cole resident at Mysore reports to the chief secretary, measures which he has taken, and repeats the assurances of his zeal.

31st July.—From the same, stating the readiness of the Mysore government, to promote the views of the Madras government.

Enclosure, No. 96.

Contains correspondence between the acting collector and the commanding officer at Seringapatam respecting the removal of public treasure.

Enclosure, No. 27.

Comprises letters of 5th August from the secretary of government to colonel Davies approving his measures, and directing a disposition of the troops.

Letters from Mr. Cole, acting resident at Mysore, 3d August to government, reporting that he and colonel Davies had written to the officers in Seringapatam, again pointing out the criminality of their conduct, and exhorting them to return to their duty.

From colonel Davis, 3d August, to government, forwarding duplicates of his correspondence, and referring to Mr. Cole's letter of the same date.

To lieutenant colonel Davis, commanding in Mysore.

Para. 1. Sir, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, and to convey to you the governor in council's strongest approbation of the measures therein reported.

2. The governor-in-council vests you with full powers for adopting any measures you may consider necessary for re-establishing the authority of government in the garrison of Seringapatam, and for reducing to obedience any troops that may be acting in opposition to your orders, or those of government, but



he desires that you will not enter into any terms with the instigators, or principal officers, concerned in the mutinous proceedings at Seringapatam, that may preclude those officers from being brought to trial for their criminal conduct.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief Sec. to Gr.

Fort St. George,  
8th August 1809.

From Mr. Cole, 1st August, forwarding to government copy of a letter to the officers in Seringapatam desiring that guards which had been posted without the fort, might be withdrawn, and concluding with Mr. Cole's assurances that to his life's end, he will stand by the government.

To A. Falconar, esq. chief secretary to government.

Sir,—In my dispatch of yesterday you were informed of my intention of calling immediately on colonel Bell, the senior officer of the troops in Seringapatam, to put in force the orders of government as contained in your letter of the 26th ultimo. I accordingly did so; and although, from the temper of the minds of the European officers of the garrison I had little expectation of finding obedience to my orders, I could not suppose it was possible their conduct could have been so wide of decorum, and the sense of propriety, by which gentlemen are generally guided, as it has proved to be. My letter to lieutenant colonel Bell was returned, with the note which accompanies this; the seal was not broken, but the envelope was torn, and robbed of part of its contents, viz. the extracts of the instructions of government, and the pledge; my letter alone was returned. The extracts contained, in addition to what I communicated to them the day before, the paragraphs respecting the manner in which the native officers were to be addressed. The officers of the garrison have proceeded to the extremity of seizing the paymaster's cash-chest, which contains about 10,000 pagodas; this was done yesterday evening by the town major, and a member of the committee going to the office, and demanding in the name of the commanding officer the keys, which on being refused, he forcibly took from the Coni-coppy; thus have the company's officers in Seringapatam declared themselves in open hostility to the government.

The Native officers, two Subadars, and one Jemidar of the Rajah's and resident's guards at this place, have been assembled, and the whole matter fully and properly explained to them by Mr. Cole, at my request, and in my presence, they without any hesitation declared their inviolable attachment to the government, whose aid they had so long eaten; the senior Subidar said, he had served the company 46

years, and the other two officers 22 and 20 years respectively.

I have sent a copy of your letter of the 26th ultimo to lieutenant colonel Gibbs, commanding at Bangalore, with directions to carry into effect the orders contained therein, and after doing so, to dispatch two squadrons of his Majesty's 25th dragoons, and three companies of his Majesty's 59th regiment to Mundium, on the Seringapatam road, distant about 17 miles, there to wait my further orders; to that detachment I shall add 500 of the Silladar horse, and keep the whole in readiness to act as circumstances may render necessary. The present appearance of affairs threatening the necessity of ultimately having recourse to hostile operations, I beg I may be honoured as soon as possible with the orders of government for my guidance in the event of matters not wearing a more tranquil appearance by the time I may be prepared to act.

Two companies of his Majesty's 59th regiment are permanently stationed in the fort of Bangalore, as a garrison for that place, in the event of matters requiring the march of the remaining part of the European troops from the cantonment. There are no Native troops stationed in that fort, and only one company of artillery without guns.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
(Signed) HENRY DAVIS,  
Lieut.-col. at Mysore.

My dear colonel,

You must be perfectly aware of the state of the garrison, which I reported to you long since, and it is at the peril of my freedom to open any public communications.

I am, my dear Colonel,  
Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) J. BELL.

Seringapatam,  
31st July, 1809.

To Lieutenant-colonel Davis, commanding in Mysore.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit to you the declarations of the officers of the garrison, which I am sorry to say have now fully proved what I formerly stated to you.

(Signed) J. BELL,  
Lieut.-col. acting senior officer.

Seringapatam,  
3d August, 1809.

N. B. I shall remain here while there is a hope left of doing good, except I receive orders from you to the contrary. The detachment of the 80th I have been commanded to direct should march to Bangalore; on enquiring the cause, I was informed it was occasioned by the conduct of colonel Forbes at Cannanore.

(Signed) J. BELL.

We, the undersigned officers of the honourable company's service, do in the most



solemn manner declare upon our words of honour, as British officers, that we will obey the orders and support the authority of the honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commission which we hold from that govern-

(Signed) J. Bell,  
Lieutenant-colonel artillery.

To lieutenant-colonel Bell.

Sir,—I thank you for your communications. My heart and house, and those of Mr. Cole, are open to you; and whatever arrangements can convenience you will be readily agreed to

by your's obediently,  
(Signed) H. DAVIES,  
Lieut.-col. com. Mysore.

Mysore,  
3d August, 1809.

Letter from the honourable A. Colt, representing the refusal of colonel Gibbs to march from Bangalore, to form a junction with the Mysore troops.

Enclosure, No. 28.

To lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary.

Bangalore, 5th Aug. 1809.

Sir,—I have the honour to report to you, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, that I this day carried into effect the orders of government, bearing date the 26th July, and agreeably thereto, suspended every officer of the honourable company's service at this station from their military functions, they having one and all refused to sign the paper tendered to them by order of government, and in obedience to orders received this morning from the officer commanding the division, directed that they repair to Osoor, there to remain for further orders; this differs from your letter of 29th ultimo, which I have reported to lieutenant-colonel Davies. I beg to add a copy of the orders I this day issued, and trust they will meet the approbation of the honourable the governor in council.

I have to add, that the Native officers all declared their faithful adherence to the company, and their readiness to obey such officers as the government placed over them.

I have, &c.  
S. GIBBS,  
Lieut.-col. comg.

To the military secretary to the commander-in-chief.

Bangalore, August 6th, 1809.

Sir,—I have the honour to enclose a letter received from major Welsh this morning, with an address to the commander-in-chief, from the officers stationed at Nundydroog,

which I thought it my duty to forward for his information.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) S. GIBBS,  
Lieut.-col.

Lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, commanding Bangalore.

Sir,—I have the honour to forward a paper, which I have to request you will forward to Madras without delay.

I beg leave, at the same time, to offer apologies for making you the channel of such a communication, which proceeds from the absence of colonel Davis, and an anxiety to anticipate the orders of government, that we may share, in common with our brother officers at Bangalore, that temporary disgrace which sir G. Barlow has determined to inflict on them.

I have, &c.

J. WELSH,  
Major, commanding Nundydroog.  
August 5, 1809.

We, the undersigned officers of the garrison of Nundydroog, understanding that our brother officers at Bangalore have been called upon to sign a paper, promising implicit obedience to the orders of the honourable sir G. Barlow, governor in council of Fort St. George, and threatened with suspension in case of a refusal, conceive it our duty, unasked, to step forward and declare, that under existing circumstances we shall decline signing any such paper, if tendered to us; at the same time we think it incumbent on us to assign our reasons for this act of disobedience to the mandates of our immediate superiors. It is not, at this late period, necessary to state all those grievances under which company's officers alone labour (for the officers of his majesty's service have been entirely exempted from a participation of them). It is sufficient for us to declare, that we are from principle embarked in one common cause, and that we have voluntarily pledged ourselves to co-operate with our brother officers in all legal means to obtain redress.

It will therefore clearly appear, that signing such papers as the one in circulation would be a breach of those sacred principles of honour by which we are actuated, a breach of faith towards our suffering brother officers, and a tacit acquiescence in those measures which we conceive to be of the most pernicious nature to the interests of the respectable company (our masters) and of the most degrading tendency to our whole body, and the service in general.

We further have reason to suspect, that were we base enough to sign such a promise (through fear of losing commissions now no longer valuable, if we cannot hold them with honour) that our swords, hitherto only drawn against the enemies of our country,



would be directed against the bosoms of our brother officers, and our energies employed in overturning that empire which our honourable papers have acquired by our unremitting exertions, and purchased at the expense of our blood.

The right honourable lord Minto has admitted the right of soldiers, is on some occasions, to consider the nature and tendency of orders; under which sanction we solemnly protest against measures which, if persisted in, cannot fail to ruin our honourable employers.

We see the evil already far advanced; we behold the probable consequences of the present system, and we shudder for the fate of British India.

We declare ourselves true to the service of our masters, and ready to sacrifice our lives in defence of their rights and territory; but at the same time resolved never to compromise our own honour.

(Signed) 3d regiment, major J. Welsh.  
Captain lieutenant Thos. Stevenson.—  
Lieutenants Jas. Walker; Jas. Tagg;  
T. W. Dawson.

Nunddroog, August 5th, 1809.

Letter from Mr. Cole, to the secretary to government, informing him of some military arrangements.

To A. Falconar, Esq. Sec.

Sir,—Since the dispatch of my letters of this day the enclosed communication has taken place with colonel Bell.

Colonel Davis requested me to forward it to government, and to add his congratulations to mine on the happy change of affairs.

We jointly hope that government will not consider our conduct as indicative of too much moderation; and we beg to assure the honourable the governor in council that we would not purchase even peace at the expense of its dignity, or with the compromise of our own honour.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. COLE.

Mysore, 5th August, 1809.

Seringapatam, 5th August, 1809.

Sir,—It has been communicated to me that the board of officers who control in this garrison have come to the determination not to be the first aggressors on the present alarming crisis, will in a little time come round, and follow the example set by so many, sooner than run a risk of the loss of British India.

(Signed) J. BELL.

To colonel Davies,  
&c. &c.

To lieutenant-col Bell, Seringapatam.

Sir,—I thank you for your letter, in reply to which I have only to say that Mr. Cole and I will sacrifice every private consideration for the public welfare, and use our utmost efforts to promote peace and submission to the wishes of government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. DAVIS.

Mysore, 5th August, 1809.

To the honourable A. H. Cole.

Respectful letter.

Sir,

The poster in council, advertising to the information conveyed in lieutenant-colonel Bell's letter, dated the 3d instant, and being anxious to avert the evils which must result to the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam, by persevering in their present desperate course of proceeding, authorizes you, in the event of your having reason to believe lieutenant-colonel Bell's opinion is well founded, once more to tender to them the alternative prescribed in the orders of the governor-in-council of the 26th ultimo.

(Signed) A. FALCONAR.

Fort St. George,

10th of August, 1809.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq. Secretary.

Sir,

Since my letter of yesterday nothing particular has occurred here, nor do we know exactly the state of the councils within the fort; they are however evidently distracted, and the badness of the cause shakes the determination of the boldest.

I have the pleasure to report that two squadrons of his Majesty's 25th Dragoons, and three companies of the 50th, may be expected within a short march of Seringapatam during to-morrow, colonel Gibbs having at length complied with the orders of colonel Davis respecting their dispatch.

A letter from the amil of Chittidroog this day received, reports that the corps there had plundered the rajah's treasury to the amount of above eighteen thousand pagodas, and that a third battalion has reached that garrison, supposed to be either 1st of the 18th, or 2nd, lately on their march to Goa, but more probably five companies of the 3d from Bednur.

As soon as the Bangalore detachment shall arrive, colonel Davis will arrange for the interception of those corps; in the event of their coming forward in this direction; in the mean-while a party of Silladar horse are posted at Sarah to obstruct their progress.

We are not aware of the result of the tender to the corps at Chittidroog of the government orders of the 26th ultimo, but should they be fairly explained, we have little doubt of their entire success in detaching the men from their officers; the great difficulty on this point which obstructs us at Seringapatam is our inability to procure access to the Native soldier, who consequently gives implicit credence to the word of his officers.

At Nunddroog, two companies have taken refuge in the hill-fort, but the commanding officer of Bangalore will take measures to prevent their leaving that fort, where they can do no injury.

Should the Seringapatam officers decide, all opposition to government at Mysore will terminate, and a disposable force may be at the service of government for their march to other quarters, particularly if the 70th should arrive speedily within the Mysore territory.



8.—It would perhaps be advisable, on my part, to suggest that the honourable the governor-in-council would write personally to the dewan on the present occasion, not that he requires a stimulus to aid, with all his power the British government, but merely to corroborate my explanations of the present extraordinary and unparalleled crisis.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. COLLE.

Mysore,  
6th August, 1809.

N. B. Should any regiments come up by Guzzelhattu, of which there is a report, arrangements are in train for their reception; but I still hope the *last extremity* may not be necessary.

(Signed) A. H. C.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq., Secretary.

Sir,

By desire of colonel Davis, I refer to the better judgment of the honourable the governor-in-council the enclosed letter, received last night from colonel Bell.

Colonel Davis and I are totally at a loss to comprehend its meaning, and we therefore desired to reply to such a compound of incomprehensible confusion of manner. The aim, evidently, is to gain time, and to fabricate excuses for conduct which even the brightest genius could not palliate.

It is of course an object with the malcontents in the fort to court our continued forbearance, (which is now only caused by colonel Gibbs's delay in bringing forward the Bangalore force) until the garrison can be reinforced by the two corps at Chitaledroog.

4.—These battalions are now on their march, and as extremities in the present crisis appear inevitable, I have with the acquiescence of colonel Davis, dispatched fifteen hundred Peons, armed with matchlocks, &c. and three thousand Silladar horse, to prevent at any risk their forming a junction with the faction in control of Seringapatam.

5.—Moderation has now been carried by us to its utmost length; and upon a view of the aggressing conduct of the enemy, and insidious vile acts to shake the confidence of the Mysore government (as the enclosed correspondence with the dewan will demonstrate) and overturn the present happy system of affairs in this country, I feel confident that no blame can attach to colonel Davis and me for now deciding upon every measure calculated to overthrow the projects of rebellion, and to secure, at the point of the bayonet, submission to government and obedience to its decrees.

6.—The underhand conduct of colonel Bell is unaccountable, and I regret to perceive in a British officer of his high rank and long services so lamentable an instance of an abatement of all faith and truth.

7.—Colonel Gibbs's detachment, I lament to say, cannot arrive near Seringapatam before the night of their absence a force from the fort will probably march to conduct in the Chitaledroog corps.

8.—The failure of our wishes in this particular (should it unfortunately occur), must be attributable solely and entirely to colonel Gibbs's tardiness in marching from Bangalore.

9.—The officers of the two companies at Nundidroog have succeeded. The company of Manarooty shall be obstructed, and the collector of Bhowane has been requested by me to destroy all the boats on the Bhowane river, to prevent the Sankaredroog force from entering Mysore via Guzzelputty.—Should this force however ascend the ghats, the bridge over the Capanee at Nanjingoode shall be destroyed, and by this measure all communication with Seringapatam will be cut off.

10.—The attempt by colonel Bell to shake the dewan has of course failed of success, and that old statesman continues firm to his engagements, ardent in his attachment, and full of resource and vigour in support of the British government.

11. His conduct is indeed exemplary, and should we lamentably be forced to draw blood, I anticipate the utter extinction of the promoters of rebellion in this district.

12.—The moment he received colonel Bell's artful communication, he requested a conference, to which he brought the letter and his own reply. The honourable the governor in council will no doubt experience the utmost satisfaction at the confirmed steadiness of this approved ally, in circumstances that might infuse fear even into the heart of the most firm.

13.—I have written to Canvar, to request that not a troop, save those of His Majesty's service, be permitted to pass through the territories of his highness; and I hope to obviate, by precautionary measures, all danger of an increase of toe to the British interests in this division.

14.—The dewan has this day furnished us, at the request of colonel Davis, with four six-pounders, and an ample supply of ammunition, &c. His zeal and activity in bringing all the resources of the Mysore state at this arduous crisis are much beyond my praise; they will I am sure be duly appreciated by the honourable the governor-in-council.

15.—The detachment of his Majesty's 80th regiment arrived at Mysore this morning.

16.—I have great satisfaction in reporting that the whole of the public cattle belonging to the company's depot at Hunsoor have been taken possession of; and that the public treasure in charge of the late agent has been made over to me by lieutenant Harvey.

17.—I shall make immediate arrangements in communication with colonel Davis for the temporary management of this important branch of our military establishment. The guard who escorted the treasure have declared a determination to continue steadfast in their allegiance to the British government; I have accordingly ordered them to do duty here, and that their pay may be distributed to them.

I have, &c. (Signed) A. H. COLLE.  
Mysore, 7th August, 1809.



## STATE PAPERS.

To Lieutenant Colonel Davis commanding  
in Mysore.

Seringsapatam, 6th August, 1809.

Sir,

From the present melancholy posture of affairs I think it necessary to lay before you, for the information of the officer in command of the coast army, and ultimately to government,

That on my return from furlough in February last, I soon learnt there was a most alarming ferment at the presidency by opposing parties, and being not able to form a judgment of the case, I immediately determined not to take a decided part, otherwise than giving an opinion when called, on what was in my conception most likely to bring those unhappy differences to a speedy and amicable termination.

Notwithstanding the distressing orders of the 1st May last, and the personal insult cast upon me in consequence, I have always continued that line of conduct most likely to prevent a loss or such consequence as the British interests in India.

Since my arrival in this garrison I have not had the smallest intimation from any authority of the objects government have really in view. I have been treated with the greatest possible neglect; and an entire want of that confidence which I would suppose my conduct, situation, and rank, in the service merited, has been studiously withheld from me.

These circumstances have rendered it impossible for me to quiet the minds of the garrison, and to maintain that order and discipline, as I have before explained it to you, necessary to carry any points into effect.

I hear from all quarters of preparations making by the Mysore government of an hostile nature, and several acts have already been committed by the Mysoreans in direct breach of the Mysore treaty.

You, Sir, who during the whole transaction, have acted in the most indirect manner with me, have not dared to inform me if such preparations and acts had the sanction of the supreme government, or of the government at home, who, I presume, are alone empowered to transgress or alter any political measure or treaty, in which the welfare and safety of the empire is involved; nor has the resident been more communicative than yourself.

The position of this fortress, in the centre of the Mysore kingdom, and in the vicinity of its capital, demands that the reasons for giving it up to the troops of that country be known, and well weighed, before they are listened to.

The seniority of my rank has consigned the Fort and Island of Seringsapatam to my charge and defence; and it behoves me, as I love my country and my king, and as I value my commission and character, not to resign it until I am warranted so to do by legal authority.

I have been always aware that the consequences of an illegal act can affect the persons who commits it only, and when this principle has been so lately reiterated, through the medium of the general orders, to every officer in the army, as well by the Madras government as by that of Bengal, there would remain no excuse for my conduct were I by surrendering this place to act so directly contrary to those injunctions; it even makes me shudder that such a step might involve the nation to which I belong in a long and sanguinary warfare; and that I should then have justly to reproach myself with the blood of my brother soldiers, from inattention to my duty, or as some might suppose, intimidation.

It may in times of war be expedient (to effect the object in view) that an officer in command should act by his own discretion; and he may be warranted in taking a place he has instructions so to do; or he may give up a place which has been taken during the campaign, and is not yet fixed by any treaty. But I presume it would be the act of a traitor only to abandon a fortress of this importance, attached by treaty to the British empire, without legal authority, particularly in times of profound peace with our neighbours, when the delay of a few weeks to obtain that authority cannot be of consequence.

I have therefore written to the Dewan of Mysore, warning him of the part he is unwarily led to act; and I recommend it to you, Sir, and to Mr. Cole, to advise him to the same effect, for you may rely on it, that unless I am satisfied that it is the intention of the supreme government to deliver over this valuable part of the British possessions to a power which, from its situation, we should be so jealous of, no effort nor attack will induce me to open the gates to his troops; and however moderate I wish to be if the aggression on the part of the Mysoreans should continue, I may probably be induced in my own defence to repel it.

It appears to be of the utmost consequence that you should forward by express this letter to his excellency Lord Minto, and communicate to me, more fully than you have hitherto done, what the intentions of government are.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. BELL,

Lieutenant Colonel, commanding.

Translation of a letter from Lieut. Col. Bell, commanding Seringsapatam, to Purniah, (After the usual compliments.)

I have heard with surprise, and it has occasioned me much concern, that you omitted to perform certain articles of the treaty that was concluded some time ago between his Highness the Rajah of Mysore and the honourable East India Company, by preventing provisions from passing on the island of Seringsapatam for the use of the



British garrison, by doing which you have acted contrary to the agreement with the English government, and have forsaken its friendship.

It will be well if you take this subject into your consideration, and quickly make proper arrangements to prevent a continuance of those proceedings, but if not, it is my opinion that you will incur the displeasure of the British government.

A true translate.

(Signed) A. H. COLE,

1st Assistant in charge.

Here follow several letters interchanged between Colonel Davies, and Colonel Gibbs, respecting the march of troops from Bangalore to Mysore.

Appointments supplying the vacancies, occasioned by the removal of the company's officers.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Davis, commanding in Mysore.

Seringapatam, 8th August, 1809.

Sir,

As I continue in the determination expressed in my letter to you of the 6th instant of not surrendering this fort, whatever attacks may be made upon it; and as I have within these two days received a report of an accession of European troops to the forces likely to move against this place, I find myself under the necessity of securing the island against any possible surprise by cutting the bridges on the Clavery, which it is now my intention to do. But as the superintending engineer has given his opinion, that after cutting bridges of that construction, in the present state of the river, there is scarce a possibility that they should stand, unwilling to involve our government, as that of Mysore, into unnecessary expense. I have deemed it fit to make you this statement, that you may avert the calamity arising from the destruction of those edifices, by pledging yourself, as well as Mr Cole, the acting resident, and Furniah Behauder, the Mysore Dewan, on your words of honour, that until an answer is received from the right honourable lord Minto, governor-general, to my letter to you abovementioned, no force shall attempt to pass on the island, or by their approach to those avenues cause any alarm to the garrison; that also until that time the sepoy's of the several guards at Mysore, &c. belonging to the corps here shall not be tampered with, or any further measure taken to prevent their joining, if they choose it.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

J. BELL, Lieut.-col. senior officer.

(Copy.)

Fort St. George, 14th August, 1811.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the governor in council to acknowledge the

receipt of your letter of the 8th, with enclosures from 1 to 2.

It will be desirable, that in the event of your not being able to take the command of the Bangalore forces in person, you should give the most positive instructions to lieutenant-colonel Gibbs to use every possible exertion to intercept the corps now on their march from Chittledroog, and to prevent them either forming a junction with the mutinous garrison of Seringapatam, or returning to Chittledroog.

Should the officers of these corps be infatuated, or so far lost to all sense of their duty to their King and Country as to attempt to offer resistance to his Majesty's or the honourable company's arms, you will not hesitate to adopt such measures as may be necessary to reduce them to immediate obedience, and compel them to accept the alternative of surrendering at discretion, or meeting on the spot the fate of rebels and traitors.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) A. FALCONAR, Chief Sec. to Govt.  
Lieutenant Colonel Davis.

A letter is introduced here from Mr. Cole, to the Secretary to government, but the contents of it being generally repeated in the subsequent letter, it is omitted.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq. Chief Secretary to government.

Sir,

Fort St. George.

1. I have the honour to communicate that the Bangalore force will encamp this day within a few miles of the island; and as the Chittledroog relief cannot be expected for two days by the mutineers, their junction with the fort will be, I trust, spoiled.

2. No report is made to me to-day of the consequences of Burckes Ram Row's meeting with the Chittledroog party, but I hope to give a better account of his proceedings to-morrow.

3. A guard is placed in the fort over the Rajah's private property, as well as the Dewan's; and I greatly fear the deposits of his highness and minister amount to a very considerable sum. General Wellesley, formerly reflecting on the superiority of Seringapatam fort over that of Mysore, had recommended all the valuables of this court to be placed there. He, however, little knew that they would become the prey of a lawless banditti; that the very means taken to effect their security would eventually prove their ruin.

4. The Dewan, I am persuaded, experienced only a momentary annoyance on the subject; for his zeal and feeling for the British cause are not to be affected by any probable events.

5. The lengths to which our enemy were prepared to force matters will be



further made evident when I inform the honourable the governor in council, that a confidential Parsee servant of the late Rajah of Coorg, named Byranjee, having been intercepted and brought hither, on his route to Mercata, by our horse this day, informs, that he was desirous by the principal agitators of evil in the fort to take a letter to the Coorg Ranees, with an offer of friendship to her Highness, accompanied by a request that she would facilitate the progress through her dominions of a mutinous corps on its march from Canonore, and destined to support the *heros* of Seringapatam.

Considering, however, that this man might probably betray their secret to me, they did not afterwards employ him on their important mission.

Having reason to put confidence in Byranjee Parsee, I reiterated my request through him verbally, and by letter to the Coorg government, that no Sepoy battalion be permitted to pass through his highness's country on any errand; in fact, I have informed the present minister that the right Honourable the governor-general in council expects this mark of friendship from him, and will be highly disappointed should his wishes be unattended to.

The report of this day is that the appearance of the force under colonel Gibbs is to be the signal for the demolition of the bridges of the Island.

The destruction of these edifices appears to my judgment to be rather a desirable object, and may be the means of rendering a portion of our cavalry available in the event of no outward foe being expected.

I believe in a former dispatch I have exaggerated the number of Europeans in the fort of Seringapatam; they are, however, I fear, still sufficiently numerous, in our present total non equipment of guns, to hold possession of the garrison until we become provided with means to carry on a siege.

The officer deputed to select horses at Closepet has informed Colonel Davis, that the required number (350) have been chosen, and dispatched by him to the presidency, where I hope they will meet the purposes for which they are designed.

I do myself the pleasure to enclose the translation of another letter from Colonel Bell to the Dewan, with his reply. The one is insidious as the other is honourable; and I hope to find Poorniah ever true to the latter feeling in his engagements with the British government.

I have the honour to be, &c &c.

(Signed) A. H. Cole,  
1st Assist. in charge.

Mysore, 10th August, 1809.

Translate of a letter from colonel Bell, without date to Poorniah, the Dewan of Mysore.

(After compliments.)

I have received your letter, and understand

its contents. It appears that you have ordered European officers and sepoy, who may pass on leave to visit their families, to be apprehended. I am given to understand that this order is rigidly enforced without having the fear of God before your eyes, and in the face of your engagements with the company. It is perfectly well known that you are doing great injury to the company, and I have, in consequence, imprisoned all the persons of your Circle now within the fort, until instructions are received from the right honourable the governor-general of Bengal. If in future, during this business, your conduct yourself well, we shall behave in like manner. I have also given orders to prevent your things, and those belonging to his Highness the Rajah, from being removed out of the fort; and if you again stop provisions and necessaries required for the people of this garrison, all your disposable articles will be taken possession of and an account rendered of the same.

What more!

(A true translation.)

(Signed)

J. SULLIVAN,  
Assist. Resident.

Translate of a letter to Colonel Bell from the Dewan of Mysore, without date.

(After compliments.)

I have received your letter, which states as follows. (here Colonel Bell's letter is recited) to which I reply, I am not empowered, neither do I ever act of my own accord. When his highness the Rajah's government was established, the right honourable the governor-general was pleased to appoint a resident to this Circle, with full powers, and my conduct and actions are always governed by his directions. No Sirdars have ever corresponded with me before this time; neither have I of myself held any correspondence with them, nor have I ever failed in my engagements with the company.

The house, servants, &c. belonging to his highness the Rajah and myself, were placed in the fort of Seringapatam by the advice of the governor-general and of general Wellesley. Colonel Davis is now in the place of that officer, and Mr. Cole is in the place of the resident, therefore, whatever orders they give me I consider as coming from the governor-general. I have informed them of what you have written to me. Until this moment I have never received any orders from the government differing from each other. I have always considered the resident's orders as one and the same with the government, and I continue in the same opinion. The Rajah's property and mine is the same as the governor-general's, who is the preserver of us both. I have never done any thing contrary to my engagements. neither will I ever in future. Let what will happen, I



shall always continue faithful and unalterable in my engagements to the company.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) J. SULLIVAN,  
Assist. Resident.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief Sec. to Gov.

Enclosure, No 99.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq. Chief Secretary to government.

Sir, Fort St George.

1.—Ram Rao's party met the Chittledroog battalions about thirty-five miles from the object of their march.

2.—The officer in command sent to say he wished to have a conference; Ram Rao accordingly attended upon him and informed him that he had received Orders from his government to prevent the detachment from advancing upon the fort of Seringapatam; the officer, captain Mackintosh, I believe, of the 8th infantry, replied, that he might do as he liked, but for his part he was determined not to draw his sword, or to act in an offensive manner; this staggered Ram Rao a good deal, and he sent to me for orders.

3.—I accordingly directed he should inform the officer, that it was my express order, and that of colonel Davis, that every means should be used by the Mysore horse and Peons to prevent a junction of the detachment with the fort; and I forwarded to Ram Rao the accompanying paper, to be shewn to the officer in command, together with several copies of translations of the general orders of the 3d instant, to be distributed among the Native officers and Sepoys.

4.—If therefore the detachments from Chittledroog are obstinate on pushing forward, an action must take place; and though Ram Rao may not be able to beat off the party, I am in hopes he will so detain them that the arrival of the Bangalore force will quickly ensure their submission.

5.—The bridges I understand, on each side of the Island, have been broken up by colonel Bell in the centre, and a moveable platform thrown over each conduit, to impress upon our minds the idea that he fears an attack upon the fort, for with his command of artillery over both bridges no attempt could succeed by the route of either.

6.—I regret to say that colonel Gibbs has great apprehensions of the fidelity of the Native corps in his detachment; I trust, however, that this proceeds only from a temporary feeling of annoyance at their recent separation from their officers.

7.—I have the honour to enclose an intercepted letter, in cypher, which was delivered to a king's officer, doing duty with the 8th Native cavalry, on the march of that corps from Bangalore.

8.—The man upon whom it was found

said he was directed to give it to captain Smith, of the 8th Native Cavalry, or to Mr. Blackstone of the engineers, and that he had received it from Lieutenant Mackintosh of the artillery at Seringapatam.

9.—These circumstances may lead to a discovery of the key to this cypher, which I am unable to master.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) A. H. COLLE,  
1st Assist. in charge.

Mysore, August 11th, 1869.

To Captains Asgill and Mackintosh, or senior officers in charge of the battalions advancing from Chittledroog.

Ram Rao, the bearer of this, has the orders of lieutenant-colonel Davis, the officer commanding the Mysore division, and the honourable Mr. Cole, the acting resident in Mysore, to inform the officers commanding the battalions advancing from Chittledroog, that they will not be permitted to move one step farther with the troops; that they must either sign the pledge, obey the orders of the government of Fort St George, or accept the alternative, as directed by the general order published by the honourable the governor in council, under date the 26th July; and that any attempt which may be made by them to march on will be resisted by the troops under the command of Ram Rao, and by the force from Bangalore, under the orders of lieutenant colonel Gibbs, which is now encamped in the vicinity of Seringapatam.

Ram Rao is further directed by lieutenant-colonel Davis, and by the honourable Mr. Cole, to acquaint the officers commanding the battalions, that in the event of their refusing to sign the pledge, and consenting to accept the alternative offered by the honourable the governor in council in the general orders above-mentioned, the whole of the officers will immediately separate from their men, and repair without delay to Mysore, for the purpose of being permitted to march to the sea-coast, in conformity to the orders of government; the men are to remain on their present ground, until further arrangements shall be made. Ram Rao is *positively directed* by the authorities above-named to prevent, at any risk, the further advance of the battalions in the event of their making any attempt to march on, after the officers shall have been made acquainted with the directions herein contained.

Given under our hands and seals,

(Signed) A. H. COLLE,  
1st assistant in charge.

H. DAVIS,

Lieut.-col. com. Mysore.

Here succeeds a correspondence, expressive of suspicion of the loyalty of certain Native troops attached to colonel Gibbs's command.



To A. Falconar, Esq.

Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of government, that an officer is this moment arrived from colonel Gibbs's camp, to report that an action took place this day, about twelve o'clock, between the 55th dragoons, aided by the Mysore horse, &c. and the Chittledroog detachment; the latter were completely routed, and many of them killed. The particulars of this affair I am unacquainted with, but my dispatch, of tomorrow shall detail them.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) A. H. COLE,

Mysore, 11th August, 10 P. M.  
1st assistant in charge.

N. B. The affair took place within a cross of the fort of Seringapatam; colonel Davis will have the honour to address government to-morrow.

Camp near Seringapatam,  
11th Aug. 1809.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that at about eleven o'clock this morning I heard some firing towards the Chittledroog road, and instantly dispatched a patrol of dragoons to learn the cause; having received information from the resident that the Sillidar horse would give timely information, I was easy, although ready to turn out almost immediately. Three of his highness the Rajah's Sillidar horse came to report that a force from Chittledroog was advancing. Just at the same time a letter from the officers in Seringapatam was sent to me, desiring a conference, but of which I took no notice; this letter lieutenant Dick of the 80th regiment will deliver to you; he handsomely volunteered his service with the 55th regiment.

I ordered the line to turn out, which was done with the utmost expedition, the Sepoys joining the Europeans with the greatest alacrity. I formed the advance, consisting of a squadron of light dragoons, the light infantry company of the 50th regiment, and one galloper, under the command of major Cardin. I left lieutenant-colonel Adams to bring up the remainder, which he did as soon as it was possible, considering the nature of the ground. The difficulties the troops had to encounter through paddy-fields and deep morasses made this a very difficult task, but the troops surmounted every obstacle, and joined in the pursuit. Seeing these unfortunately infatuated people flying in confusion, hard pressed by the Sillidar horse, I desired major Cardin, if possible, to overtake them by a circuitous route, for we could not cross the Nullar in our front, and to spare the effusion of blood. I wished a white flag to be sent them by an officer, which lieutenant Jeffries of the 55th light dragoons most handsomely volunteered taking, as my brigade major, captain Campbell 55th, had been dispatched with orders to another part of the field. As major Cardin, with two squadrons of the 55th dragoons and one gun approached the rear of their column, lieutenant Jeffries advanced with a white flag; the sepoy sala-

med, but an European officer ordered them to fire; the Sillidar horse gallantly rushed in to his rescue. Having made the necessary arrangements to prevent any interruption from Seringapatam, I advanced with the flank companies of the 50th towards Webb's monument, but could not, with our utmost exertions; head or even come up with these battalions but from the hard pressure on them by the light dragoons and Sillidar horse, (which latter took from them two guns, and both colours from one battalion) I have every reason to think that very few reached the fort. During these transactions the troops from the fort had marched to attack our camp, for the protection of which I had left the piquets, quarter-guards, and the 5th Native cavalry, with one gun, under the command of captain Bean. The force from the fort was, I understand, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Munro, with two companies of artillery and ten guns, under major Frere; they immediately retired when fired upon by captain Bean, who then detached the 5th cavalry to the support of the infantry, posted in front of the bridge, with a village on their right, on which point this force was immediately marching.

The prisoners taken report that their loss in killed and wounded was considerable; as far as I could judge I estimate the killed at one hundred and fifty; on our side, I am happy to say not a man was hurt, with the exception of lieutenant Jeffries slightly wounded; one horse of the 55th killed, and one wounded. The casualties in the Sillidar horse have not yet been reported to me, but I believe they are very trifling.

During these operations the fort fired several shots of large calibre.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

S. GIBBS,

Lieut.-col. command.

Field detachment.

To the chief secretary to government.

Camp near Seringapatam,

11th Aug. 1809.

Sir,—I had the honour yesterday of transmitting to you a copy of my report to lieutenant-colonel Davis commanding the division, detailing the proceedings of the detachment under my command, and I am now to acquaint you, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, that soon after 12 o'clock last night a heavy cannonade and bombardment were commenced from the neighbourhood of the Lol Baugh in the island of Seringapatam, but with no other effect than the loss to us of 1 grass-cutters of the 5th cavalry, and four horses of the 55th dragoons killed; some followers, and a few cattle wounded.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) S. GIBBS,

Lieut.-col. command.

Field detachment.



To his excellency the right honourable G. lord Minto, governor-general, &c. &c.

My Lord, Fort St. George.

It is with the utmost compunction that I address your lordship out of the usual channel, an expedient I never would have recourse to were I not directed to it by the most imperious circumstances.

I have used every endeavour to obtain colonel Davis's confidence, as well as that of the honourable Mr. Cole, acting resident, but to no purpose, in order to learn what are the real intentions of government in regard to this place.

After having for several days observed preparations of an hostile nature round this place, and having been given to understand from various quarters that the whole of the Mysore forces and resources were about to be employed to reduce this fortress, without being able to ascertain the authority for such measures further than that they were encouraged and supported by the acting resident, and by the officer commanding the forces in Mysore. I addressed a letter to lieutenant-colonel Davis on the subject, and in that letter I communicated my determination to resist whatever force might appear before this place until I was satisfied that the breach of the Mysore treaty had the approbation of the supreme government.

Colonel Davis has not deigned to reply to my letter. I likewise wrote to the Dewan of Mysore, warning him of the consequences of the conduct he was induced to pursue, in order to avoid, if possible, the spilling of blood, but his answer was far from satisfactory.

Your excellency will perceive in my letter of the 8th instant to lieutenant-colonel Davis a further endeavour to prevent mischief, by informing that officer of my intention, in the event of an European force co-operating with the troops of the Dewan against this place, to cut the bridges over the river, a measure which might occasion the total destruction of those edifices.

Copies of all these letters I have now the honour to forward for your excellency's consideration, together with one to Mr. Smith the paymaster, which he has not replied to, and another to the Dewan of Mysore, in consequence of a great number of small guards, and other detached parties of Native troops, having been seized, disarmed, and confined by his orders.

I therefore trust your excellency will honour me with your commands, and instruct me in the line of conduct I am to pursue in this difficult part, so as not to endanger the country, or to commit the character of the British army.

I have the honour to be, my lord,  
Your lordship's most obedient,  
and humble servant,  
(Signed) J. BELL,  
Lieut.-col. senior officer.

Seringapatam,  
14 August, 1809.

14th August, P. M.

P. S. Since writing the above an encampment has been formed to the north-east of this place at the distance of about 7½ miles. I have not yet been able to ascertain what force it is, but suppose it to be the European corps from Bangalore. Every thing here is in readiness for the defence I am determined to make, until I receive your excellency's instructions.

(Signed) J. B.

A report of colonel Davis of the attack of the Chittledroog battalions to the effect of the letter from colonel Gibbs.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq. Chief  
secretary to government.  
Camp near Regavm's choultry.  
August 13th, 1809.

Sir,

I have not been able to procure any accurate information of the loss sustained by the Chittledroog battalions since my dispatch of yesterday, but I have reason to believe from a report which has just reached me, that the garrison have received an accession of strength to the amount of about five hundred men. The whole of the European officers, with the exception of captain Mackintosh, were successful in making their escape into the fort, and I understand that lieutenant Best, of the 1st battalion 8th regiment, expired last night of his wounds.

I calculate that nearly one half of the force which originally advanced from Chittledroog have been either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

2.—The honourable the governor-in-council will determine what line of conduct shall be eventually pursued towards captain Mackintosh, who is now wounded, and a prisoner on his parole at Mysore.

3.—Since my dispatch of yesterday, which was written the instant I arrived in camp, I have had a particular conversation with lieutenant-colonel Gibbs as to the feeling which in his opinion pervades the Native corps forming a part of this force.

4.—I perform a painful, though necessary duty in acquainting the honourable the governor-in-council, that from the information with which colonel Gibbs has furnished me, I think there exists great reason to question the part which they would take in the event of my being compelled to lead them against any disaffected corps.

5.—Colonel Gibbs has reported that when the troops were preparing to advance in support of the Mysore horse on the 11th, a jemadar of the 1st battalion of the 9d was deputed by the officers of his corps to inform the colonel that they were determined not to fire against the Chittledroog battalions; a report nearly similar in nature has been made to me of the officers of the 5th cavalry. I do not see any immediate reason to question their allegiance to government, but it is my duty to inform the honourable the governor-in-council that I



cannot place that degree of confidence in them which is so necessary to ensure any advantage from their service.

6.—Enclosed I do myself the honour to transmit copy of a letter from captain Locust, of the 3d regiment commanding at Bidnore, by which the honourable the governor-in-council will perceive, that though the officers of that station have refused to sign the required pledge, yet they have done so in a manner the least reprehensible.

7.—I have great satisfaction in transmitting with this, copy of a letter from captain Purchase of the 25th Native infantry, by which the honourable the governor-in-council will perceive that the most commendable feelings animate the mind of captain Purchase at this unhappy period.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

(Signed) H. DAVIS,

Lieut. col. comm. Mysore.

To Alexander Falconar, Esquire,

Camp near Repanah Choultry,

August 14th, 180 .

Sir,

A short time previous to the affair of the 11th, lieutenant-colonel Gibbs received a letter from the officers in garrison of Seringapatam, soliciting a conference, which that officer at the time very properly declined noticing.

ad.—Having maturely considered the state of affairs in the garrison, and being desirous to prevent the further effusion of blood, and to avert the many horrid consequences which I apprehend might ensue from a continuation of our existing relations with that garrison, I determined to avail myself of the opening which the officers in Seringapatam had made by their letter to colonel Gibbs, for the purpose of obtaining an insight into their real wishes and intentions.

3.—With this view I yesterday dispatched lieutenant Grove of his Majesty's 80th regiment, to the fort, under a flag of truce, and with a letter, informing the officers that I was willing to acquiesce in the desire which they had expressed for a conference. The enclosed report will inform the honourable the governor-in-council of the transactions which occurred during that officer's stay in the garrison.

4.—The letter I found was answered by lieutenant-colonel Bell, who informed me that two officers would be deputed from the fort to meet any two whom I might depute from camp.

5.—In consequence of this communication lieutenant-colonels Gibbs and Adams repaired this morning by my desire to a spot within two miles of the camp; they were there met by lieutenant-colonel Munro and by captain de Havilland from the fort; much vague conversation passed during the interview, but I do not think it necessary to report any thing

further than the following declaration made by the officers of Seringapatam; that it was the inflexible determination of lieutenant-colonel Bell to surrender the fort of Seringapatam on the order of Lord Minto and that when that order was received, he would most willingly make it over to any one who might be authorized by his lordship to take charge of it; all the officers deny that the flag of truce sent in by lieutenant Gibbs was intentionally fired upon, and I am willing for the honour of the British character to give credit to their assertions.

6.—The officers from the fort having required of lieutenant-colonels Gibbs and Adams, whether a dispatch from the garrison to Lord Minto would be permitted to pass through the camp, the lieutenant-colonels guaranteed its safe dispatch, and I shall have the honour to forward it to the honourable the governor-in-council by to-morrow's post.

7.—I have also the honour to forward a statement, drawn up by an officer belonging to one of the Chittledroog battalions, who is now in the fort; this statement is very wide of the truth in some respects, and I think the honourable the governor-in-council will be of opinion that it contains as candid a confession of rebellion and evil purposes as ever was perused.

8.—A quarter-master-serjeant of the 1st Light Native infantry is now a prisoner in camp; from him I learn that the officers never informed the sepoy of their real intention in marching towards Seringapatam; they deluded the poor wretches by giving out that the company were about to war on Poorniah, and that they were advancing for the purpose of fighting the Mysore troops.

Captain Mackintosh's accounts give me reason to believe that the officers in the garrison of Seringapatam were not more candid to their brethren, for they cautiously avoided giving them any intimation of the approach of the Bangalore force, an accurate knowledge of which would most probably have prevented the effusion of the blood which was spilt on the 11th.

9.—The honourable the governor-in-council may be assured that nothing which my judgment, aided by that of Mr. Cole, could suggest has been omitted to ensure protection to the interests of the Mysore state in these times of anarchy and revolt.

10.—It is my intention to remain encamped on the ground which I at present occupy, until further instructions reach me from the honourable the governor-in-council.

11.—The garrison fire many times both during the night and day. I cannot speak with any certainty what object this hostility is directed to, but I apprehend at the Mysore troops, and the inhabitants endeavouring to quit the pettah.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

H. DAVIS, lieut. col. Mysore.



[Annexed to the preceding letter is the report of the officer bearing the flag of truce.]

We, the officers of the 1st 8th, and 1st 10th, having heard that a gross misrepresentation of the affair of the 11th has been circulated, conceive it proper to make a full statement of facts.

On our march from Chittledroog to this place we fell in with a large body of Poorniah's horse, who said they had orders to prevent our further progress but as our determination was fixed to reach this place, we told them plainly and clearly what the consequences would be if they attempted to stop us; they assured us in return that they did not wish to have recourse to hostile measures; their actions too showed evidently they did not, although they certainly remained near us constantly. On the morning of the 3d day, after first falling in with them, and within sight of Seringapatam, just as the corps had passed a little village beyond the Pench rocks, they cut in upon our baggage, and wounded some people, without the smallest provocation on our side; upon which we instantly prepared for our own defence, and to get into Seringapatam as soon as possible; from this time till within a mile or two of the above place, we were constantly fired upon by the horsemen, which of course was returned. We had now every favourable prospect of reaching Seringapatam without much loss (excepting the baggage,) when the 25th dragoons showed themselves on the rising ground; immediately some of the officers were seen to join a large body of horse in our left, and after a short conference, galloped off to their own regiment, when the horse and dragoons immediately poured down upon our rear. Very shortly before this, lieutenant Walker held out a white flag, and approached an officer of dragoons, who seemed to come forward to meet him, but without any flag that we could see; however, before they could come together, the dragoon officer made off and joined the party of the enemy in the rear, consisting of Poorniah's horse, and the 25th dragoons, when they instantly commenced cutting up our men, who were by this time completely exhausted with fatigue, although they still kept up a light fire on the horse; the dragoons were never fired upon until they joined the horse, and were in the act of hostility.

(Signed) CHARLES A. WALKER,

Lieutenant 1st battalion 8th regiment N. I.

(True Copies.)

A. FALCONAR, chief secretary to govt.  
Seringapatam, 4th August, 1869

Enclosure, No 30

Contains a report of general Pater on 1st August, to the government, that the duties of the garrison are conducted with the greatest regularity, but that he ascribes this to the

expectation that colonel Malcolm's communications will prevent any rigorous measures on the part of government.

Colonel Wilkinson to government, 2d August, suggesting the expediency of examining all travellers for letters.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq. chief secretary to government

21 August, letter from the officer commanding in the ceded districts, enclosing list of the officers who have signed and who have declined to sign the test.

From T. Sydenham, 29 July, enclosing letter from the officers of the Jaulna Force, containing a request that their address to the governor in council may be withdrawn.

From colonel Wilkinson, 3d August, enclosing lieutenant Cunningham's resignation of the service.

(Confidential.)

To lieutenant colonel Barclay,  
Military secretary

Sir,

I have the painful duty to report to you for the information of Sir George Barlow that I received intelligence last night of the officers at this station having dispatched letters in the course of the day to colonel Close, stating to him that they would not submit to any order of his as commanding the Subsidary force, without he first made a declaration of his sentiments; that they would send out a deputation to meet him, and that it would depend on their report whether or not he was received. In consequence of this intelligence I assembled the commanding officers of corps this morning, and reproached their conduct in strong terms; I used every argument to dissuade them from it in vain, till at last I told them it was such that I would immediately resign the command of the force as destitute of influence and authority, and that I would leave them to disorder and confusion if they did not recall their letter to colonel Close, and promise to receive him with the respect that was due to his rank, talents, and personal character. I am happy in having to say that my remonstrance had the desired effect, and the officers left me promising faithfully to comply with my desire. I shall not enter into further particulars of what passed, but only say, I acted that part which my conscience and duty dictated, and which I deemed most likely to support the authority of government.

I enclose for sir George Barlow's information the copy of a paper which I understand was received yesterday from Seringapatam, and circulated in this force.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. T. MONTRESOR.

To the officers of the Hyderabad force.

There is now more occasion than ever to be upon your guard, heads of divisions here have declared to heads of comp. that it is the intention of government to evince; the answer



from heads of corps has been most spirited, this you may rely upon.

We cannot reconcile the assertions of colonel Malcolm, as contained in a letter of date the 9th, received here from Masulipatam, with measures government have taken since his report must have been received at Madras. That in the assembly of troops at the mount we are assured that the plan of bribing has already commenced amongst the Native troops. This ought more and more to determine us; and sir G. and his advisers ought to be declared enemies and traitors to their country.

All this division are ready to act.

Seringapatam,  
21st July, 1809.

#### Officers of the Hydrabad force.

Every thing appears more mysterious daily, The 89th from Ceylon, and 56th from Bombay, are expected daily at Madras. The royals are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to leave Madras. It is well known they would not act against us, except Tiger Conran.

The king's and company's officers at Muttra have not only agreed to support us, but entered into a large subscription for our suspended officers. Commanding officers of divisions make no secret that government are determined to persevere. Commanding officers of corps have given them a most spirited answer; a frigate arrived at Madras with dispatches. Colonel Hare says he will cut up the black mutineers; 500 pagodas monthly allowed him as table-money.

Seringapatam,  
22d July.

From general Croker, dated 3d of August, reporting that the suspended officers have moved away.

From colonel Cluse, dated 27th of July, acknowledging the receipt of the account of the occurrences at Masulipatam.

From General Paier, dated 2d of August, reporting that the agitation among the officers at Masulipatam continues to increase.

From the same, dated 3d of August, stating that the troops are preparing to march without his authority.

From colonel Wilkinson, dated 2d of August, containing an application for cavalry officers for the 6th regiment; and forwarding a private letter which had been communicated to him.

Resolution of that part of the Hydrabad subsidiary force serving in Berar.

24th July, 1809.

We, the officers of the Berar detachment, having united amongst ourselves, and also united with the rest of the army in a resolution to obtain redress of our grievances, the particulars of which have already been laid before government, deem any attempt to divide us as incompatible with and destructive to that resolution.

✓ We shall therefore disregard every order to that effect; but we will nevertheless obey all orders addressed to us by the officer commanding this force for the interior regulations of its duty.

Signed by all officers of the Julian force, the commandant and staff excepted.

Three letters, dated 8th of August, from government to colonel Wilkinson, approving the measures he has reported.

From colonel Barclay, dated 8th of August, forwarding to colonel Cluse account of the occurrences at Bellary, Seringapatam, and Masulipatam.

From Mr. Gowan to sir G. Barlow, reporting that he had taken charge of the residency at Poonah.

Here is inserted a letter from colonel Stuart to the secretary of government, acknowledging the receipt of the test, and stating his reasons for not carrying it into effect.

As also a letter from colonel Forbes, at Canmore, of the same tendency with the letter last adverted to.

#### Lieutenant-colonel the honourable P. Stuart.

Sir, — I am directed by sir George Barlow to acquaint you that the orders of the 26th July have been carried into execution by major-general Croker, at Bellary, and by lieutenant-colonel Gibbs, at Bangalore; that few of the company's officers at the former station, and not one at the latter, signed the declaration required, but that every one of those who refused their signatures at both the stations submitted to the other terms of the orders with the utmost propriety, and left the cantonments immediately, preparatory to their proceeding to the places on the sea coast allotted for their future residence.

Colonel Wilkinson has also carried the same orders into effect at Trichinopoly. He found a considerable number of officers who signed the declaration, but the suspicious conduct of those who refused to sign it induced him to march them away from the cantonment to the distance of 30 miles under a guard.

When the orders were explained to the Native officers at the three principal stations above-mentioned, they to a man professed their loyalty and attachment to the government, and their readiness to obey such officers as might be placed over them, as well as to proceed on any service that might be required, in terms still stronger and more expressive than those which I had the honour of stating to you had been employed on a similar occasion by the Native officers of the corps in this garrison, and in camp near St. Thomas's mount.

Major-general Croker, colonel Wilkinson, and colonel Gibbs, proceeded immediately to replace the staff officers, and to appoint others from his Majesty's regiment under their



immediate command to the charge of the Native corps whose proper officers had been removed, and they all report that the duties in their respective stations were going on as regularly as ever.

The reports from all other stations are uniform as to the loyalty and attachment of the Native troops, and sir George Barlow does not entertain the smallest doubt of a similar result whenever the appeal is made to the troops in Travancore. He considers that your own regiment is sufficient for enabling you to enforce the orders of the 26th July, among the corps in the cantonment of Quilon, and that having done so there, and placed a few officers of his majesty's 19th regiment in charge of the Native corps, you may, with perfect safety and advantage to the service, move to all the other stations in Travancore, for the same purpose. I have further the pleasure to acquaint you that orders have been dispatched to day to colonel Wilkinson to march upon Travancore with the flank companies of the 19th regiment, the 30th regiment, and a proportion of Native troops, by the rout of Dindigul, Madura, and Palamcottah, for your support.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. BARCLAY,  
Military sec.

5th of August.—Colonel Wilkinson reports that he has received the orders for his march and will.

List of officers at Dindigul who signed the pledge.

Colonel Croker, on the 5th of August, reports that the suspended are proceeding to Negapatam.

Colonel Bowness, 5th of August, reports that the officers, at Gooty, decline to sign the test.

10th of August.—Secretary of Government, regrets that general Pater had not employed decided endeavours towards the execution of the orders of the 26th of July: and directs, that they may be carried into effect at every hazard.

To the chief secretary to government.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, that on receipt of your dispatch of the 27th ultimo, I determined immediately to assemble the officers of the company's service at the station, and inform them of the orders of government.

I accordingly did so this morning; read to them the instructions I had received, and recommended strongly the line of conduct they ought to pursue; they were perfectly respectful, and requested a short time to consider the business.

They then acquainted me, that as the order which I had communicated to them required a declaration from them to the purport of the paper accompanying it, they wished I would substitute the one which they then presented in lieu of the other, as the purport of the pledge which they then gave me, signed by

every officer in the cantonment, declared their sentiments of supporting government and obeying its orders, with, as it appears to me, no material alterations from the other. I agreed to forward it and wait the declaration of government.

I sincerely hope it may meet with approbation, considering the ferment and irritation of the times.

I am happy also in being able to mention that the officers stationed at this place have expressed to me their disapprobation of the precipitate measures adopted by the Hyderabad force, which I hope to be able to express to you more fully to-morrow.

They have pledged themselves to me solemnly that no step whatever shall be taken by them in any respect without my sanction, until an answer to this letter arrives from government.

I am sorry, however, to state what has been reported to me to-day, that in consequence of the late orders for the march of two corps from this station a considerable degree of murmuring and discontent has taken place among the Sepoys, from their not having received their hunting-money; that in consequence of this, and their having been at a great expence in bringing back their families, which had been sent away previous to the campaign, and the late period of receiving their pay here, which is seldom before the latter end of the ad month; they are most of them in great distress. Complaints from Sepoys I am informed are very unusual, and I should think at such a period as this the cause of them ought to be removed as soon as possible.

I have thought expedient under all circumstances in order the march of the 1st battalion 2d, and 1st battalion 4th regiment to their destination, as ordered by the quarter-master-general, as soon as money can be procured to settle their arrears.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) P. STUART,  
Lieut.-col. commanding  
in Travancore.

Quilon,  
2d August, 1809.

We, the undersigned officers of the honourable company's service do, in the most solemn manner, declare upon our words of honour, as British officers, that we are generally and individually animated by sentiments of the purest loyalty and attachment to our king and country, are ready and willing, under every circumstance, to support their interests at the expense of our lives, and to obey the order, and support the authority of the government of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of our commissions, as are most fully explained in paragraphs 60th, 61st, 63d, 64th, 72d, 74th, to the 80th inclusive, of the letter from the right honourable the governor-general in council to the honourable the governor-in-council, of Fort St. George, under date Fort William, 27th May. 1809.

(Signed) W. Hargrave, lieut. 4th N.I.  
—W. Williams, lieut. 1st bat. 4th



reg.—Henry Skeen, lieut. 1st bat. 4th N. R.—J. Jones, lieut. ditto.—Alexander McLeod, capt. 2d bat. 9th reg.—H. Wep, ensign, ditto.—Alexander Balsam, capt. 7th reg.—Le Rose, lieut. ditto.—Thomas Arthur, ensign, ditto.—Thomas Ahmuy, 2d bat. 10th reg.—J. J. Backintosh, capt. artillery.—C. Sudisten, lieut. 2d bat. 9th reg.—C. Elphinstone, lieut. ditto.—E. Osborn, lieut. ditto.—E. Blackman, lieut. ditto.—A. McKenzie, lieut. ditto.—George Vald, lieut. ditto.—R. Swyen, lieut. ditto.—John Dame, ensign, ditto.—P. R. Thordick, ensign, ditto.—D. M. Andrew.—W. Harris, lieut.—George Moore, lieut.—J. Dabzul, lieut. 4th reg.—W. Robertson, capt. 4th reg.—M. Campbell.—R. Hol, major, 4th regt. N. I.—D. H. wall, capt. 4th N. R.—Richard Burn, capt. 1st bat. 2d regt.—G. Pepper, capt. ditto.—S. J. Hodson, lieut. ditto.—W. Gordon Tharrit, lieut. 2d bat. 9th reg. N. I.—J. Prendergast, lieut. ditto.—W. C. Nidham, lieut. ditto.—J. Royer, lieut. ditto.—W. Horakey Bowley, lieut. ditto.—R. Markinz, ensign, ditto.—Gep. Stout, ensign, ditto.—Charles Gahagan, capt. artillery.—H. Sargent, ensign, ditto.—A. Hammond, lieut. 1st bat. 4th reg.—H. Wallis, ensign, ditto.—R. Fringle, ensign, ditto.—A. Sibbald, ensign, ditto.—John Payne, ensign, ditto.—J. Hicks, lieut. 2d bat. 9th regt. N. I.—M. M. Houghton, assistant-surgeon, artillery.—J. Dalgans, lieut. 7th reg. N. I.

Fort St. George,  
10th August, 1809.

Sir,

I am directed by the honourable the governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant to the chief secretary to government, with an enclosure, and to repeat to you his commands, that you will, without any delay whatever, or without any further reference, require from the officers of the company's service under your command, their unqualified signature to the declaration which accompanied the orders of the 26th July last, and in the event of their refusing to sign it that you will carry those orders fully into effect, by removing those officers from the execution of their military functions, and that you will cause them to proceed with all practicable dispatch to the limits assigned in subsequent orders for their residence, supplying their places in the best manner that you can by officers of his majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) R. BARCLAY.

Lieut.-col. the hon. P. Stuart,  
&c. &c.

Enclosure, No. 31.

To the honourable sir G. M. J. B. K. B.

Honourable Sir,

I do myself the honour to acknowledge that I reached Hyderabad yesterday morning. Having made a full report of my immediate proceedings at this place to the officer commanding the army in chief, I beg leave to refer you to that report for detailed information of the circumstances which took place yesterday noon in the cantonment of Secunderabad.

I understand that those events produced considerable agitation amongst the company's officers at this station; their committee continued their deliberations till a late hour in the evening, and I find from colonel Montresor that they dispatched a summons to Jaulna for the immediate march towards Hyderabad of the whole of the Berar detachment. They also seem to expect that the detachment will be headed by lieutenant-colonel Doveton. I have reason to believe that the summons which was formerly sent for the march of a certain portion of the troops at Jaulna, was revoked in consequence of the remonstrances of colonel Montresor, and of a letter from captain Sydenham to lieutenant-colonel Doveton, which was read to the officers here by colonel Montresor. But it is strongly to be apprehended that the present orders will not be complied with by the officer at Jaulna.

From the information which I this morning received from lieutenant-colonel Montresor, it appears probable that the company's troops here, after having been joined by their associates from Jaulna, will move towards Masulipatam, or some other station in the Carnatic as circumstances may hereafter suggest.

Whilst I was writing this dispatch I received from the company's officers a letter, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, directing me in positive terms to leave the vicinity of this place in the course of the day. I had reason to expect such a requisition from them; and I had intended to permit them to place me in confinement; but from the tenor of colonel Barclay's secret dispatch of the 2d instant, which I only received last night, it appearing to be the intention of government to require my service with the force that is to be sent in this direction, I thought proper to comply with the requisition which was sent to me.

The result of yesterday's proceedings convinced me that I must despair of being able to bring back the company's troops, either at this place or at Jaulna, to a sense of their duty, without having recourse to actual force of arms; and this impression is further confirmed by intelligence which I have just received, that the European officers this morning inspected their situation and design to the Native troops under their command, and that the Native troops assured the European



affairs, in the most solemn manner of their attachment.

It is of importance to enquire of lieutenant-colonel Montresor, whether in the event of the company's troops leaving this station, and marching towards the Carnatic, they would permit his majesty's regiment to remain at Hyderabad without taking any means of disabling it. The colonel seemed confidently of opinion, that in the event to which I alluded, the company's troops would not offer any molestation to his majesty's regiment; my object in making this inquiry was with a view to the future security of the residency of the court, and the means of furnishing such a reinforcement to the military station near the capital, as might enable the resident to support the national interests in those territories, until the state of affairs became more tranquil.

But since the receipt of lieutenant-colonel Barclay's dispatch of the 22d of July, it has occurred to me, that if circumstances should delay the march of the whole of the subsidiary force into the Carnatic, and that in the interim the force destined to act in the Deccan be put into motion towards the Kistnah, it is to be apprehended that the disaffected corps here would unite their efforts against his majesty's regiment, and would endeavour to destroy it.

Allowing sufficient time for the communication of the summons which has been dispatched to Jaulna, the preparation of the troops there for movement, and their march to Hyderabad at this season of the year, they could scarcely effect their junction in this quarter before the 1st of September. It is probable that the force destined to act in the Deccan could not assemble at any point on the Kistnah before that period; by which time the company's troops collected at Hyderabad would amount to about 300 artillery-men, 1,300 cavalry, 5,800 Native infantry, with 30 pieces of cannon, of which 14 are drawn by horses.

In the report which I have made to the officer commanding the army in chief, I expressed my intention of remaining at this residency until I should be furnished with further instructions for my conduct; but having judged it advisable to comply with the requisition of the officers here to remove from this quarter, I propose to retire gradually towards Poona, by which plan any dispatches that may be addressed to me will readily reach me on the road, if directed, under cover, to captain Sydenham.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed)

B. CLOSE,

Hyderabad, 4th Aug. 1809.

To colonel Close, resident at Poona.

Sir.—The officers of the Hyderabad force having considered your conduct yesterday in execution of the orders of government as highly prejudicial to that confidence which subsists between the Sepoys and their officers, and

subversive of that discipline they are anxious to maintain, they do declare, that your presence in the vicinity of this campment, &c. such conduct, must be dispensed with; and they hereby direct you to leave the place in the course of this day, lest more unpleasant decisive measures should be necessary.

We are, Sir,

The officers of the Hyderabad

Subsidiary force.

(A true copy.)

(Signed)

B. CLOSE,

Colonel.

Cantonment,

4th Aug. 1809.

To major-general Gowdie, commanding the army in chief.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that in obedience to the orders of the honourable the governor in council of the 14th July, I proceeded towards Hyderabad, and left Poona in the morning of the 29th instant. On the road I received several private communications from captain Sydenham, from which it was evident that the aspect of affairs in the cantonment of Secunderabad did not become more favourable; on the contrary, rumours of the movement of troops from Jaulna to Hyderabad were prevalent, and the minds of officers in Secunderabad were agitated by different reports of the determination of government to enforce obedience to its authority. It appeared to captain Sydenham, that considerable jealousy and apprehension had been excited by my appointment to the command of the subsidiary force, as the object of that measure was ascribed by the officers to a design on the part of government to employ my influence with the Native troops for the purpose of separating them from their European officers. A letter from captain Sydenham, stating that colonel Montresor had learned, with great concern, that the officers had dispatched a letter to me, to acquaint me, that they would not admit of my assuming the command of the force without a formal declaration of my sentiments and intentions; that a deputation from the officers would meet me previously to my arrival, for the purpose of ascertaining my sentiments, on which would depend their obeying or not obeying my orders. In consequence of the remonstrances which were addressed to the senior officers by colonel Montresor, it was at length determined that I should be permitted to come on to the residency, where I was to be met by a deputation from the officers.

As I still advanced towards Hyderabad an Hircarrah delivered into my hands the letter from the officers alluded to by colonel Montresor. It expressed a high respect for my character and talents, and a confidence in the weight of my influence at Madras, in accomplishing a reconciliation between the government and the army. The object of the letter was simply to let me know that my services were not required in a military capacity as commandant of the force, but that in con-



junction with lieutenant-colonel Malcolm I might be useful at the presidency in promoting their cause, they therefore recommended me to pursue my journey to Madras, but in any event to halt at one stage from Hyderabad. A paper of proposals containing five articles, which they termed their ultimatum, and similar to the paper that had been transmitted to Madras, was submitted to their letter.

It is proper that I should here remark, that looking to the motives which led to my appointment to the command of the Hyderabad Subsidiary force, I always considered it to be an object of primary and essential importance to endeavour by every means in my power to proceed to the cantonment for the purpose of showing myself to the troops, and assuming the command of them in person; under the impression, it was my determination to have pursued my way to the cantonment, even if the remonstrances of colonel Montresor had not superseded, in effect, the letter from the officers desiring me to stop at one stage short of Hyderabad.

On my arrival at Pullum Churroo, I had the pleasure to meet captain Sydenham, who had advanced to that place for the purpose of affording me every information in his possession regarding the troops at Secunderabad. On our meeting captain Sydenham delivered to me a packet to my address from lieutenant-colonel Barclay, containing a copy of the chief secretary's letter to colonel Wilkinson, regarding the system of measures to be pursued for the purpose of bringing to a test the sentiments of the officers towards the government of Fort St. George. Lieutenant-colonel Barclay's letter ascribed the effect produced by the application of those measures to the company's troops in the garrison at Fort St. George, and in camp at the Mount.

Before I left Pullum Churroo I had intimated to colonel Montresor my wish to see him, lieutenant-colonel Gore, and the officers of the general staff, on my arrival at the residency. This morning captain Sydenham and myself came from Pullum Churroo to the residency, escorted by a party of Moghul Horse, which his highness the Nizam had sent to receive me.

Soon after I had reached the residency I was waited upon by lieutenant-colonel Montresor, lieutenant-colonel Gore, and the officers of the general staff, with the Subsidiary force.

I took colonel Montresor into a private apartment, and communicate to him the orders which I had received for the regulation of my conduct. I pointed out to him that I thought the nature of my orders left me no discretionary power, and no option but that of asserting the authority with which I was invested. That having been called to the command of the Subsidiary force, under circumstances of peculiar delicacy and importance, and having quitted Poona for the

express purpose of carrying into effect the measures of government with regard to the troops, I conceived that I could not fulfil the expectations of government without venturing, at all hazards, to place myself at the head of the troops.

It appeared to lieutenant-colonel Montresor to be very doubtful whether the officers would permit me to enter the cantonment, or whether my remonstrances to the Native troops would induce them to abandon the cause of their European officers. Without refusing weight to those objections, I told him that my experience of the character and disposition of the Native troops, the persuasion of my name being long known, and the successful result of the late experiment at and near the presidency, rendered me rather confident of the probable effect of my immediate presence in front of the Native corps before they could be put under arms.

It occurred to me that by first proceeding to the barracks of his majesty's European regiment, putting it under arms, and marching it to the head-quarters of the force, my object in appearing in front of the Native corps might be attained with the greatest security. This plan being proposed to colonel Montresor, he declared his persuasion, that if I first appeared at the quarters of his majesty's regiment, the vigilance, jealousy, and agitation which existed amongst the officers were such, that the line of Native Infantry, with the artillery, would be instantly under arms and prepared for a contest. He stated that the distance from the barracks of the king's regiment to the right and nearest part of the line, being about three quarters of a mile, rendered the plan which had occurred to me still less practicable. On taking these and other circumstances into consideration it appeared to me on the whole, that the most likely mode of ensuring success to the object which I had in view, was to enter the cantonment at a central point, and halting in front of the line of one of the Native corps, to await the arrival of the rest of the officers.

It was therefore resolved that I should proceed without loss of time to the cantonment, accompanied by lieutenant-colonel Montresor, lieutenant-colonel Gore, and the officers of the staff, and escorted by a troop of cavalry from the residency.

As I was about to depart, Major Neale waited upon me for the purpose of intimating that the commanding officers of corps were in their road to the residency, and wished to know when it would be convenient for me to receive them. I sent for major Neale, and told him that I had received the command from lieutenant-colonel Montresor, and that I was about to proceed to the cantonment, where I should be happy to receive the heads of corps. Major Neale, strongly affected at meeting me, expressed the greatest anxiety respecting the resolution of



government on their late proposals. I replied, that I had been made acquainted with the pleasure of government subsequently to its receipt of those proposals; that I should speak to him on that subject when I met the officers in cantonment, and that I thought my communication was calculated to satisfy them.

In pursuance of the scheme above stated, I proceeded to the cantonment. The main picquet got under arms and saluted me as I passed on, entering the cantonment, and halting in front of the lines of the 2d battalion 18th regiment. There was every appearance of tranquillity throughout the line. I desired the deputy adjutant-general to acquaint the heads of corps that I was prepared to receive them. The troops of cavalry drew up near me, and having occasion to pass them, I looked at them individually, and each saluted as I passed. While the deputy adjutant-general was absent, major Neale and major Deacon came up to me. The deputy adjutant-general at length returned, to tell me that he had delivered my message to the other field officers, who had given no reply to it. I sent him a second time, with a similar message, and he returned without being able to procure any answer from them. About this time an officer near me observed that the artillerymen were mending their guns. I now despaired of seeing any more of the field officers, and as major Neale was the senior company's officer with the force, and the commandant of the regiment of cavalry, and as the appearance and demeanour of both this officer and major Deacon inspired me with hope that they would listen favourably to what I had to communicate to them, I thought no time ought to be lost in making them acquainted with the measure proposed by government. I read to them the declaration of their sentiments, to which it was expected they should subscribe. I said that it was of course unnecessary for me to dwell upon the desperate situation in which their late proceedings had reduced them; for they must be well aware that they had placed themselves in hostility against his majesty's crown, the laws of their country, and their own government of Fort St George; that in this situation it was absolutely necessary that the government should ascertain the sentiments and principles of its officers, in order that the loyal and faithful should be distinguished from those who were indisposed to support the authority of government; that of course it would be most satisfactory to the government to find its officers willing to subscribe to the proposed declaration; but such was the consideration of government for any feeling of difficulty to which they might conceive themselves subjected from pledges, or promises, that an alternative was held out by which they could retire from the further exercise of military functions until the situation of affairs, and the temper of their own

minds, would admit of their being employed with advantage to the state. They replied that they had looked forward with strong expectation to the acceptance by government of their late proposals, and that the present measure did not offer any security to their brother officers at Missulipatam; they also observed that all the officers of the army were firmly bound by common bonds, from which they could not separate without redress. To this point I immediately answered that a large portion of their brother officers had already accepted of one of the alternatives proffered to them, and therefore there was now a fair and honourable opening for them to retire from the unhappy cause in which they were engaged.

They then urged the necessity of being allowed time to consult their brother officers, and to deliberate upon the proposal which had been explained to them. I replied that I was instructed to make a distinct proposal to them, and that I had no authority to admit of delay for consultation.

After this a great deal of anxious conversation passed between us; during which I repeatedly pressed major Neale to accept of the proposal which was made to him. I brought to his recollection the long period of his service, his rank, his peculiar situation in the force; and I urged him to avail himself of this occasion to return with honour to the bosom of his country. The major seemed deeply affected by this last appeal to his feelings, and lamented the impossibility of his submitting to either alternative.

I then expressed my concern, that the authority of the government had been rejected and spurned at by the European officers of the force. I said that I had other instructions, and now felt myself at liberty to communicate direct with every native soldier in the cantonment. During the time that was occupied by this conversation, a considerable number of the men, and apparently the followers of corps, ranged themselves between us and the barracks, and appeared to observe what was going on. I immediately turned to the troop of cavalry, and addressed them nearly to the following effect: "That they must be well convinced of the allegiance which was due to the government which they served; that I was the senior officer of the troops appointed by the authority of government, and that in that capacity it was necessary for them to obey my orders; that major Neale, their commanding officer, and certain other European officers, had entered into a dispute with the government, upon points which were entirely personal to themselves; that the points in dispute did not relate to the present moment, but would be adjusted at some future period." They listened to me with attention, drew up towards me, and appeared to heed to what I had said. At this moment I observed the Sepoys of the 2d battalion 18th regiment rushing out of their place of arms, and



forming in divisions immediately before me.

The European officers were exerting themselves to form the divisions with regularity.

I then beckoned to the cavalry to follow me, and rode into the divisions, calling upon the native officers to let me know why the men had taken to their arms, and what was the cause of their agitation and alarm. I told them that I was their leader and their friend; that the government was their support; and that as I was appointed to be their leader by the government, I called upon them to look up to me alone, and to obey my orders; to stand fast, and by no means to move; one native officer in particular I took by the shoulder, and begged he would acquaint me why the men were falling in, and priming and loading; but I could not prevail upon him to make me any answer. I laid hold of the same native officer a second time, repeating my question to him, but could obtain no reply from him. I addressed the same questions to several of the non-commissioned officers, but with no effect; during this time the divisions were *pressing division*. I made the same attempts to procure an explanation, but without success. When the whole corps was formed, I pushed on to the front division, and made another attempt to check them. I took the subidar of cavalry by the hand, and desired him to accompany me; he rode with me a few yards, but then quitted me; and the troopers, though they made a movement at first as if they intended to follow me, soon held back. I advanced to the front division of the battalion, but could not persuade any of the men to listen to me. By this time the battalion had closed to the right, and completed its formation with the other battalions and the park of artillery; a good deal of bustle took place until the formation was completed, but after that the most perfect silence and regularity reigned throughout the line; two battalions were formed on the left of the park, and two others on the right of it, in a direction perpendicular to that of the battalions on the left of the park.

During the whole of this struggle, I thought it probable that some attempt might be made to secure my person and place me in confinement. But no disposition whatever of that kind was manifested, and every mark of indignity or disrespect to my person scrupulously avoided.

Major Neale and major Deacon, approached me, and, in very polite terms, expressed their deep regret that any circumstances should place them in opposition to me. I addressed myself to major Neale, and said, that as he was the senior officer present at the shameful opposition which had been shewn to my orders, I should consider him as particularly responsible for what had occurred; that as my authority had been so openly and so completely rejected, I could consider myself in no other light but as his prisoner; and that as the objects of my appointment to the command of the subsidiary force had been defeated, I regarded

Lieutenant-colonel Montresor as the commandant of the force as if I had never entered the cantonment.

After this I accompanied colonel Montresor to his quarters; in a short time the whole of the field officers came to the colonel's quarters, and expressed a wish to hear him deliver an address to me. I made known to them that I had no objection to hear what they had to say, but I declined receiving any address. When they came to me they repeated nearly the substance of the letter which they addressed. They said they had great confidence in the influence which I possessed with government; and they requested me to proceed to Madras to exercise that influence in person, to promote the interests and wishes of the army. I told them plainly that I did not consider myself at liberty to proceed to Madras; and that I certainly should not undertake any office of the nature alluded to; upon hearing this answer they bowed and retired.

Lieutenant-colonel Montresor expressed a wish that I should still continue in the command of the force, but I replied that from the manner in which I had left my station at Poona it was probable I should shortly be ordered back to it; that my remaining in the ostensible command of the force could answer no useful purpose, and would only subject me to a repetition of addresses or personal application, with none of which would it be possible for me to comply; and that, therefore, I thought it would be more consistent with my own dignity, and with the intentions of government, to withdraw from the cantonment and retire to the residency, until I should be honoured with further instructions from government.

(Signed) B. CLOSS, colonel.  
Hydrabad residency, 3d August, 1809, eight.  
Lieut. Col. Montresor, &c. &c.

Sir,—Our high respect for your character and conduct towards us during the present crisis, induces us to act, in every respect that circumstances will allow, with the utmost delicacy towards you. But after the conduct of government to the other Native corps at the Mounr, the presidency, and other places, all doubt must cease as to their intention against us; our personal security, therefore, and the security of those under us, compel us to adopt measures of precaution which must interfere with your command, and perhaps occasion much personal uneasiness; we therefore submit to you the propriety of the honourable company's troops serving with the Hydrabad subsidiary force separating from your command.

The exigency of the times compel us to adopt general regulations and orders that you cannot possibly be allowed to interfere with or to be informed of.

As we intend to encamp close in the vicinity of the cantonment, we shall be happy to afford any assistance that may be required in furnishing any small guards which the security of the lines may require; any request therefore of



that nature, which you shall make, shall be complied with.

Whenever the present unhappy dissensions shall be terminated, we shall rejoice and place ourselves again under your command.

We are, &c. &c.

(Signed) The select Committee.

Secunderabad, 8th of August, 1809.

Major Neale, comd. 1st regt. Native cavalry.

Sir,

I yesterday received a letter from several officers, calling themselves the select committee, but without any signatures affixed to it; and as I have reason to fear that you are unfortunately a member of that committee, I must necessarily address my answer to you as the senior officer of the honourable company's service.

I seize, however, an opportunity, which may not again present itself, to say, that although I have had occasion repeatedly to address myself to you, as senior officer during these dreadful dissensions, I know your influence has been often used to turn the officers from their fatal error.

When the officers of the honourable company's service assert that they mean to adopt general regulations and orders that I am not to be allowed to interfere with, or even to be informed of, and that they intend to encamp with out my orders, it is useful to suggest the propriety of separating from my command; therefore, to avoid all misinterpretation on this point, I do hereby solemnly protest against your proceedings, and against any act of yours that has not my sanction, or the sanction of superior and lawfully constituted authority; and I protest against any movement of the troops, or taking of the public stores, but in conformity to my orders.

Any act whatever, contrary to the above protest, I can look upon in no other light than as disavowing and ceasing to recognize the authority with which I am invested by government for the command of this force.

Now that I have thus formally protested against your proceedings, I once more conjure you to reflect upon your conduct. Look into the dangers with which you are about to surround yourselves, and to the depth of guilt you are about to be plunged. Let those who have devoted great part of their lives to the service of their King and country compare their present misery with their past happiness. Let them reflect that they are on the point of disuniting themselves from their King and country, which has so nobly and generously supported them, and hitherto been their glory and boast. Let the senior officers point out to the juniors the life of misery and guilt in which, by a perseverance in their present line of conduct, they are likely to be involved. Let them clearly see the extent of wretchedness before them. If they have parents, if they have friends, tell them they are about to abandon them to grief, and lose sight forever of their mother country.

In short, let no exertion be wanting to

show them how they have been deluded by their passions, and a false point of honour.

(Signed) T. G. MONTRESOR,  
Lieutenant-colonel.

Secunderabad, 9th August, 1809.

To Captain Sydenham, resident at Hyderabad.

Sir,—When I had the honour of transmitting to you last night a copy of a letter from the committee of officers in this force, announcing their positive intention of separating themselves from my command, I could scarcely entertain the most distant hope that I should be able to succeed in my endeavours to draw the officers from the abyss of ruin in which they were about to throw themselves. I thought, therefore, that the only chance that remained was, after shewing them their danger and guilt in the strongest light, to address myself to their feelings. I now rejoice in having been in my power to say my representations have had the happiest effect; and I earnestly hope that government will still leave open the road for the officers to return from the paths of error into which they have strayed.

To quiet the minds of the officers, and to relieve them from an alarm which might produce fatal effects, I have told them that until I receive a reinforcement of troops, which I trusted their conduct would render unnecessary, they might be assured I could not make a hostile attack on them with his Majesty's 33d regiment, provided they pledged their word that no consideration should induce them in any way to use force against his Majesty's regiment. In consequence of this all mutual distrust is vanished. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. G. MONTRESOR,  
Lieutenant-colonel.

Secunderabad, 9th of August, 1809.

Fort St. George, 16th August, 1809.

Sir,—I am directed by the honourable the governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant.

Sir George Barlow has perused with great satisfaction the account of the conversation between you and lieutenant-colonel Montresor, with major Neale and major Deacon. The governor anxiously hopes that this first indication of a desire on the part of the officers of the Hyderabad force to return to a sense of their duty, will be shortly followed by that full and unqualified submission to the authority of the government, which can alone be accepted, and which you so properly recommended to them. You will point out to the officers who proposed forwarding an address to the governor general, that the address must be forwarded to the governor-general-in-council at Fort St. George, in the manner prescribed by the regulations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. BARCLAY.

Captain Sydenham.

Enclosure, No. 34.

Fort St. George, 3d August, 1809.

[To be found in the Madras Occurrences or August.]

Here follow the proclamation of the 9th, &c.



General Orders.—9th of Aug. 1869.

[*Inserted in the Madras Occurrences for the same Month.*]

Enclosure, No. 35.

Private letter, dated 6th August, from captain Sydenham, stating that colonel Close had been directed to leave Hyderabad.

Enclosure, No. 36.

Letter from colonel Wilkinson, dated 6th August, stating his confidence in the troops he is about to lead against the mal-contents; and forwarding three letters from colonel Vesey.

Sir,—Just as I was about to leave this garrison, I received the enclosed letter from the officers of the corps, which I conceive it my duty to forward for your information; from the tenor of which you will at once see how useless it is for me to remain here longer, as my authority, I conceive, will be no longer acknowledged

I have, &c.

(Signed) P. H. VESSEY,

Lieut.-colonel.

Pallamcottah, 4th Aug. 1869 5 P. M.  
To lieut.-colonel Vesey, commanding 2d battalion 6th regiment.

Sir, Timorelly.

Having, with extreme surprize and honor, learned that you have received orders to summon the Native officers of the battalion, and to convey to them propositions on the part of government, tending to withdraw them from all connection with us, we beg leave to deprecate such a measure with all our power.

We must in justice to them and to ourselves declare, that we do not think it possible that a connection which has been cemented for years could be thus instantaneously dissolved; we only deprecate the measure as one calculated to sow seeds of distrust and jealousy, the future effects of which it is here unnecessary to dwell upon.

(Signed) J. Dougal, capt. 2d bat. 6th reg.—M. Cordiner, surgeon, 6th reg.—A. H. Hatherley, lieut. 2d bat. 6th reg.—T. Kennett, lieut. 2d bat. 6th reg.—M. Maul, lieut. 2d bat. 6th reg.—D. Castrol, lieut. 2d bat. 6th reg.—John Golding, lieut. 2d bat. 6th reg.—W. R. Thompson, ensign, 2d bat. 6th reg.—N. M'Leod, ensign, 2d bat. 6th reg.—Alex. Twomey, ensign, 2d bat. 6th reg.—George Davis, lieut. 2d bat. 6th reg.

List of officers at Madura who signed the recd.

Letter, dated 11th of August, from the chief secretary of government to colonel Wilkinson, desiring that a part of the 12th King's regiment may be sent to Mysore.

Letter to the British envoy at Goa from the chief secretary of government, on the 11th of August, desiring that a regiment may be sent from Goa to Bellary.

Letter to the chief secretary to government, from colonel Wilkinson, dated 7th of

August, reporting that he will march after the issue of pay.

Here follow some communications about preparations for the movement of troops.

Communication informing colonel Wilkinson of the military arrangements proposed by the government.

7th of August.—General Croker reports, that the orders regarding the test have been carried into execution at Goory.

Letter of the 12th of August, appointing colonel Close to the command of the troops prepared for field service.

Report from col. Forbes, dated 4th August.  
Report from colonel Wilkinson, dated the 9th of August.

To the officer commanding, and to the officers of his majesty's regiments serving in India.

Gentlemen,

The time is now arrived, when on the decision you are called upon to make depends the fate of the British empire in Asia. On one side you see a loyal and patriotic army, the companions often of your toils and of your glory, exhausting every means of patient forbearance under the most goading insults and injuries; on the other hand, you are called upon by their oppressor, an arbitrary and self-erected despot, to be the instruments not only of their still further degradation, but of their total destruction; you have long seen us endeavouring by every legal means to counteract the base and tyrannical principles on which the present government is conducted, and you now see that government recurring to the extreme resort of arbitrary power, in the hopes of crushing for ever the spirit and loyalty of the army, in order to secure its own impunity. In this abominable project it can only succeed by burying with itself the whole fabric of our Indian empire.

The government has endeavoured to deceive you by false representation and false reasonings and fallacious hopes of success, while it trembles for its own existence. Facts however speak for themselves, and we trust it is not unknown to you, that all our legal endeavours to obtain a hearing before our legal superiors have been baffled, and our attempts have only subjected us to new insults; thus driven by the most relentless despotism to the verge of desperation, we have resolved to withdraw our obedience from a traitor, who wishes to involve his country in his own ruin, and we have still hopes that our efforts may be successful in averting the almost impending ruin of our nation in India.

Those officers who have unfortunately fallen victims to the most abominable plot, have afforded a salutary lesson to the rest of the army.

We have now completely ascertained the deep villainy of our oppressor, and just in time to avoid the gulph which was yawning beneath our feet.

We have the fullest confidence in the loyalty of the Native officers and soldiers, and



have it now in our power to preserve that loyalty pure from seduction.

The officers of the Bengal and Bombay armies have sympathized in our sufferings, they have adopted the cause of justice and loyalty, and promised the most active assistance.

Let us not, gentlemen, repent of the confidence we place in your generous sentiments. Let us not suffer the mortification of seeing your loyalty and discernment seduced by the false assertions, and false reasoning of this enemy of his king and his country. The soldiers of a free country are not formed to be the satellites of a despot, and we trust to such a state they will never be reduced.

Report from colonel Forbes, 5th August.

Report from colonel Wilkinson, respecting the seizing of public dispatches and signing the pledge.

Further report from col. Forbes, 8th August.

Order 16th August, placing the officers commanding in Travancore under col. Wilkinson's orders.

From colonel Forbes, 9th August, enclosing a modified pledge signed by several officers. To lieut.-col. Forbes, commanding Malabar and Canara.

Sir,—I am directed by the honourable the governor-in-council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, and to express to you his extreme concern at your having omitted to comply with repeated orders of government, communicated to you in my letter of the 26th ultimo.

I am now directed again to state to you the positive commands of the governor-in-council, that, upon the receipt of this letter, you will instantly proceed to carry into full effect the orders communicated to you on the 26th ultimo, and to obtain from the company's officers under your command, an unqualified signature to the declaration prescribed in those orders, and that in the event of their refusing to affix their signature to the said declaration, you will instantly remove them from the exercise of all military functions. I have, &c.

(Signed) A. FALCONAR,

Chief Sec. to govt.

Fort St. George, 18th August, 1809.

Report from general Croker, 1st August, forwarding a list of signatures.

Report from col. Forbes, 11th August.

Communication respecting the march of troops. To the chief secretary to government, Fort St. George.

Sir,—It is with extreme regret that I am obliged to report, for the information of the honourable the governor-in-council, that the corps of this place, viz. the 1st battalion, and 1st battalion 4th regiments, which had been under marching orders for some time past and only waited for the necessary camp-equipage and pay, have now refused to move.

The late measures of government as carried into effect at the presidency and Trichinopoly have created a most violent ferment among the corps here. At those places where the European forces were so far super-

rior in number to the native, the measure probably was executed without difficulty; but here where there are seven battalions of sepoys, and a company and a half of artillery to our one regiment, I found it totally impossible to carry the business to the same length, particularly as any tumult among our own troops, would certainly bring the people of Travancore upon us. It is in vain therefore for me, with the small force that I can depend upon, to attempt to stem the torrent here by any acts of violence.

Very much vexed, however, upon receiving the accompanying letter, signed, I believe, by every officer in this cantonment, except captain Ahmuty, quarter-master of brigade, and captain Nixon of the artillery, the first impulse that struck me, as I could not enforce the point, was immediately to march off to Trichinopoly with my own regiment, and leave them to themselves, as they would not obey my orders. But on cooler reflection, being conscious that such a step would create disturbances in the country at such a juncture I resolved to remain here till I received further orders from government.

Most sincerely and anxiously do I wish that the present tumult may subside, without fatal consequences, which, if the present violent measures are continued, I much fear will be the case. If blood is once spilt in the cause, there is no knowing where it may stop, and the probable consequences may be, that India will be lost to us for ever. So many officers of the army have gone to such lengths, that unless a general amnesty is granted, tranquillity can never be restored.

The honourable the governor-in-council will not, I trust, impute to me wrong motives for having thus given my opinion; I am actuated solely by anxiety for the public good and the benefit of my country, and I think it my duty, holding the responsible situation which I now do, to express my sentiments at so awful a period.

Were there any prospects of success, it might be right to persevere, but where every day's experience proves, that the more coercive the measures adopted are, the more violent are the consequences, a different and more conciliatory line of conduct ought to be attempted.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) P. STUART, Lieut.-col. Commanding in Travancore.

Quilon, 7th August, 1809.

To lieut.-col. the hon. P. Stuart, commanding the forces in Travancore.

Sir,—Under a full and unimpaired recollection of the purport of an address which some of us, in the name of the whole, a few days ago had the honour of transmitting through you to the government of Madras, we, the undersigned, sensibly affected at the circumstance which obliges us to intrude on your attention matters immediately connected therewith, before time could have been afforded for the determination of government being conveyed to us, as touching that question.



Things of importance, when required to be told at a juncture like the present, admit of no preamble; we therefore proceed to inform you, that authentic information having been received of the determination of government to exert every resource under every circumstance, and at all risks to stifle the voice of the army (which has been merely calling aloud for justice) under the assumed designation of quelling a dangerous insurrection and mutiny, a shadow of which we are convinced never existed, it becomes to us a bounden duty not only to deny a fact thus unwisely as well as unjustly asserted, but to exert every active measure within our power to prevent the operation of an assumption so publicly destructive in its tendency.

The orders of government, appointing certain officers of his Majesty's service to do duty with the Native corps of the honourable company's army, which were circulated at this station yesterday, and which are so diametrically opposite to the spirit of the regulations for the guidance of the army, together with the very alarming communications respecting threatened proceedings in different parts of the Madras establishment, which have from day to day been received from Travancore, combined with the late measures of government, calling upon their officers for a pledge of allegiance beyond the sacred obligations of their commissions, have all conspired to excite a degree of alarm in our minds which it is impossible for us to describe.

We feel that a new order of things is intended, and perceive in the change nothing less than a subversion by force of the constitution established by the united wisdom of the British legislature, for the government and preservation of our country's empire in the east.

The dispersion of the honourable company's troops, and, in particular instances, their aggravation under the controul of a superior European force of his Majesty's service, plainly confess the object in view. Considering that the success of this system of dividing in order to destroy, must inevitably be attended with consequences as shocking to individuals as ruinous to the state; and firmly believing that the object, if legitimate, is attainable by measures of very different complexion, we feel ourselves compelled to state to you, that we see a strict propriety in urging that the execution of the order for separating the force under your immediate command at this place should be postponed, until the determination of government be known on the address forwarded by you on the night of the 4th instant, by which time we are sanguine in the hope that affairs will bear a more favourable aspect.

We have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your very obedient servants,  
(Signed)

by 50 Officers of the honourable company's service.

Quilon, 7th August, 1809.

Enclosure, No. 87.

General Orders.—15th of August.

[*Inserted in the Madras Occurrences for this Month.*]

Reports from general Pater, dated the 4th and 5th of August.

Further report from general Pater, dated the 6th of August, stating that the troops were preparing to march, notwithstanding his orders to the contrary.

To lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary, &c. &c.

Sir,—In addition to what my letter of this day will communicate to you, likewise of the information of the honourable the Governor in council, I beg now to state, that the Madras Tappal, which ought to have come in last evening, I have reason to believe was this morning seized by some persons, probably at the instigation of the garrison, and the whole of its contents has, in that case, fallen into their hands. As all the Tappals in future may share the same fate, which would be attended with important inconvenience to the service, I lose no time in making you acquainted with this occurrence.

I beg likewise to transmit to you a letter which I have this moment received from an officer belonging to the 1st battalion 24th regiment, which will account for lieutenant-colonel Fletcher's silence to me.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) J. PATER,

Major-gen. commanding the

Northern division of the army.

Masulipatam, 6th August, 1809.

To the officer commanding the northern division of the army.

Sir,—I have the honour to report, for your information, that, in consequence of the Native adjutant of the battalion having told the European adjutant, that it was colonel Fletcher's intention, if the officers of the battalion would not agree with him in what he had to acquaint them with, to seize all the officers (enigmas excepted) and send them to Masulipatam; I have conceived it necessary, at the request of the officers, to place him under restraint, for fear of any unpleasant circumstance taking place.

(Signed) J. SADLER,

Ellore, Capt. 1st bat. 24th regt.

5th August, 1809.

Further report from general Pater, dated 8th of August.

Report from the collector respecting treasure.

Masulipatam, 7th August, 1809.

My Lord,

The accompanying letter having been submitted to major-general Pater for transmission to your lordship, and the general declining to do so, we, at the solicitation of our brother officers, most humbly and respectfully



transmit herewith the accompanying letter, and with due respect subscribe ourselves,

My Lord,  
your lordship's most obedient,  
and faithful servants,  
(Signed) J. STONEY, major.  
A. ANDREWS, captain.

To the Rt. hon. lord Minto, gov.-gen.  
&c. &c.

My Lord,

We, the officers of the garrison of Masulipatam, alluded to in your order of the 20th ult. take the earliest opportunity of professing solemnly to your lordship our unlimited loyalty to our king, our attachment to our country, and our reverence for its laws, and our perfect content and happiness under the government of the honourable company, as heretofore administered; but at the same time to inform your lordship that the violent, oppressive, and treacherous conduct of the government of fort St. George, towards our brother officers at and in the neighbourhood of Madras, has driven us with the utmost pain and reluctance to adopt measures for our own security against the further efforts of such conduct towards ourselves.

We are convinced that the attempt to seduce the attachment of the Native troops from their European officers, is pregnant with the utmost danger to the territorial possessions of our country upon the Peninsula, and that success in that attempt would ultimately lead to the destruction of every European of whatever country residing within them.

We conceive that the adoption of such a measure to reduce us to submission, at a time when we professed our willingness and readiness to return to it, upon the government condescending to us the redress absolutely required to retrieve the character of the army from the state of degradation into which it had been plunged, by the order of the 1st of May, was a species of treason against the security and interests of the British nation in India, and an act of the greatest treachery towards the officers of the army. It has destroyed all confidence betwixt us and a government that could resort to such measures; and we conceive ourselves warranted by them to adopt on our part such measures of precaution as are become necessary, to elude against the further efforts of such a line of conduct; and this is the only object we have in view, we solemnly declare to your lordship.

Instead of resorting to the measures adopted upon the 20th ult. had the government of Madras published to the army the consoling and conciliatory language contained in your lordship's orders of the 20th ultimo; we have every reason to believe that the coast army would have been at this hour in a state of order and tranquillity, instead of a state of anarchy bordering on destruction.

Even at this hour, when our minds are agitated by a tempest of vindictive passions, occasioned by the late treatment of our brother

officers at Madras; we again profess our readiness to return to order and regularity, as soon as the sentiments contained in your lordship's order of the 20th ult. are adopted by the government at Madras, and a pledge is given in public orders of a resolution to act up to the spirit of them. Your lordship will then find us instantly ready to meet every wish, as stated to be the object of your journey to Madras.

(Signed) J. STONEY, Major.  
A. ANDREW, Captain.

For and on behalf of the officers of the Masulipatam garrison.

To major-general F. Gowdie, commanding the army in chief.

Sir,

The precarious state of the connexion between the government and the coast army, loudly calling upon every loyal Briton to step forward with promptitude, and to leave nothing unattempted which might promise to be in any way conducive to the restoration of that confidence and good order, so essentially necessary to the preservation of the state; certain officers at this station (having obtained permission from the officer commanding in Travancore) met together a few days ago, and drew up a respectful address to the honourable Sir George Barlow, Bart. and K. B. &c. &c. which having been submitted to the honourable lieutenant colonel Stuart, was by him forwarded to government direct; the shortest channel claiming the preference, as the exigency of the times admitted of no delay.

We have now the honour of enclosing a copy of that address, which we sincerely hope may be found to merit your approbation and support.

The information which we have since obtained, from the most respectable authority, of the means resorted to by the officer commanding the Southern division of the army to arrest such of our officers as did not sign a certain declaration tendered to them for that purpose, and of their treatment afterwards, has imposed on us an indispensable obligation of seizing the earliest opportunity to convey to you our firm and most solemn protest against the conduct of that officer, as tending not only to sully the honourable character of the profession of arms, but to bring reproach and discredit on the government, and disgrace upon the hitherto untarnished name of the country at large.

We believe that this transaction is without a parallel in the modern history of civilized nations, even in their most inveterate contests of intestine war; and, however much the reputation of that army, which has now the honour of serving under you, may have been traduced, or its character misinterpreted, surely no part of its conduct can be brought in justification, or even in excuse for such a detestable proceeding.

It is true, Sir, this army, of which you



are at the head, has been broadly stigmatized with the foul charges of rascality and sedition, and that part of it, with which we serve, held up to the public as prominently guilty; supported, however, by conscious innocence, we have borne in silence the unmerited accusation, resting confident the time would arrive when government undeceived, would come forward with a dignified acknowledgment, that we were not the men we had been designated to be.

We looked up to you, sir, as being from long experience sensible of the ardent loyalty of this insulted army, best able to speak in its defence, and to assure the government it was impossible that the men, amidst whom you had spent so large a portion of your life, in an indefatigable discharge of every duty under all hardships, and in every season of difficulty and danger, could ever be guilty of such infamous crimes. But we have listened in vain for the voice of the friend and defenders, and have discovered no trace of the protecting shield of the legitimate guardian of our rights and of our fame. Suffer us not, Sir, we most earnestly beseech you, to be driven to despair; interpose at this awful crisis between government and the army. It is not yet too late, a general amnesty for all that had passed, a disavowal of colonel Wilkinson's conduct at Trichynopoly, and an assurance of future enquiry into alleged grievances, would, we are convinced, instantly produce the most salutary effects.

(Signed) by numerous names.

Quilon, 25th August, 1809.

Dear Barclay,

It is natural that I should be concerned at the governor in council's distrust of me; that was too apparent before the late explosion, but the continuance of which since has exceedingly distressed and affected me. It was long ago reported that government had deliberated in suspending me, for having signed an address to Major Boles; when any discourse passed respecting it, my reply was, that I relied too much on the justice of a British government, to suppose it capable of adopting such a measure towards me, without affording me an opportunity of explaining. Had any such an opportunity been at any time afforded me, I was prepared to state, that I disavowed and disclaimed the address to major Boles, which had been censured by government, and that the address for which I am responsible, still remains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, in the escutcheon of lieutenant-colonel Cuppage. I am free to confess, that I regarded the case of major Boles as one entitled to a consideration, not at all as affecting major Boles personally, but in its eventual application to every soldier. I saw a danger in inviting discussion in an army, on so delicate a question as the limit to obedience; and I certainly thought that government should lose no por-

tion of its dignity or its authority, by setting at rest a question which no human means could prevent the agitation of, while Boles and Capper remained suspended; farther than this, I never went. When I read the general orders of the 1st of May, and heard it whispered, that the suspension of myself was also impending, I wrote to colonel Cuppage for a copy of the address, the only address that I saw; I now transmit it to you as I received it from Colonel Cuppage. The paper censured by government appeared to me open to censure, and I not only in conjunction with colonel Cuppage disavowed it and disapproved of it, but I strongly urged its suppression; its suppression was in consequence promised, and measures for the purpose taken, but unfortunately one day too late. Here you have the history of that paper, in so far as I am concerned; respecting that now transmitted it will appear strong, but it is nevertheless true, that when I authorized Cuppage to affix my signature, I had not read the paper. My signature having, however, been affixed to it, I must be considered as responsible, but then the paper itself still remains, and will perhaps ever remain, a dead letter.

I should hope that this explanation will be regarded as not unsatisfactory. The explanation is now due to my own character, and it will, I trust, remove from the mind, of Sir G. Barlow, all suspicion of my being on any ground lukewarm in the cause of government.

I remain, &c. &c.

(Signed) C. MACAULAY.  
Lieut. Col. Barclay.

Major Boles, &c. &c.

Sir,

We, the undersigned officers of the Madras army cannot refrain from expressing our deep regret at the severe punishment inflicted on you, for an act, which, in a military point of view, appears to us to have been only necessary in obedience to constituted authority.

Without presuming to investigate matters of government in its conduct towards you, or to question for a moment the policy of a measure which we do not profess to understand, we cannot but consider your case as peculiarly involving the dearest interests of the army. We therefore feel ourselves called upon to declare our warm approbation of that conduct, by which you appear to us to have nobly supported the respectability of the situation in which you were placed.

In conveying to you, Sir, our sense of the public spirit which actuated you on late trying occasions, we cannot overlook the great personal incumbrance to which it has exposed you, and we feel proud in sharing with our brother officers the honour of paying monthly to your order, a sum equivalent to the allowances of which you have been



deprived by your suspension from the service and from office.

We have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed)

Camp Paroor,  
23d March, 1809.

Seringapatam, 24th May, 1809.

Dear Ma. aulay,

I received your's this morning. I send you the copy you desire, the original paper is still in my possession and was not intended to be given Boles till I reached head-quarters. It may be proper for me to notice to you, that I have heard that your name appeared in copies of the address to Boles, which came to Mysore.

I have quoted to general Gowdie the 2d paragraph of the address, and said, that it appeared to me a paper thus addressed, was most honourable. I have not allowed any copy of this paper. I think you are entitled to it, as I subscribed your name by your desire.

Your's with esteem,

(Signed) J. CUPPAGE.

To the right honourable lord Minto, governor-general-in-council, &c. Fort St. George.

My lord,—I do myself the honour to lay before your lordship, a copy of a letter which I have just received from lieutenant-colonel Montresor, together with an address to your lordship, from the officers in the honourable company's service at Secunderabad; and the several papers of declarations which have been subscribed by those officers.

I have dispatched copies of the address and declaration to lieutenant colonel Doveton, in the hopes that they may be signed by all the company's officers serving with the detachments in Berar.

I trust I shall be pardoned, if I venture to express an earnest hope, that your lordship may be induced to extend your clemency and favor to the officers of the Hyderabad subsidiary force. It is impossible to offer any excuses for their late proceedings, but it would be injustice to them, not to declare, that they appear fully sensible of their error; and, I trust, that they will hereafter be anxious to merit your lordship's confidence and good opinion by the propriety of their conduct.

I have the honour to be,  
with greatest respect,

My lord,  
your lordship's most obedient.

humble servant,

(Signed) THOMAS SYDENHAM,

resident.

Hydrabad, August 11th, 1809.

To the right honourable lord Minto, governor-general, &c &c. &c.

My lord,—We the undersigned officers of the honourable company's army, attached

to the Hyderabad subsidiary force are fully impressed with a sense of the dangers that threaten the country; and not less actuated by those firm sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, from which we have never departed, beg leave to assure your lordship, that we chiefly attribute the want of success that attended colonel Close's mission, to the sudden and unexpected manner in which he presented the test that was proposed for our signatures. Relying, however, as we are now disposed to do, upon the justice, clemency, and wisdom of your lordship, we do not hesitate in avowing our determination to abide by your lordship's decision; and, as a proof of the sincerity of our principles, have subscribed to the test which now accompanies this address; at the same time, trusting to your lordship's generosity, in granting a general amnesty to us, and all those who have engaged in the late unhappy events.

We have the honour to be,

with the greatest respect,

My lord, your lordship's

Faithful, humble servants,

Signatures of 59 officers.

We the undersigned officers of the honourable company's service, do, in the most solemn manner, declare, upon our word of honour as British officers, that we will obey the orders, and support the authority, of the honourable the governor in council of fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which we hold from that government.

Signatures of seven officers.

Here follow other declarations to the same effect.

From colonel Montresor to colonel Barclay, dated 12th August, reporting the circumstances communicated on the 11th to lord Minto.

Reports of the 12th from captain Sydenham.

(Copy.)

To the right honourable lord Minto, governor-general, &c. &c.

My Lord,

The knowledge of your lordship's intention to proceed to Fort St. George, appears to have diffused general confidence among all ranks of officers at this station. Your lordship will learn the several events which have taken place in the cantonments at Secunderabad, from the official reports which were made by colonel Close to major-general Gowdie, and Sir George Barlow.

Intelligence has reached the minister, that the British detachment at Jaulna had moved towards Hydrabad, but the latest accounts which I had received from lieutenant-colonel Doveton, and which are dated on the 6th of August, do not allude to any movement of the troops from Jaulna; I therefore conclude that the intelligence which has been received in the city is premature.



The troops at this station continue to conduct themselves with their usual regularity and decorum; the jealousy between his majesty's regiment and the company's troops appears to be in some degree abated, and, I trust, it will be in the power of lieutenant-colonel Montresor to prevent any farther commotion in the cantonments, till some measures can be taken by the government to put an end to the present evils.

The most complete information of the difference between the officers and the government, is possessed by all descriptions of people in the city. It is generally believed, that the whole of the subsidiary force will shortly march towards the Carnatic; but there are various conjectures relative to the precise object of so extraordinary a movement. His highness the nizam was considerably alarmed, when these rumours first reached him; but when he received an assurance from me, that there was no just cause of apprehension, and that in any events I should remain near his highness's person, he recovered his confidence, and scarcely mentioned the subject.

I have made communication to colonel Close, relative to the march of the Poonah subsidiary force across the Godavery, in the event of the Berar detachment moving from Jaulna towards Hydrabad; as soon as I hear from colonel Close upon the subject, I shall lose no time in submitting to your lordship's notice, a plan for the protection of the frontier of the nizam, during the present alarming situation of affairs.

With regard to the officers belonging to the Hydrabad subsidiary force; I am well convinced that a general pardon for past offences coming from your lordship's authority, will induce the majority of the officers to return immediately to their duty, and their obedience to the government. I imagine, that they are willing to abstain from any farther mention of the grievances under which they suppose themselves labouring; they seem to wish to leave them to the decision of the honourable the court of directors, and all that they expect from your lordship's clemency and indulgence, is, security for themselves and their brother officers.

I have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect,  
My Lord,  
your lordship's most obedient,  
and faithful humble servant,  
(Signed) THOMAS SYDENHAM,  
Resident.

Hydrabad, 11th August, 1809.

(A true copy.)  
(Signed) THOMAS SYDENHAM,  
Resident.

Further communications from captain Sydenham on the 11th and 12th of August.

From colonel Close, dated 7th of August, acknowledging the receipt of letters, and

stating that he will proceed on his rout to Poonah.

From the same, dated 12th of August.

Further communications from colonel Close.

Captain Sydenham reports, that an express letter had been taken from the public mail.

Re-appointment of colonel Close to the subsidiary force at Hydrabad.

Captain Sydenham, on the 14th of August, forwards a letter from colonel Doveton.

To captain Thomas Sydenham, resident at Hydrabad.

Sir,

I have the honour to report, for your information, that another pre-emptory call for the detachment to move, has been received from the committee at Secunderabad.

On receiving this information, I lost no time in assembling commanding officers of corps and others at my quarters, and of expressing to them my determination not to permit any part of the troops under my command to move on such a call. I have reason to suppose, that they have, in consequence, again given up the idea; at the same time, it is necessary I should state to you explicitly, that if these demands are repeated, and the regular dawkes do not arrive (a circumstance which has excited a fresh alarm in their minds of the hostile intentions of government) I despair of being again able to prevent it.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. DOVETON,  
Lieut.-col. commanding  
detachment in Berar.

Jaulna, 9th Aug. 1809.

P. S.—I want words to express to you the firmness which now exists in the minds of the officers here.

(Signed) J. DOVETON,  
Lieut.-colonel.

(A true copy.)  
(Signed) THOMAS SYDENHAM,  
Resident.

Letter from captain Sydenham to lieutenant-colonel Doveton, commanding the detachment in Berar, expressing his satisfaction at colonel Doveton's success in preventing the march of the Jaulna force.

Reports of the 15th and 16th from captain Sydenham.

From Mr. Cole, dated 18th of August.

Letters from colonel Close, dated 13th and 14th of August, mentioning the accounts he has received.

Letters from colonel Montresor and captain Sydenham, mentioning that the Jaulna force had resolved to march, and forwarding a letter from Mr. Jenkins at Nagpore.

26th of August.—Letter directing colonel Close to assume command of the troops at Hydrabad, or of the force assembling in the ceded districts, as may appear most expedient to himself.



Enclosure, No. 48.

Masulipatam,  
15th August, 1809.

Sir,—We have the honour to acquaint you, at the request of the officers of the garrison, that it is their earnest desire, to swear in good order and tranquillity, the arrival on the coast of the most honourable the governor-general lord Minto.

Relying on the purity of our intentions, and our unimpaired loyalty to our King and country, we look forward with confidence to his presence to restore order, and to remove the unhappy agitation pervading the minds of the officers of the coast army.

We do intreat that we may not be driven to the extremity of resorting to measures of self-defence.

Anarchy and bloodshed, and the ruinous effects which may result therefrom to the interests of our honourable employers, are viewed by us with those sentiments which should ever animate the officers of any army.

We request you will have the goodness to communicate to the government our determination, to perform the duties required of us as good and loyal soldiers, in the full expectation of receiving every redress from the wisdom of the supreme power.

(Signed) J. STOREY,  
Major.  
AUG. ANDREWS,  
Captain.

To major-general Pater, commanding  
the northern division of the army.

To the adjutant-general of the army.

Sir,—By my letter of yesterday, the commander-in-chief will perceive, that the express under date the 9th instant, was delivered to me only on the 14th, and will account for any apparent delay in the execution of his orders; on the receipt of which having no other means of making the requisite communication to the Native commissioned, and European and Native non-commissioned and privates of the corps in garrison at Masulipatam, I determined immediately to order the whole of the troops on parade. In a short time after the dispatch of that order, I had a visit from major Haslewood, by whom I was informed, that two officers, deputed by the garrison, were upon the road to my garden, for the express purpose of declaring the intention of the garrison to pay implicit obedience to all my orders. Scarcely an hour had passed, when major Storey and captain Andrews were at my house, and personally communicated to me their disposition to submit entirely to my authority, and that they were ready to use their influence with their brother officers to bring them all to my opinion, assuring me as a reason, that they were moved to this change of conduct from a consideration of saving an effusion of blood, and preventing the alarms and calamities that might eventually reach and weaken the present

efforts in the arduous contest of their country. After repeating and recapitulating sentiments to this effect, they expressed a desire, that I should delay my proceeding to the fort, until I received some further intimation from them; this, however, I was determined, should in no way influence or retard the measures that I had proposed to put in execution; in which determination I was more especially guided, by private information, that a considerable body of the officers and the troops were not inclined to submit unconditionally to the authority of government; therefore, without waiting for further notice from major Storey, or captain Andrews, I repaired to the fort before the hour appointed, conceiving my presence might bring their deliberations to some beneficial result; on approaching the fort I was met by major Haslewood, whose report unhappily confirmed the intelligence that I had privately received, and who intimated his apprehension, that the troops could not be in readiness for the parade at the time I had appointed. I told him the orders had been given, and could not be revoked; at all events, I was determined that I would be personally satisfied of the real state of the garrison. Having entered the fort, I expressed my desire to the officers commanding the corps, that they might be assembled on parade with the least possible delay, and a little after five I found the Madras European regiment under arms; on presenting myself before the colours of the corps, I was received with the usual ceremonies of respect, the band playing "God save the King;" the music having ceased, I addressed the corps expressing the deep concern I felt on the late unhappy events, and my earnest hopes and expectations, that one and all would return to a proper sense of their duty, and their obedience to all the orders of government, by whose command I had been directed to assemble them on parade, and that I should read a paper, under that authority, which I had been ordered to communicate to them.

I then delivered the paper to be read, to major Cosby, who at my desire had accompanied me to the fort, which though he began to read sufficiently loud to be heard, and was rather in advance of me, and I was standing far within the point from which such communications are usually made, the senior officer, captain Andrews, advancing a few paces, made a request that major Cosby would approach still nearer to the corps, that he might be distinctly heard by all the men. I think it proper to notice these circumstances, as it appeared in conviction of the perfect reliance of the officers on the men, and I lament to say, that the result manifested too plainly, that their confidence was not unfounded: when the paper had been read, I again addressed the corps, desiring those who were willing to return to their duty and obedience to government, would recover their arms and fall out in front; but I am grieved to state, that not a man moved, or indicated any wil-



lingness to advance. I remained in my position for four or five minutes; immediately after, in one voice, extending through the whole line, they exclaimed, "our officers! our officers! our officers!" All again was silent; but on turning to proceed to the right flank, I heard a shout, which commenced in the left wing, of "grievances grievances;" and upon stepping up to the company that appeared most clamorous, and desiring to know what grievances they had to state, they exclaimed, "our officers have been unjustly used—a lieutenant's period of service—Bengal allowances." These sentences were running through the line, and to preserve order the officers in charge moved forward, and reported, the same sentiments prevailed in their respective companies. I signified that I should report what had occurred and finding that further efforts to bring this corps to a sense of its duty could be of no avail, I directed the senior officer to move it off to the barracks, when the same ceremonies were observed as on my first appearance on parade, and after the salute the senior officer moved out a few paces to the front, and said, "general Pater, I hope you do not doubt or harbour any suspicion of the loyalty of this corps. I do declare to you, sir, upon my sacred honour, in front of these colours, that there is not an officer, or a man, who would not freely shed the last drop of his blood in defence of his king and country; but we have suffered certain grievances, which we require to be redressed, and which have occasioned the present agitation throughout the army."

This, under some variety of expression, but all tending to the same purpose, was repeated by captain Andrews, at the moment of my leaving his parade. After the corps had been wheeled into companies, they gave three cheers, and again exclaimed, "our officers! our officers! the last drop of blood for our officers!"

I next proceeded to the battalion, which was then marching up to the parade in columns of companies, and being wheeled into line, the same ceremonies were observed as upon my appearance before the Madras European regiment. I then began by exhorting the Native commissioned, non-commissioned, and privates, to return to a due observance of all orders from government, in nearly the same expressions I had uttered to the other corps, and after preparing them for the purpose, by giving the word "attention," I read the resolutions of government to the battalion to them, which being done, I desired those who wished to take the benefit offered by those resolutions to recover their arms, and step forward; but here again I had to feel the same mortification which I had experienced on the parade of the Madras European regiment; and I am sorry to report, that there was not an individual who moved, or seemed inclined to move to the front. Having thus failed in my attempts to prevail upon this corps also to return to their duty, I directed them to

march to the barracks, when the compliment of respect was observed as usual, but when wheeled into open column, and put on their march, the corps gave three shouts of "desire! disorder!" The Europeans, on hearing this, gave them a salutation of huzzas, which was returned by the Natives with the same shouts of din.

Having done all in my power to give effect to the expectations of government, in the fort of Masulipatam, I repaired without loss of time to the parade of the artillery company at the cantonments, and though the artillery could have had no communication of my unsuccessful efforts in the garrison, and though I strenuously urged them to take the advantage that it affords of the clemency of government, yet now again I found any representation, and the resolutions of government, were totally unregarded—not a man stepped forward. I then asked them, if they had any complaint to make, but the whole of them remained in sullen silence, and marched off apparently with a determined resolution of supporting the troops in garrison.

I have been thus minute in noting the occasion of this eventful day, that the commander-in-chief may form an accurate judgment of the several particulars, as they relate to the whole, and direct such further measures as he may deem proper on this occasion to be carried into execution.

(Signed) J. PATER,  
Major-general,  
Commanding the northern division  
of the army.

A. Falconar, Esq. chief secretary to government.

Masulipatam, 16th August, 18-9.

Sir,—I was honoured with your letter by express of the 10th instant at 5 P. M. of yesterday, to which I shall have pleasure of answering in detail to-morrow or next day, but the enclosed, which I have this moment, 11 A. M. received, supercedes for the present every other consideration; and I beg to congratulate the honourable the governor on the happy event, which, I understand, is to take place this afternoon—the unconditional surrender of the fortress of Masulipatam to the orders of government, on the signatures of the officers to the required pledge of obedience to the government.

The directions which accompanied the pledge, communicated the particular wish and desire of the governor, to exclude from the benefit of the declaration a certain description of the officers, who appeared to have been peculiarly instrumental in exciting the late unhappy commotions. But as I apprehend that the honourable the governor had no idea of the concurrences which are communicated in this dispatch, when he gave the above instructions, and as I have reason to think that any exceptions of this nature might drive several individuals to a state of desperation, and would certainly occasion a consi-



derable ferment in the garrison, which at this season is particularly to be avoided; I mean to take a discretionary power on myself, by extending the proffer of the declaration to every individual; and I earnestly hope that the honourable the governor will coincide in opinion with me on this subject, particularly as the number of officers excepted under the operation of his directions, and who must necessarily be suspended from their military functions, would leave an insufficient number to execute the duties, and maintain the tranquillity of the garrison.

The motives which induced the division staff to decline affixing their signatures to the declaration of obedience, namely the dread of being obliged to fight against their brother officers, being now done away, these officers have now come forward to sign the pledge, and I have, for reasons which I shall hereafter have the honour of assigning, appointed them to act in their late staff situations, until the pleasure of the honourable the governor shall be known.

A fracas in the lines of the artillery company, which took place last night, in consequence of the disorderly conduct of some Europeans and gun Lascars, occasioned a considerable agitation for some time. The march of a strong detachment from the fort restored every thing to order, although two men were wounded by several of the drunken Europeans firing off their pieces at random; but the remainder of the company are reported to have been perfectly steady, and have drawn up all their guns, as they said, for the purpose of defending themselves from the Sepoys, who, they had understood, were marching in force, without their officers, to attack them.

Every thing is quiet and tranquil to-day, and I hope in the course of a few days to have the satisfaction of reporting, that the northern district is once more in a state of complete order and subordination.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. PATER,

Major-general,

Commanding the northern division of the army.

P. S.—I have now the happiness to inform you, that the garrison has been delivered up to me, and that I hold it for the government.

(Signed) J. PATER,

Major-general.

P. S.—The garrison has been surrendered, and the officers have pledged themselves to obey my orders; circumstances, however, have occurred which the lateness of the evening, and my anxiety to inform you of this event, by the immediate dispatch of this letter, induce me to defer giving an account of till to-morrow morning. The garrison, however, is in the most perfect state of tranquillity and subordination.

(Signed) J. PATER,

Major-general.

Seven P. M.

<sup>6</sup>To major-general Pater, commanding northern division of the army.

Sir,—I have the honour to request your attendance in the fort as soon as convenient; and as I have been given to understand, that there is a pledge or test of our loyalty intended to be offered for signature, beg you will bring it with you, as there never could have existed a doubt or hesitation in the minds of the officers of this garrison to subscribe thereto.

(Signed) J. STOREY,

Major, commanding Bunder.

Masulipatam, 16th Aug. 1809.

The chief secretary to government.

Sir,—The circumstances which I hinted at in my postscript of last night, I had intended to write to you more fully on to-day, but at present I have only time to say, that I was placed in so critical a situation when I went to take charge of the garrison, that I have no hesitation in saying, that a general massacre would have been the consequence of my refusal to pardon officers and men without distinction.

The events of to-day have confirmed me in this opinion, for a note from captain Andrews this morning obliged me to send into the fort lieutenant Scott and Wilson, to attempt to pacify the men, who were divided among themselves.

Several hours were spent by the officers, and those of the regiment, in attempting to reconcile matters, but in vain; some of the men said they would go to Madras, to state their grievances, others that they would remain, and each party disputed about what should be done with the colours.

In short, lieutenant Scott informed me, in communication with the other officers, that there was no remedy for the danger which threatened all, but to issue an order in my name, for the regiment to march immediately upwards Madras, with its colours and officers. This pleased them, and they immediately marched, swearing that they would stick to their officers, if their officers would stick to them; for the sudden change in the sentiments of their officers had instilled a suspicion into their minds, that they had *deserted their cause*, and it was only by the most solemn assurances that this was erased from their minds.

I beg most earnestly to call the attention of government to this circumstance, that, although I was certainly in a manner compelled to extend the pardon to the European officers, still my word was passed to that effect for the government, and that, although the men are now again meeting, the officers have pledged themselves to government, and dire necessity alone compels them to proceed to Madras.

You will from this observe, that these gentlemen would be placed in the most disagreeable situation, if a force were at present sent against the regiment, as the men are only



obedient to them in the idea that matters still stand in the same state as they did previous to the surrender of the garrison; and I must take the liberty of recommending, in the most earnest manner, that conciliatory measures may be resorted to. I grieve to say, that the 19th Native infantry have either followed, or are about to follow the Europeans. The artillery, under captain Moorhouse, are, at present, perfectly steady, but I have not yet taken possession of the fort, except merely giving some orders regarding the arsenal, nor shall I, until the troops are at some distance, for the minds of the men are in such a state of disorder, that the idea of this being a stratagem to get the fort out of their hands, if it once entered their heads, would most certainly lead to consequences of the most distressing nature.

Four P. M. 17th August.

The confusion incidental to this eventful period will be, I trust, a sufficient apology for the unconnected style of this dispatch.

I have now to inform you, that the Europeans, after having considered in their tents the dreadful effects of their determination to abandon the fortress to its fate, resolved to return; they have returned, with their officers, and the garrison is orderly and quiet, the Sepoys having returned with the Europeans; about 50 men remain with the officers they asked for, to command them in camp, determined, as they now say, to proceed; and I have given them full liberty to leave their colours, if they please. I confidently expect their return this evening, but, as the regiment is not pleased with the succession, I shall not allow them to join until the agitation of mind under which they at present labour, may have in some degree subsided. The officers have done as much as men could do, for the general interest of the country, since this division took place. I need not point out to the honourable the governor, the various unhappy consequences which must have resulted to the country, had the measure of this morning been carried into effect. They are too obvious to require illustration. I have now the most sanguine hopes that real tranquillity is restored.

(Signed) J. PATER,

Major-general,  
Commanding the northern division of the army.

To A. Falconer, Esq. chief secretary to government.

Head-quarters, northern division of the army.

Sir,—In pursuance of the information contained in the dispatch which I had the honour of forwarding by express last night to your address, I shall now state the circumstances as they occurred, which induced, or rather compelled me, to exceed the powers vested in my person by the honourable the governor in council.

I have already acquainted you with my determination to proceed, on the 16th instant, to the forts, for the purpose of tendering the declaration to the officers of the garrison, and a former express contained the letter which induced me, under all circumstances, to resolve upon extending the benefit of the pledge to every individual. Having ordered a parade of the garrison, I proceeded thither in the afternoon (having previously sent orders to captain Moorhouse to return and take charge of the artillery) attending with the division and present staff officers; finding that the men were not ready, I repaired to the quarters of an officer, which overlooks the general parade, and there I was shortly afterwards waited on by major Storey and captain Andrews with a letter, wherein I was invited to assume the command of the garrison, the officers pledging their honour that they would obey all my commands, and submit themselves entirely to my authority. In expressing my satisfaction to major Storey and captain Andrews, I informed these officers that I should, immediately after this period, require their signatures to the declaration of obedience, which was willingly assented to.

Meantime, the men came to the parade, and drew up regularly under their officers in open column of companies; a few minutes afterwards, I observed from the verandah of the house in which I was posted, a degree of agitation prevailing in the European ranks, and the officers speaking to their companies, while the adjutant came to request that I would not make my appearance on the parade until the officers should appease the men, who were very much incensed at the idea of the pledge, which the majority declared was a stratagem to take the officers from them; and many declared that the officers were deserting their cause, and leaving them to their fate; some of these who had formed this latter opinion declared that they would shoot or bayonet the first man who signed the paper, and you must be well aware, that the firing of a single musket at this critical moment, would have been followed by the most dreadful scene of murder and confusion: the greater number of the men, on the other hand, swore, that they were now on parade, that they had ammunition in their cartouch boxes, and that they were determined to have forgiveness of government extended to their officers immediately. I had various messages from the parade, borne by officers in great agitation, and who declared upon their honour, that in the present state of the men's minds, they could not answer three minutes longer for the conduct of the regiment. On this I directed the parade to be dismissed, informing the officers, for the purpose of soothing the minds of the men, that I had no authority to pardon the officers, but that I would recommend the measure to the generous consideration of the government.



Things, however, had by this time come to such a pitch, that there was no alternative left; the men, perfectly sober, were in tears, striking the ground with their muskets, and declaring, that if I did not do as they wished, they would immediately enforce. In short after having stood out to the last moment, and having consulted with the staff officers, who surrounded me, on the expediency of pledging my word for the pardon of the officers, to prevent an immediate effusion of blood (and which would not of course have been confined to the garrison, but would have deluged the parish and adjacent districts) I determined to accede to their proposal, and I was, directly after the signifying this intention, informed that they would receive me as a friend. The line was then formed, as also of the native battalions, and after the general salute I stated to the regiment, that I was happy in having it in my power once more to offer the pardon of government to the non-commissioned officers and privates, and that I would even extend it to all the European officers who would sign the pledge. A profound and melancholy silence succeeded; I then went to the right of the line, and spoke to every company; the whole were perfectly steady and respectful, but very few of them spoke to me, and I observed that many had been in tears, and all appeared in considerable agitation of mind.

Having gone through the same ceremony with the Sepoys, I directed the parade to be dismissed, and the officers to attend me, for the purpose of signing the declaration.

The Europeans repaired to their barracks in sullen silence; they had been alarmed by the sudden change in the sentiments of their officers, and did not seem to know what they were about, or what was to be the consequence of it. On my reading the declaration on parade to the officers, several of them begged of me, in the most earnest manner, that I would delay the signatures until they could soften the men, who were still in a ferment, declaring on their honour that they would do so as soon as it could be done without endangering the public tranquillity.

To this proposition I made no objection, but left the pledge in their hands, for the purpose of reading and explaining its nature to the men in their barracks: I then quitted the fortress, after issuing some trifling orders to shew them that it was actually under my command.

Next morning, yesterday, the note (No. 2.) which I have the honour to enclose herewith was received by lieutenant Scott about 8 o'clock. My dispatch of yesterday has informed you of my sending in that officer with lieutenant Wilson to the fort, with discretionary powers, to act as circumstances might require. Lieutenant Wilson returned about half past 10, to inform me that lieutenant Scott had found the state of affairs to be so critical, that he had been obliged to order the immediate march of the regiment, with their colours and officers, towards Madras. This officer came himself

from the fort about 12 o'clock, after having seen the regiment march out of it, and gave me the following account.

On his arrival within the garrison he immediately proceeded to the European barracks, where he found a number in the new extremity, disobedient and clamorous, and their officers in vain endeavouring to reduce them to order. On asking captain Andrews how many wished to proceed to Madras, adding that they had my full permission to do so, provided they marched in an orderly way under their officers, about 100 or 120 of the younger men turned out from the different companies.

This occasioned a discussion between the two parties, and the seceders gradually reinforced, until, lieutenant Scott thinks, the regiment was nearly equally divided. The disturbance gradually increased, and the complaints of many individuals were preferred, in the most improper and insubordinate terms. Those men who wished to remain were perfectly obedient to their officers, but declared, that they would not part with their colours; the opposite party swore that they would not march without their colours; and the natural consequence of such an altercation, at such a time, requires no observation.

Communicating with the other officers lieutenant Scott at last resolved upon issuing an order for the whole regiment to march, and he states, that the good effect of this measure was instantaneous. The whole regiment fell in by companies, with their arms and knapsacks; heard the order with satisfaction, and, swearing that they would obey their officers and follow their colours in all circumstances, marched out of the garrison about eleven o'clock, in good order and high spirits, the music playing "The British Grenadiers."

Lieutenant Scott then repaired to the different gates, giving directions to the senior Native commissioned officers to take charge (for every European had left his guard) and subsequently proceeded to the Sepoys' barracks, where he ordered out a company to attend the regiment on its march, a party to take charge of the European barracks, and Native officers to some of the gate guards. Directly after leaving the Sepoys, he met several of their European officers, to the senior of whom, captain Harrington, he delivered over, in my name, the command of the fortress, until he should receive further orders on the subject from head-quarters, directing him, however, if he met an officer senior to himself in the fort, to deliver it, and instructions, to that officer, whoever he might be. Lieutenant Scott then left the garrison, and returned to my house.

The next thing to be considered was the situation of the artillery company. The men belonging to it were staunch to government and their officers, and were determined not to move; their situation, therefore, in respect to the regiment which had encamped within a mile of the artillery lines, and immediately



behind my house, became extremely perilous, and I had in contemplation to order them to proceed with the others towards the presidency, as I was unwilling to make an appearance of any precautionary measure, by ordering the company into the fort while the regiment was so near. While we were deliberating on this Dr. Annely came out full speed, to say that the Native battalion was following the Europeans without their officers to camp; I found that several of the most disorderly Europeans had entered the Native barracks previously to the march of the regiment, and had threatened, that if they did not come with them they would return at night, murder their wives and families, and oblige themselves to march. Circumstanced as I was, I found it prudent to sanction this proceeding also, and wrote to the civil authorities for their assistance, in preventing the total abandonment of the fortress.

Things were in this state, when I was most agreeably surprised by the appearance of thirty grenadiers of the regiment under the orders of lieutenant Carberry, who brought the welcome intelligence of the regiment having marched back quietly with their officers and one colour to the fort, that the commanding officer had sent this guard to my quarter, as 160 discontented men had remained under five of their officers, chosen by themselves, determined to proceed to Madras, and there might be a probability of disturbances in their lines. To prevent confusion, the regiment had considerably left one colour with them.

In conversing with lieutenant Carberry, I found that the Europeans, after their march, finding themselves unprovided with every necessary, and seeing their officers in the same state, began to think seriously of their present determination, and that it would be better for them to remain quietly at their station. The sudden appearance of the Sepoys flocking into their lines with one of the colours of their battalion, awakened them still more to a sense of their duty, as the consequences of leaving the fort entirely defenceless struck them most forcibly.

The genuine feelings and sentiments of legal soldiers immediately took possession of them, and falling in at their respective companies, and having heard the arguments of their officers to the same effect, they directed those men who were resolved to proceed to come forward, when about 160 determined to go on. The regiment then adopted and carried into execution the happy resolution of returning, and before two o'clock the fort was again garrisoned, and guarded by the Madras European regiment. The unceasing exertions of major Storey, captain Kelly, and others, had already brought back the Sepoys, and I can now, with the most heartfelt satisfaction, state my opinion, that permanent tranquillity is once more restored to the garrison of Masulipatam.

The party under lieutenant David Forbes marched to-day at two o'clock; I have taken

every precaution, in conjunction with the civil power, to provide them with every necessary on their route, and to prevent the sale of every spirituous liquor on their march.

The honourable the governor will, I am confident, see the distressing situation in which the officers selected by this detachment to command them are placed, and if they do arrive at Madras, will remember that a pardon has been granted to them.

In the event of the whole or any part of this detachment returning to Masulipatam, they will not be allowed to join the regiment for some little time, until the displeasure at the secession, which at present pervades the whole corps, may have subsided. I shall therefore dispatch them on some duty or other in which they may be occupied, until I find it expedient to order them to join.

Conscious as I am, that in the whole of the transactions which I have now laid before you, the line of conduct I have pursued, although in some instances differing from the strict letter of my instructions, has succeeded in effecting what all well-wishers to their country must earnestly pray for, namely, the restoration of order without the loss of a single life; I feel confident that the government will, on a due consideration of every circumstance, approve, or at least confirm, all that I have done in the very embarrassing situation to which I have been reduced; placed alone, excepting my staff, to contend with an hostile force, without a body of troops, however small, to enable me to carry my plans into effect; at all events, I feel happy in the idea that I have done every thing in my power to assist the cause of government, and that I have succeeded in my endeavour, at the expense of some sacrifices, which I thought at this period were objects, comparatively speaking, of a very secondary consideration.

I have dispatched major Hazlewood, who was at this station, to Ellore, where his corps is, with directions to tranquillize the minds, and restore the subordination of the men under his command, and I have informed the division at large of the present state of affairs here, calling upon the respective commanders to strain every nerve in bringing back the men to their allegiance, and obedience to the constituted authorities.

The letter No. 2, which accompanies this, is the same which I mentioned my having received from major Storey and captain Andrews; it is in some parts objectionable, and I required of them that some expressions should be changed. To this they acceded, but the constant press of business which has devolved on me from that time to the present hour, prevented my sending the letter for the required alteration, and I do not at this moment think it necessary to delay the transmission of this dispatch.

The signatures of myself and my staff officers to the declaration of obedience, also accompany this letter, and those of the officers in garrison, in which the superintending en-



gineer, captain Cotgrave, is necessarily included, shall be sent as soon as I may find it expedient to require them.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. PATER,  
Major-general,

Commanding the northern division of the army.

P. S.—I forgot to mention, that I promised on the general parade, on the evening of the 10th instant, to represent and recommend every just and reasonable complaint of grievance to the honourable the governor in council. Twelve artillery-men have joined lieutenant Forbes's party. This proves that the artillery company were not so unanimous as I had reason to suppose, when I commenced this letter, but the remainder of the men are reported by captain Moorhouse to be perfectly orderly and subordinate.

(Signed) J. PATER,  
Major-general.

No. 1.

General Pater.

Sir,

The time is now arrived, when we find we can no longer oppose the measures of the present government of Madras, without injury to the interest of our country.

You must be convinced of the attachment of our men to their officers, and the further power we possess of exerting ourselves for the redress of our grievances; but to afford to you and the world a convincing proof that personal advantage, or personal safety, and even the interests of this army, are but secondary considerations with us, when put into competition with the welfare of our country, you are now invited to assume the command of this garrison, and we pledge to you our honour, that we will obey all your commands, and submit ourselves entirely to your authority.

We ask of you no counterpledge upon the part of the government, as we rely in full confidence upon the sentiments published by the governor general upon the 20th ultimo.

It is true, that we have been driven to the brink of insurrection against the ruling authority, but our loyalty to our king, our attachment to our country, and our regard for our honourable employers, has never been diminished.

We leave it to those high authorities to determine, whether the measures we have taken have not been forced upon us, contrary to our real inclinations, and to the hereditary disposition of this army.

(Signed) J. STOREY, Major.

AUG. ANDREWS, Captain.

Masulipatam fort, 16th August, 1869.

No. 2.

My dear Scott,

May I request that you will state to major-general Pater, that several men (about 160) left in with arms and knapsacks, with a fixed

determination of proceeding to Madras, saying, that their officers had deserted them. I went instantly to the barracks, and other officers, and did every thing in my power to pacify them, but nothing would do; and to prevent confusion, may I request that you will mention to general Pater, that I think it advisable to recommend, that you come into the fort, and ascertain the number that wish to separate themselves from their officers, and to order them to proceed to Madras, as otherwise great confusion, and most likely bloodshed, will be the result. Some officers should accompany them; bring authority with you to put it in order.

Your's sincerely,

(Signed) AUG. ANDREWS,  
Captain.

Lose no time.

We, the under-signed officers of the honourable company's service, do in the most solemn manner declare, upon our words of honour as British officers, that we will obey the orders, and support the authority, of the honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions we hold from that government.

(Signed) J. Pater, major-general, commanding N. D. army; John Wilson, acting assistant adjutant-general N. D.; Hugh Scott, acting A. Q. M. G. N. D.; Henry Bowler, acting A. D. C. to major-general Pater; Montaga Crosby, major, barrack master N. D.; J. Annelsley, garrison surgeon.

16th of August.—The collector of Vizagapatam, reports that the treasury under his charge has been seized.

Collector of Rajahmundry reports that his treasure has been seized.

18th of August.—The judge of Rajahmundry protests against the proceedings of the officers.

To lieutenant-colonel Barclay, military secretary, &c.

Head-quarters, northern division of the army.

I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, that the officers of the garrison have this day come forward, expressing a wish to affix their respective signatures to the declaration of obedience to the government, as they state their conviction of order and regularity being completely re-established.

For reasons however, which I trust will appear satisfactory to the honourable the governor, I have thought fit to decline it, because I have already received the words of honour of all the officers to obey the orders of government, agreeably to the tenor of the pledge, which I consider tantamount to their signatures, and which their recent conduct has completely proved; and because the serious aversion of the men to



the pledge a few days ago gives me reason, to apprehend that some incendiaries may again take this opportunity of attempting to distract them at present, by representing it as some new design against the officers; and it must naturally be concluded, that so immediately after the last most alarming mutiny, there will remain some sparks of disorder and discontent, which it is the interest of government should be allowed to expire, by the adoption of every possible measure to restore confidence.

For my own part, I am as perfectly convinced of the obedience of the officers and men at this moment, as if the pledge had actually received their signatures; under these considerations I take the liberty again of recommending, that the measure may not be at present enforced.

After the surrender of the garrison by the officers, it has been reported to me, that a paper was signed by 250 Europeans, binding themselves to stand by each other in opposition to the officers. No comment on this circumstance can be required, in my opinion, to convince the honourable the governor of the extreme danger which has lately threatened this quarter of the Peninsula, and to prove the absolute necessity of the measures which I adopted at the time. Another circumstance, which tends to throw additional light on the ferment which existed on the forenoon of the 18th instant, I think it necessary to mention for the information of government.

While lieutenants Scott and Wilson were assisting the officers of the regiment, in attempting to restore order by every argument which they could think of, an officer of the grenadier company was required, by his own men, to pledge his word of honour that these gentlemen were not *king's* officers; and they have since, I understand, satisfied themselves of this circumstance, by an application to the army list.

I have some reasons to apprehend that a movement of troops in the northern part of the division has actually taken place, but the express, which has been sent off to the northward, will, I am confident, replace every man at this station.

The abandonment of the fort by the 19th Native infantry has since been stated to me in a more favourable light; the appearance of the company ordered out by lieutenant Scott to attend the regiment on its march to Madras induced many of the other Sepoys to think that the whole corps was under a similar order. Besides the report, which one of my former dispatches informed the honourable the governor had been circulated, by some of the Europeans in the Sepoy barracks, I find in addition, that the Sepoys were led to expect the arrival of an hostile force by sea; that the Europeans were therefore making good their own retreat, and leaving the Native battalion to its fate.

I have further to observe, that had not the great exertions of the officers succeeded in bringing back the regiment to the fort, it was the intention of one party to have returned in the course of the night, and to have seized the treasury, which had been left defenceless.

Captain Moorhouse, who is in no way implicated in the late transactions, has requested of me to be permitted to sign the pledge. But, as no doubt can be entertained of that officer's attachment to the government, the same reasons for declining it operated with me in this instance as in that which I have already had the honour of stating.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. PATER.

Major-general commanding the northern division of the army.

Masulipatam, Aug. 20, 1809.

Translation of a letter from Masulipatam, forwarded by Mr. Lord.

19th August, 1809.

Five days ago a gun Lascar, an infantry Sepoy, and an artillery soldier, fought; the Lascar and artillery soldier complained to major Storey, that the Sepoy beat them, and therefore he should inquire into it: major Storey desired them to keep the Sepoy in their guard for that day, and that he would inquire about it the next day. As they were bringing the Sepoy the soldier beat him, in the presence of major Storey; major Storey asked the soldier, why he beat the Sepoy, when he (major Storey) ordered the Sepoy being put in his guard, promised to enquire about it the next day? The soldier answered, that he did what he thought proper; major Storey then got angry, and wanted to flog the artillery soldier with a whip; the artillery soldier escaped, and gathering 200 artillery soldiers, with sergeants, went to major Storey's house with their guns loaded, threatening to kill him. Major Storey, who lives in Mr. Slatham's gardens, went to the fort on a horse unsaddled, and got 200 Sepoys and 100 Europeans, and placed them round his house.

In the mean time general Pater, Mr. Webb, Mr. Townsend, and other gentlemen, satisfied the artillery soldiers. The artillery soldiers were with their guns till 12 o'clock in the night, and then returned to their houses.

Before this the disaffected officers asked Moorhouse, assistant to Gibson, for the keys of the store house; he answered, that he would not give them without the orders of the company; they then intended to confine Moorhouse; in the mean time he escaped, and went to Gollipallum. After Moorhouse escaped, they took the keys from Abbe Moodeliar by force, and took out as much ammunition as they wanted and gave the keys again to Abbe Modelier. The arrack godown was also opened in this manner, and they took as much arrack as they wanted; they bought the quantity of rice they required, as there was no rice in



the company's godown: they asked the paymaster for gunny-bags, and as he did not give them they broke open the locks of the garrison store, and took 1,000 gunny bags; this happened before a difference between the major and the artillery soldiers took place.

They have pitched their tents at Edapilly behind Mr Dublin's house, where they remain with ammunition, &c. Afterwards the disaffected officers consulted among themselves, that it is not proper to act against government in trusting these forces; that they (the soldiers) themselves wanted to kill the officers, and therefore went to the general, and said that they, the officers, would be under his command as before, and took him to the fort. The forces were then paraded, and the general then declared that he pardoned them, and they must hereafter obey the company; that day all was quiet. The next day the soldiers went to the officers, and told them, that they took up arms against the company by their desire; asked them what they meant by saying that they pardoned the soldiers. Six companies of these soldiers went, with drums beating, to the tents at Edapilly, intending to go to Madras: the officers desired the soldiers to return, which they not doing, the officers also joined them. The inhabitants of the place, fearing that they would be founded, went to the villages Deby, Davard, Cottah, and Cullapully. Part of the soldiers who went to the Edapilly were brought back to the fort. One hundred and sixty soldiers, Forbes, and two or three officers, left the place on the 7th, on their way to Madras. The Sepoys also wanted to go to Madras when major Storey met them at Malakapatam, and requested the Sepoys to return; the Sepoys said that they would not be under his orders, nor come to the fort. The major then desired that they must kill, and then go; and after legging them, brought them into the fort. Three parts of the inhabitants have left the country.

Three officers and 200 Sepoys from Samulcottah went to Copcanada, and took 1,22,000 S. Pagodas by force from Mr. Long, and went back to Samulcottah.

It is here reported that the battalions at Hyderabad are on their march. The party of soldiers who are on their march to Madras are not disaffected to the company. It is reported that the troops at Ellore, Samulcottah, and Hyderabad, will come to Masulipatam.

They have not plundered the country, but the Sepoys are saying that they will do so.

Here follow reports and communications respecting the unauthorized movements of the three battalions to the northward of Masulipatam.

Reports and communications respecting the movements, and the movements in the northern divisions.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq. chief secretary to government, Fort St. George.

Sir,

Para. 1.—After having finished my dispatch of the morning, a report was brought by one of our videttes, that two officers with a flag of truce, were on their route from the fort to Mysore.

2.—They were accordingly permitted to advance, and captain De Haviland, and captain Cadell shortly after made their appearance before colonel Davis and myself.

3.—They informed us that they were sent by the officer of the garrison to state that an address, similar to that from Hyderabad, was actually under preparation for signature in the fort; and that in the mean time they had a request that no hostility might be urged on our part, until the conclusion of the affair, which might be expected in a few hours.

4.—Colonel Davis and I replied, that as to any address we were not authorized to receive one; what we required was the "actual delivery of the fort and the arms of its present retainers into our possession," after which we would converse about addresses, &c. &c. We would agree to desist temporarily from any measures of hostility, and our troops should remain quiet on their post during the night. Colonel Davis and I, however, would hold no communication whatever with colonel Bell on any point, that man having forfeited, by his conduct, all claim to any consideration from us.

5.—Thus terminated this grand embassy from the fortress of Seringapatam.

6.—Colonel Davis and I beg to offer our joint hopes, that government may be pleased at the probable speedy termination to all war with their rebellious subjects in the territory of his highness the rajah at Mysore.

7.—Colonel Davis requests early orders respecting the declaration of the officers of the garrison, in the event of its being surrendered.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) A H Cole,

1st Assistant in charge.

Mysore, 21st August, 1809.

To Alexander Falconar, Esq. chief secretary to government, fort St. George.

Sir,

Para. 1.—An address is this moment received from the officers of Seringapatam to the right honourable lord Minto, throwing themselves upon his lordship's mercy, and professing obedience and submission to government. The pledge offered to them by the government of fort St. George is also subscribed to, and to-morrow morning his majesty's troops, under colonel Davis, will take possession of the island, and restore that portion of the honourable company's territory once more to peace and loyalty.



## STATE PAPERS.

2.—I have the honour to enclose colonel Davis's orders of this day to the officers composing the garrison by which the right honourable the governor in council will perceive that the addresses submitted by them will not be considered as of any import until the fort is entirely evacuated, the arms of the malcontents delivered up and the island surrendered over to colonel Davis's direction and authority.

3 I do myself the honour to offer my humble congratulation and those of colonel Davis on the happy termination of affairs in this division, and we earnestly hope that the return to duty of the malcontent depot at Seringapatam will be imitated by every rebellious spirit in the Peninsula.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) A. H. COLE,

1st Assistant in charge.

Mysore, 32d August, 1809.

P. S. Captains De Haviland and Cadell have just arrived here to request that the Sepoys &c in the fort may not be permitted to march out without their arms, that they might not be exasperated at the disgrace, and be tempted to commit plunder. Colonel Davis, however, positively refuses to grant this request; and replies to the officers, that he holds them responsible for the conduct of their men, who must remain disarmed, until he be favoured with the orders of government. I am happy to say that captains De Haviland and Cadell deny that the officers in the fort ever authorized the destruction of the Nuliah, as reported in my letter of the 30th instant.

(Signed) A. H. COLE.

To the officers in garrison at Seringapatam.

Gentlemen,

I have received the pledge of the allegiance to the government of fort St. George, signed by the officers in the garrison of Seringapatam, together with an address to the right honourable the governor-general, signed in like manner.

The honourable the governor in council having vested me with full powers to take such measures as may appear to me proper for regulating military affairs in Mysore, it is my order that the whole of the troops in garrison at Seringapatam European and Native, with all their officers and other European inhabitants, (though not in the service of his majesty or the honourable company) should march from the fort at daylight in garrison, leaving their arms piled in the grand parade under a small guard from each corps, there to await my further orders.

The town major, the commissary of stores, and the engineer, will remain in the fort for his purpose of delivering it over to the troops whom I may appoint to the garrison.

The engineer will take care to make the

bridges, which had been partially broken down, passable for troops from both the Bangalore and Mysore sides.

Every accommodation will be afforded to the officers and men during the day for the removal of their baggage and for the arrangement of their private affairs.

The pledge and address will be forwarded to the honourable the governor in council as soon as the fort shall be delivered over to my charge.

(Signed) H. DAVIS,

Lieutenant colonel, Mysore.

N. B. The sick and wounded at present in hospital European as well as Native, will remain in the fort under charge of the medical staff; an arrangement will be made in the course of the morning for conducting the duties of the medical department.

(Signed) H. DAVIS,

Lieutenant colonel.

In this place follow the thanks of government to colonel Davis for his proceedings and orders in respect to the garrison.

Reports and communications respecting the Treasury at Seringapatam and other details of the proceedings there.

To Lieutenant Colonel Davis, commanding, &c. &c. &c.

Sir: Having understood from captains De Haviland and Cadell, that the only terms you and the honourable A. Cole are authorized to listen to from us, are an unconditional surrender of this fort; and that, in consequence, it is your intention that the garrison should march out as soon as practicable, leaving their arms behind them; and having pledged ourselves to obey all orders from government, we are ready to evacuate the fort; but at the same time we beg leave to represent to you the impossibility on our part of disarming the troops in garrison, situated as we at present are. If we were to attempt such a measure, it would be attended with the most serious consequences, as well to the public as to individuals, as the first step on their part would be plunder, and after that it is difficult to say where their fury might end. We, therefore, must earnestly entreat that the corps may be allowed to march out with their arms, in different directions we pledging our selves upon our most sacred honour for the correctness of their conduct, until the pleasure of government may be known.

Should the accompanying pledge on our part as commanding corps not be deemed sufficient, the whole of the officers in garrison are ready to subscribe for the orderly conduct of their respective corps. We are induced to propose this measure to your favourable consideration, as, in our minds, most conducive to the public good, and also from our feelings for the troops who have only obeyed their officers, without, perhaps, understanding the merits of the



late unfortunate events; and, under such sentiments, we would prefer suffering any punishment personally, rather than that any part of it, or any disgrace, should fall on them.

(Signed) J. Bell, lieutenant-col. Artillery.—Robert Munro, lieutenant-col. commanding 2d battalion 19th regiment.—F. K. Aiskill, Captain in charge, 1st battalion 15th regiment, N. I.—E. Edwards, captain in charge, 1st battalion 8th regiment N. I.

(A true Copy.)

(Signed) A. H. Cole  
1st Assistant in charge.

Seringapatam,  
22d August 1809.

We, the undersigned officers in command of corps, do hereby declare, in the most solemn manner, upon our word of honour, that if the officers and men are allowed to retain their arms, we will be responsible to the utmost of our power for their behaviour, and the most implicit obedience will be paid to the orders of government.

(Signed) J. Bell, lieutenant-col. Artillery.—Robert Munro, lieutenant-col. commanding 2d battalion 15th regiment.—D. C. Kenny, major, commanding 2d battalion 19th regiment.—F. K. Aiskill, captain in charge, 1st battalion 15th regiment N. I.—E. Edwards, captain in charge, 1st battalion 8th regiment N. I.

Letter from Col. Davis informing the Sec. of Govt. of the possession of the king's and company's troops of the fort of Seringapatam.

To Lieutenant colonel Davis, commanding the forces in Mysore.

Seringapatam, 22d August 1809.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit to you the address and declarations of the officers of this garrison, intimated to you yesterday by captains De Havilland and Cadell, which I request may be forwarded to his excellency the governor general.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Bell, lieutenant-col. senior officer.  
To his excellency the right honourable  
G. Lord Minto, governor-general, &c. &c.  
Fort St. George.

My Lord,—We, the officers undersigned, composing the garrison of Seringapatam, impressed with a sense of the dangers that threaten the country, and not less actuated by those pure sentiments of loyalty and patriotism we have never departed from, rejoice at the opportunity now afforded us to assure your lordship of those feelings, and to convey to your excellency an unequivocal proof of them.

We have received, through the honourable A. H. Cole, acting resident at Mysore, a communication from captain Thomas Sydenham, the resident at Hyderabad, per-

porting, "that our brother officers composing that force have come to a resolution of taking no further steps, and have pledged themselves to abide implicitly by your lordship's decision on your excellency's justice, wisdom, and clemency; and earnestly appealing to your lordship's generosity to grant them and those concerned in the late unhappy events a general amnesty."

We were induced to refuse our signatures to the declaration of the 26th of July last from the state of alarm we were then in, occasioned by the manner in which that paper was tendered to us by lieutenant-colonel Davis; the various reports then prevalent; and the horrible prospect open to us of being shortly employed against our brother officers (many of them our relations.)

We now come forward to offer to your excellency that pledge of our duty and attachment to our king and country, (from which we have never swerved,) the moment we have learned that we cannot be employed in the manner above-mentioned, so repugnant to humanity and to the feelings of a British soldier; and we now, in conjunction with the officers of the Hyderabad force, rely with confidence upon your lordship's justice, wisdom, and moderation, to grant to us, and to all who have been concerned in the late unhappy events, a general amnesty.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) by the company's officers generally composing the garrison of Seringapatam.

We, the undersigned officers of the honourable company's service do, in the most solemn manner, declare, upon our word of honour as British officers, that we will obey the orders, and support the authority of the honourable the governor in council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which we hold from that government.

(Signed) by the like officers, that  
subscribed the foregoing address.

Here ensues a correspondence relative to the removal of the late garrison from Mysore.

Further details relative to the affairs in the fort of Seringapatam.

Letter from the secretary of government, forwarding a letter from major De Morgan on the subject of his suspension.

(Secret department.)

To W. Ramsay, esq. secretary to the honourable the secret committee of the court of directors.

Sir,—I am directed by the honourable the governor in council to transmit, for the information of the honourable the secret committee of the court of directors, the copy of a dispatch from the supreme government, of date the 27th ultimo, upon the subject of the



proceedings of this government of the 1st May, 1809, which were transmitted on the 19th of that month to the honourable the secret committee, by his majesty's brig Virginia.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient, humble servant,  
(Signed) A. FALCONAR,  
Chief. Sec. to Gt.

Fort St. George, 28th July, 1809.

To the honourable Sir George H. Barlow,  
Bart. and K. B. governor in council, Fort  
St. George.

Honourable Sir,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch, under date the 1st ult. enclosing copies of a proposed memorial to the address of the governor-general from the officers of the army of your establishment, and of an address to major Boles, the late deputy adjutant-general, and reporting to us your proceedings with regard to the officers who signed, and who were understood to have been principally concerned in preparing and obtaining signatures to those illegal and seditious papers, and in actively encouraging or tacitly permitting and approving the prevalence of sentiments, and the adoption of measures, subversive of the principles of subordination, and of the constitution of the British government in India as established by law.

2. The two papers which you have transmitted to us, and which have given occasion to your late proceedings, bear so strongly the character of bold and dangerous sedition, and the principles which they profess, together with the habits and practices to which those principles necessarily lead, are pregnant with consequences so adverse to the tranquillity and even to the security of these provinces, as well as of all the foreign dominions of his majesty, that we cannot but commend the wise energy with which you have opposed, in the very out-set, the licentious spirit which dictated these documents, and of which too many other proofs have been recently afforded.

3. We have at the same time observed, with cordial satisfaction, the disappointment of the few factious individuals who have taken the most conspicuous part on this occasion, in their endeavours to mislead the army at large, and in the hope, which, without regard to the misfortune in which they were involving their associates, they appear to have entertained of implicating the inexperienced members of their body in their own rash projects, and all their calamitous consequences.

4. They could, indeed, seduce the coast army from its duty only by deceiving it, and we can feel no resentment against those younger men, who, uninstructed as they may naturally be in the just principles of the military constitution, are more obnoxious to error both in judgment and conduct, when it is inculcated by the false reasoning, and

sanctioned by the pernicious example, of their superiors in age and authority.

5. Persuaded as we are that any ill impression which may have been made on the army serving under the presidency of fort St. George, may justly be imputed to the artful dissemination of erroneous opinions and false theories concerning the relation which an army bears to the state, and more particularly concerning that in which the armies of the East India company have been placed by the law and constitution of this part of the empire, with respect to the local governments under which they respectively serve, we entertain a sanguine hope that the promulgation of sounder principles on these subjects may check the progress of error, and effectually defeat the mischievous designs of factious men, while it may relieve you from the painful necessity of extending beyond themselves the control of severity and coercion.

6. The subordination of military bodies to the state is a proposition too well established, and too universally understood, to have been plainly and distinctly questioned in any quarter; but it has been substantially disowned by the present agitators of the coast army, inasmuch as they have contested and denied the consequences which necessarily result from that fundamental truth.

7. The arms which are placed in the hands of an army are not given to them for any purpose of their own. They are a trust; and as such are accepted by themselves, in order to fight the battles of their country, and promote the service of the public, under the direction and command of the sovereign and his government. These are not only the purposes, but they are the sole purposes, to which the arms, or to speak more generally, the power of an army may legally be applied: any other employment of the force with which military bodies are invested—any attempt to promote views of their own; to enforce pretensions, just or unjust; or to redress grievances, real or pretended, whether of individuals or of the body at large, either by the direct use of their arms, or even by the influence attached to the possession of them; is not merely the breach of a sacred trust, but a positive and flagrant crime.

8. From this general and indisputable proposition it follows, that military combinations are forbidden, because the character of compulsion and menace is inseparable from the united and concerted demands of armed bodies.

9. This argument would be misrepresented if it were stated to infer that military men have no rights, or have no means of bringing their interests under the consideration of the authorities competent to provide for them.

10. There is not an individual in the most numerous armies who does not possess regular and adequate means to advance any just and reasonable claim, or to obtain redress for any injury that may have been done to him.



There is no necessity, and no pretence therefore, for a course either to actual violence, or to combination, which always and necessarily partakes of violence. The representations of particular officers, addressed in their individual capacities to their military superior, and submitted through him to the proper authorities which have the power of pronouncing upon them; will obtain the object of any just demand. If it be said that representations in this form, especially in matters of general concern, are less weighty and impressive than the united voice of a numerous and powerful body, it must be answered, that whatever is derived from the union of military numbers is a perversion of the power confided to them, and falls directly within the guilt and danger of those violations of duty which we have already described.

11. The general discountenance and prohibition of combination is so well established in the constitution of our government at home, that the house of commons, to which the universal right of petition is among the most precious privileges of the subject, rejects, however, every petition purporting to be preferred in the name of any body or description of men, with the exception of bodies incorporated by charter; and yet the same petition with the same signatures, purporting only to be presented by the petitioners in their individual capacities, would be received without objection.

12. Such is the jealousy entertained of combination, even in the case of bodies the most insignificant, and the least calculated to inspire that sentiment. But a constitutional jealousy of the military power is in a manner characteristic of our government and the nation. This sentiment is far from derogatory to the high respect and reverence in which the true character and appropriate virtues of that most honourable profession are ever held; it is founded on the soundest principles of military subordination and civil order. A deliberative army, and a deliberative navy, are both disqualifying for the discharge of the proper and honourable duties which form their true distinction; and when their deliberations end in concert and combination, the public peace is endangered.

13. We are accustomed in England, without distinction of profession or degree, to speak with pride and reverence of that nice and scrupulous solicitude which pervades the constitutional policy of Great Britain on every point that affects, however remotely, the great and primary concerns of civil liberty and domestic security—blessings which it is natural to value most highly in a country where they are best known and experienced. It is this great national sentiment which requires as the main and most indispensable provision for civil security, the absolute unqualified subordination of the army to the state, or, in other words, to the government of the country. Out of the same principle springs the necessity of peculiar restraints on

the military body, and the abridgment in their case of some privileges and practices, which are permitted, because they are not deemed hazardous, in other parts of life.

14. Amongst the chief of those restraints are to be placed the strict prohibition of military combination for the furtherance of professional views or wishes, and of open and concerted opposition by military men in their military character to the government or the persons who administer it.

15. They are not precluded in other capacities, and in the proper places, to take whatever share they may approve in the expression of public opinion, or in the promotion of lawful objects connected with it; but these are civil not military pursuits in which they can be permitted to partake, only divested of the separate character and influence of their order, and blended with the mass of their countrymen. The exercise of these political capacities is excluded from camps and garrisons, because its admission there is incompatible alike with every military and civil duty; and neither their sovereign nor their country will endure that armies, which are the servants of the state, should set themselves up in tumultuous opposition to those who are clothed with its authority and assume a tone of defiance and command, where they are bound as soldiers and subjects to obey. It is in the field alone that armies can reap a fair and genuine renown; when they look for it elsewhere they lose their way, and meet only reproach and dishonour in the intricate and disreputable career of party feuds and dissension.

16. It were to be lamented, and little to the credit of military men, if on points which touch so nearly all that is most dear to their country they should cease to think and feel as Englishmen when they become soldiers, and should suffer the partial spirit of a profession to wean them from those sentiments and sympathies, which, like their brethren in civil life, they imbibed with their milk, and which distinguish and illustrate their nation.

17. We cannot doubt, therefore, that when these true English principles are brought to the recollection of the coast army, they will perceive, and we are persuaded will acknowledge with candour and regret, how far removed all that has been passing must be thought from those sounder notions of professional duty; and, we trust, the factious spirit of combination which has lately been fomented amongst them, with all the irregular proceedings to which it has given birth, will appear as reprehensible to the officers of that army as we ourselves esteem them.

18. To apply these principles to the present case, the title alone of the proposed address to the governor-general in council must subject that paper to serious censure.

19. It is intitled, "The respectful memorial of the officers of the Madras army."



30. It was not a representation of the commander-in-chief, or of the general officers commanding that army, on its behalf: it was not a communication from a few officers of rank and consideration setting forth their own sentiments, or conveying respectful advice concerning the military affairs or interests of the coast; but it was to bring to our council board a clamorous demand, enforced by the combined and united voice of an army; in other words, it was to inimidate and overawe the authority to which it was addressed.

31. This attempt at intimidation was the more reprehensible as it was altogether unnecessary, and entirely inapplicable to the purposes avowed by the memorialists. It will not be said, or, to speak perhaps more correctly, it will not be avowed, that the removal of Sir George Birlow from the government of Fort St. George was the primary and substantive object of their proceedings; and that the army was to speak in a body, not for the redress of the grievances set forth in the memorial, but for the purpose of cashiering and electing governors at the discretion of the officers of the army. If the redress of grievances then was the object proposed, it is manifest that the purpose could not be accomplished, but was likely to be impeded by this culpable proceeding.

32. The grievances enumerated in that paper are, the exclusion of lieutenant-general Mc Dowall from council; the release of colonel Munro; and the removal of the adjutant and deputy adjutant-general from their offices.

33. The first of those complaints related to a measure adopted as the memorialists well know, by the honourable the court of directors, and altogether beyond the competence of any authority in India.

34. The release of colonel Munro is a measure which, if it was wrong, might be a fit subject of representation by lieutenant-general Mc Dowall, whose order for his arrest had been superseded; as commander-in-chief, he was the proper channel for that representation, first, to the supreme government, and then to the authorities at home. The interposition of the army itself was unnecessary and culpable.

35. The same remarks apply to the removal of the adjutant and deputy adjutant-general. The adjutant-general had himself embarked for England; the commander-in-chief was also on his passage. The conduct of that discussion in England might be safely left to them, and could not be assumed by any other persons with equal propriety.

All these important points could receive a definitive decision from the supreme authorities in England alone. To agitate them here could neither influence nor accelerate that decision; and could answer one purpose alone, that of fomenting a spirit of discontent and controversy, encouraging murmurs, and exciting heat and ferment in the army;

all which it was for the public interest, and not less for the interest of the army than of government and the rest of the community, to prevent or appress. It was surely the manifest duty of every servant of the company, whether civil or military, and must have been the earnest desire of every honest and honourable man, to devise every possible means of tranquillizing the minds of the public, allaying past irritation, and promoting a return of temper and harmony, at least during that interval.

37. If the conduct of the memorialists could not contribute to the accomplishment of the ends they possessed, it is obvious that the manifestation of a turbulent spirit, and of a disposition to excite in the army sentiments of disaffection and to involve the officers at large in acts of insubordination and hostility towards the legal government of the country, could only prejudice the public cause, which served as a pretext for their proceedings, by making it at least questionable, whether the authorities to which the appeal was made might think it compatible with the honour of government and the interests of the public, that they should condescend to violence and sedition even those points, if there had been any such in their case, which might in other circumstances have been viewed more favourably.

38. If we confine ourselves, therefore, merely to this general view of the form which the memorial bears, we should find too much room for censure. But the impressions made upon us by the general character and aspect of this proceeding are confirmed by a closer examination of the matter and substance of the memorial.

39. That the authors of this paper invite the army at large to deliberate on certain measures adopted by the government of Fort St. George, and to enforce by the joint and united act of a military body the insolent and fictitious demand of the removal of the first member of that government, is plainly written in the memorial. This is alone a great and culpable departure from the first and clearest duties of the military profession.

30. But there is one feature of positive sedition, too plain and striking to be mistaken or overlooked.

31. The paper bears the title of *memorial*, and the epithet of "respectful" is added to it. It is a petition to the supreme government; the prayer of which is, to remove the governor of Fort St. George from his office. But this memorial does not transcribe to the reasoning it contains for the support of a request so extraordinary. The memorialists have thought it advisable to fortify the argument, and to enforce the petition, by a pretty intelligible intimation, that if the supreme government should hesitate to remove a governor who is obnoxious to them, they will take the matter into their own hands, and make a new governor themselves.—"They cannot suppress the expres-



sion of their concern at the manner in which the exclusive rights of the army have recently been violated; and of their sanguine hope and earnest intreaty, that the supreme government may in its wisdom be induced to appease their just alarms, and to anticipate the extreme crisis of their agitation, by releasing them from the controul of a ruler, whose measures," &c. &c. &c.

If it is contended that this passage is in its letter susceptible of some other and less criminal interpretation, it must at the same time be admitted that the words naturally bear the construction which we have put upon them; such a menace was never addressed by such memorialists to such a quarter in plain unambiguous language. That the phrase is equivocal, and may, by any construction import a threat is in such a paper signed, as was proposed, by all the officers of a powerful army, to be received as an explicit expression of that sense and rings the crime fully and satisfactorily home to its authors.

32. In considering the subject matter of this memorial, we perceive, that of the three complaints preferred in it, there is not one which could be made, with propriety, the subject of a representation from the army at large, even if such representations were justifiable in any case.

33. Whether his Majesty shall call the commander-in-chief of the army into his cabinet council or not, it is for his Majesty, with the advice of his ministers, to decide, in his discretion. The commander-in-chief of the whole British forces is not necessarily a member of administration or of either house of Parliament; and we are well assured that no officer in his Majesty's service could be found, if the recent conduct of Lieut. Gen. Hay Mac Dowall should not compel us to make an exception in his case, who would countenance or promote a representation from the British army at large to his Majesty, or to Parliament, on that subject.

34. Whether the commander-in-chief of the army of the East India company serving under the presidency of Fort St. George, or Bombay, shall be appointed to a seat at the council board, or not, is a question which is left by law to the decision of the honourable the court of directors, whose duty and privilege it is to determine it according to their views of public convenience and advantage.

35. The complaint upon this subject is introduced in the memorial immediately after the assertion, in lofty and declamatory language, that the "humble memorialists are not the *abject slaves* of a country controlled by despots; and that they respectfully assert a claim to certain rights and privileges, the enjoyment of which may be allowed to them without impairing or encroaching on the dignity of government, or in any way interfering with the other departments of the state."

36. When such a body as an army is invited to assert a claim of rights and privileges, care should be taken by those, who do not propose to sow the seeds of revolt and public trouble, to define those rights and privileges. No affected ambiguity, at least, should attend such declarations; and when a complaint of the exclusion of the commander-in-chief from council immediately follows such declarations, and stands in front of the grievances which the memorial sets forth, if it was not intended to class the admission of the commander-in-chief to council amongst those rights and privileges of the army which they would be *abject slaves* if they did not assert, that claim should have been explicitly disavowed, and ought not to have been strongly countenanced by a form of language scarcely ambiguous.

37. We deem it proper to declare explicitly, that the admission of the commander-in-chief of the coast army to a seat at the council board of that presidency, is not amongst the *rights and privileges* of the coast army; and that any representation upon that subject, in the name of the army at large, would be an undue interference with objects not within their competence, and would be a culpable departure from the military character, and from the proper duties of their station.

38. It has been attempted to perplex this question by misrepresenting the offices and duty of the commander-in-chief in his office of counsellor when he has a seat at the board, and above all, by introducing some indistinct and confused notions of a representative character which is ascribed to him as a member of government. The confusion of ideas on this subject is still increased by their pointing naturally at some false analogy between the rights of representation in the political constitution of the British legislature, and the right of the army of Fort St. George to be represented in the government of that presidency. To this right is added the claim, that the commander-in-chief for the time being shall, by virtue of his office, be that representative.

39. It is obvious that a step more in this process of confused analogy, would set up a claim for the army to the election of its own representative in the government of Fort St. George.

40. This tissue of error must either be the work of extreme ignorance, or must have been constructed for the purposes of deception, and tendered by designing men to the presumed ignorance of others; but as it has been a fruitful source of delusion, and as "representation in council" has been made a sort of watch-word in these discussions, it appears important to rectify the false opinions which may have been imbibed upon these points, and to substitute plain truth and reason in the room of all the per-



plexed and indistinct fallacies, in which it has been the study of an artful faction to entangle the sense and feelings of their unwary and less informed brethren.

41. A commander-in-chief, who is a member of council, has precisely the same character and duties as his colleagues; he is not the representative of the army in any sense of the word, and still less in the sense which may perhaps have been intended, of his being charged in council with the separate interests of the army, as distinct from those of the public and the general service of government. The commander-in-chief, as a member of council, is the delegate, not of the troops, which in another character he commands in the field, but of the East India company, and of the British nation. He is charged with the public interests—he is charged also with the interest of the civil, as he is of the military, servants of the company, and with the general prosperity of the whole population, European and Native, of the provinces subject to the presidency to which he belongs. But the army has no exclusive, nor even preferable claim, upon the councils of the commander-in-chief as a member of government; nor is it necessary for its interests that it should. To drop therefore the false term of representative, and all the errors which it is calculated to produce, and to speak in the true language of the civil and military constitution of these provinces, the president in council, who constitutes the sole military as well as civil government of the country, is charged on one hand with the duty of regulating the army for the public good, and on the other, with that of providing duly for the interests of the army itself.

42. That government will consult the experience of the commander-in-chief in both the branches of his military councils, if he is a member of their board;—they will consult him out of council if he is not their colleague. And if any commander-in-chief should have rendered himself unworthy of their confidence, it is not to be apprehended that fidelity, experience, and judgment, will be wanting in the superior ranks of the army to supply the blank.

43. We abstain from delivering any opinion upon the general question, whether it is expedient, or not, that the commander-in-chief of the army on the coast should be a member of government. It is enough for the present purpose to declare, that this is purely a question of public expediency, and in no respect connected with any claim of right or privilege in the army.

44. The next complaint is, the release of lieutenant-col. Munro.

45. When an army steps so far aside from the path of its proper and legitimate duties as to become the instrument of party, to mix in political views, and to undertake the removal of governors or ministers, we

should have expected that any grievance they should adduce in support of a proceeding so foreign to their own character should consist at least in some act of grievance and intolerable oppression. The measure which is the subject of this complaint is, on the contrary, an act of grace and justice. It is not the unjust arrest of any officer for purposes of oppression and vengeance: but it is the relief of an officer, amongst the most respected in the army, from the most tyrannical and detestable abuse of power by which an innocent and highly meritorious individual was ever oppressed.

46. We shall ever consider the prosecution of colonel Munro and the part which lieutenant-general M Dowall bore in that transaction as acts of extreme injustice, so far as they relate to the individual who was the subject of them; but these measures were not less culpable in other points of view. Both the advice which lieutenant-col. Munro gave to abolish the tent contract, which we consider as the real object of the proceedings and the memorial conveying that advice, a few lines in which were made without any imaginable foundation the ostensible ground of the charges preferred against him, had been not merely approved, but applauded by every authority to which they could officially be submitted; by Sir J. Cradock, commander-in-chief of the army, in which the accusers of col. Munro are officers; by the governor and council of Fort St. George, who held the supreme military authority under which these officers served; by the commander in chief in India, to whom as officers they owed implicit reverence and respect; and lastly by the governor-general in council, the supreme and highest British authority in the East. To charge either the measure which has been adopted under these authorities, or the reasons upon which it was recommended, and which had been sanctioned and approved by the same authorities, as base and infamous crimes, was a studied insult offered by those officers, and by lieutenant-col. Miedowall who supported and co-operated with them, to every authority which it was their duty to respect. This proceeding aimed also distinctly at withdrawing the management and direction of all military arrangement regarding the regulation and economy of the army from the legal authority of government, in order to place it in the shape of court martial under the direction of the officers of the army themselves. Lieutenant-col. Munro was the nominal culprit, and the articles were to bear the absurd, and so that reason we must believe the collusive and pretended accusation against him of calumny and slander; but the tent contract, or rather its abolition, was in effect to be the subject, for no other substantial subject existed for the trial.

47. We should indeed have been surprised, as well as concerned, if any consider-



able part of the coast army had been prevailed upon to stain the pure and honourable character of their profession, by lending their countenance in any shape, or in any stage, to a proceeding stamped, as this prosecution was, with injustice and oppression, and founded on such motives as all the circumstances conspire to vindicate.

48. But it is said, Colonel Munro was only to be tried, and if innocent, would have been acquitted. Yet the memorialists themselves allege, that he was already condemned; having incurred the suspicion of having acted in a manner that was most generally considered to have been criminal. "*Having incurred the suspicion*," are mere words of form. The meaning of the passage is a positive assertion, that lieutenant-colonel Munro had acted in a manner that was most generally considered to have been criminal. We assume this to be the meaning of the passage, because there was no question concerning the facts.

49. It is difficult to imagine that such a charge as that which was preferred against lieutenant-colonel Munro, should have rested only on vague report; and that the officers who signed it should not have used all the means in their power to obtain the perusal of a paper on which they meant to found an accusation of libel. We must therefore presume, that the memorial on the tent contract was in the hands of those who charged its author with defamation. From that memorial therefore, never denied nor disavowed by lieutenant-colonel Munro, and capable of certain and easy proof, is to be collected, "*the manner in which he had acted*;" and if that manner of acting was already most generally accounted criminal, sentence was already passed, so far as faith can be given to the memorial intended to be presented to this government. We must however more in the honour of the army, than in the party feelings of the memorialists; and we hope they were too sanguine in their expectations of so unjust a sentence. But although the acquittal of lieutenant-colonel Munro must be supposed possible, it was not fit that such an officer should be brought to the bar as a criminal for his honest services. It was not fit that the mode of providing carriage for the camp equipage of the army, approved and adopted as it had been by all the legal authorities in India, should be appealed from these authorities to a board of officers. It was not fit that this first step should pass without opposition in the process of usurping the regulations of the army from government to the officers of the army. It was not becoming that the supreme government, the commander-in-chief of India, the government of Fort St. George, and the late commander-in-chief of that presidency, Sir John Francis Cradock, should hold up their hands as cul-

prits before a tribunal of officers sitting in judgment upon the deliberate measures of their government.

50. The whole proceeding was monstrous, and we repeat in the strongest terms our warmest approbation of your just, legal, and indispensable interposition on that occasion to vindicate the honour of your government, and to shield one of your best and ablest servants from an arbitrary and oppressive abuse of power. If you had omitted to do so, you would have failed in the most sacred duties of your high stations, and would have merited, because you would have sanctioned, that long train of insult and encroachment which was to follow, and of which the prosecution of lieutenant-colonel Munro would have proved to be only the first experimental step.

51. It is admitted, that the warrant to hold courts martial is addressed to the commander-in-chief, and we deem his authority exclusive in that branch of the public administration. But the abuse of a legal power is illegal, and the supreme military controul of the governor in council extends in our judgment, and beyond all doubt, to the prevention of such abuses. This does not suppose an habitual and indiscriminate interference. We assert only for the government of Fort St. George a right, and a legal power to come, in extraordinary cases, to the support of their own authority, and against seditious encroachment combined with the oppression of innocent men, by a gross abuse of the power confided to the commander-in-chief in the direction of military prosecutions.

52. If this opinion were wrong, there are higher authorities who have power to pronounce it erroneous, and to provide another remedy, which in that case would be necessary for the evil supposed.

53. In the mean while your opinion was binding, and when confirmed by ours, is still more so, on the army of Fort St. George, who are not the judges either in the first or last resort on that subject.

54. This is not a question in which the officers of the army could be justified to interfere. It concerns the extent of your legal powers under the constitution of your government, upon which they cannot sit in judgment. It the commander-in-chief, lieutenant-general Hay Macdowall, differed with you, as he affects to do on that point, he might have properly stated it to the court of directors, and to his Majesty's government, for their decision. But when he appealed that question to the army, which is subject to your authority in India, as he did by his general order of the 28th January, he carried that controversy to a tribunal the incompetence of which he well knew, and before which the agitation of such a question, as it could tend to no useful conclusion, so it could hardly fail to kindle animosity and excite dis-



cord tending assuredly to some mode or other of public disorder, and perhaps eventually to military insubordination and mutiny itself, in the progress of which calamity and distress were sure to fall first and heaviest on his own friends and associates.

55. We pass naturally from the general order just mentioned to the dismissal of the officer who published it to the army, and our sentiments on that subject must materially depend on the opinion we entertain of the character and tendency of the order itself.

56. In deliberating on this subject, we have not thought ourselves bound by the form under which the substance and real purview of this paper has, for obvious reasons, been disguised.

57. It purports to be a reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro,\* but substantially it conveys in every line a reprimand to the government of Fort St. George, and that reprimand is addressed to the army subject to its authority. The subject matter of the censure passed ostensibly on colonel Munro, renders it inseparable from a censure on the government. The offence charged upon that officer, in his appeal to the president in council from an arrest imposed upon him by the commander-in-chief, and the general order itself informs the army that the appeal which is subject to his reprimand was followed not by the reproof but by the protection of government.

58. Lieutenant-colonel Munro had exhausted all the means he possessed of obtaining relief from the commander-in-chief \*himself. This it was his duty to do in the first instance. But when justice was denied him in that quarter, and when the hand of persecution pressed close upon him, we are decidedly of opinion that he had a right to claim the protection of the supreme military authority, which is vested by law in the governor in council of Fort St. George.

59. If that government possessed a legal power to intervene in a case of abuse, it could not be criminal in the army suffering under it to claim their protection, and the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Munro could not justly be made the subject of a reprimand.

60. That the government of Fort St. George is not restrained by law from this particular exercise of the supreme military powers which it possesses, was acknowledged by lieutenant-general Macdowall himself, since he obeyed their orders for the release of lieutenant-colonel Munro. If that order had not only been an undue encroachment on his own authority as commander-in-chief, but had been beyond the legal and competent powers of those who issued it, he would not have been bound to obey it, as he distinctly professed himself to be.

61. The government of Fort St. George did not exceed therefore their legal powers, and the only question that could be made was, whether they exercised them properly in the particular instance. On that point,

undoubtedly, the government of Fort St. George is subject to the responsibility which is inseparable from the exercise of all delegated authority. But to what tribunal were they amenable? Where was it proper, where was it for the public interest, that lieutenant-general Macdowall should carry his appeal to the army of Fort St. George, or to the king, and court of directors?

62. That he should convey this question to the army, in the shape of a reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro, appears to be in contradiction with his own sentiments on the subject, as we have just stated them: for if the government of Fort St. George had a legal power to release lieutenant-colonel Munro, it could not be criminal, it could not in any mode or degree be culpable; it could not incur the penalty of a reprimand; but it was his clear right and privilege to claim the legal and competent protection of government from the oppression of the commander-in-chief.

63. If the government, on the contrary, did not possess those powers, lieutenant-general Macdowall owed them no obedience.

64. If the legality of those powers be disputed, notwithstanding the testimony borne to it by lieutenant-general Macdowall's submission, it is again to be a question, to what tribunal that disputed question ought to have been submitted—to the army, or to the supreme authorities in England?

65. It is also to be enquired, whether, in a controversy between the commander-in-chief and the government, concerning the limits of their respective authorities, it was fit that lieutenant-general Macdowall should arrogate the decision to himself; and, sanctioned alone by his own opinion in his own case, should inflict a severe punishment on lieutenant-colonel Munro for having acted on a different opinion, but one which had been supported by the judgment of the government, that is to say, of an authority, and of a military authority, to which that of the commander-in-chief himself and of the whole army, is made subordinate by an act of the British legislature; an authority to which they owed implicit obedience, and which must, at the very least, have been felt to challenge sufficient respect to exempt an individual officer from the imputation of a crime for having acted conformably to it.

66. The reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro, therefore, was not only not necessary, but it was unjust and inconsistent with the principle which lieutenant-general Macdowall had himself professed.

67. For these reasons, we consider the shape given to the general orders of the 28th of January as merely colourable; and we are of opinion that the reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro was evidently intended only as a vehicle for circulating, throughout the army serving under the government of Fort St. George, a vehement and intemperate public censure of that government, and as



inflammatory address to the professional feelings of that army, and to topics thought likely to produce irritation and disorder. It was, in other words, a most seditious paper, under the title of a general order to the army, and bearing the thin disguise of a reprimand to a particular officer.

68. That this attempt to excite irritation, and to produce disorderly conduct amongst the officers of the army, has not been entirely unsuccessful, we lament the necessity of acknowledging; and that those designs have nevertheless been substantially frustrated, and have failed in far the greater part, we have a cordial satisfaction in ascribing, first, to the good sense of the army at large, which could not be misled by fallacies so easily detected; but next, and principally, to the firm attachment to the duties of their profession, and to that steady loyalty and incorruptible fidelity, which, in that army, we are confident, will ever be found proof against the acts and seditions of faction.

69. Notwithstanding the sentiments we have expressed concerning the true nature and tendency of the general order in question, we have not neglected to consider whether the officers who gave it currency by the orders of the commander-in-chief, were responsible for its criminal purport, and were on that account justly removed from their offices.

70. In deliberating upon this question, we resorted naturally to such general principles applicable to the subject as we thought best established; and most free from doubt.

71. The following propositions have appeared to us of that description.

First, That as a general principle, a military officer is not only justified in obeying an order of his superior, but that he is bound to do so, without regard to the quality of the order. Under this head we consider the adjutant-general as obliged, in a peculiar manner, by the duties of his office, to publish to the army any orders which the commander-in-chief may commit to him for that purpose. We are clearly of opinion, as a general principle, that the adjutant-general is not bound to deliberate on the propriety of the order which he is commanded to issue; that it would be a breach of military duty to do so; that he is merely ministerial in these functions, and is not responsible for the propriety or impropriety of the orders he may circulate officially to the army.

72. We regard these principles as very important, and in a manner fundamental in the theory of military subordination.

Secondly, We consider, however, as not less established, that the general principle above stated is subject to exception and modification. The modification by which the general principle of simple obedience ought to be limited is, in our judgment, the following: That criminal orders are not to be obeyed, and that the officer who executes a criminal order of his superior is personally responsible for his con-

duct. We look upon this modification of the general military principles as forming itself a great and primitive principle; not less important and fundamental for the civil security of society, than we allow the other maxim of implicit obedience to be for the due support of military subordination.

73. Considering then, as we have already stated, the general order of the 28th January, as a seditious paper, we might at once pronounce the adjutant and deputy adjutant-general guilty of sedition by the publication of that order, notwithstanding the authority under which they acted.

74. But that judgment would not be justified by the mere criminality of the order which they issued; and it is necessary, in order to establish their participation in the crime, and to render them personally responsible, to show that they were acquainted with the seditious character of the paper.

75. In forming our judgment upon this point, we have not considered it as an abstract question, but as fit to be combined with all the circumstances of the case, and especially with those in which the parties concerned were placed; and from this view of the question, it has in our opinion resulted, that colonel Capper and major Boles are to be considered as partaking personally in this act of lieutenant-general Macdowall, and as deeply responsible for its pernicious and criminal tendency.

76. Before this order was prepared, it was not only known to those confidential staff officers of the commander-in-chief, but it was notorious to the whole army and settlement, that there was a warm and vehement dissension between the commander-in-chief and the government. These officers were acquainted with the prosecution of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and the part which lieutenant-general Macdowall had taken in that proceeding; they knew every step in that extraordinary transaction was a studied insult to the government; they knew that lieutenant-general Macdowall had become the patron and channel of a memorial to the court of directors, highly disapproved by the president in council of Fort St. George, which he had himself, at the instance of that government, and at no distant period, written circular letters to discourage and suppress, but which in a ripe stage of hostility towards the person and authority of the governor, he had countenanced and promoted. It is, in fine, superfluous to prove, what is beyond doubt, and is not denied, that a warm passionate rupture had broken out between these two high authorities.

77. The commander-in-chief of an army in open and ardent opposition to the government which he serves, is no trivial event, and constitutes a state of things, from which some consequences applicable to this question have appeared to us to follow.



78. We consider these circumstances, therefore, as furnishing a new modification of the military principle first asserted; and we are of opinion, that in such extraordinary and momentous emergencies, it is fit and necessary to require, that an officer, whose duty it is to give currency to the orders of the commander in chief, should, contrary to the principle of blind obedience, which ought to prevail in ordinary times, carefully consider these orders, and deliberate seriously upon their nature and purview, before he publishes them. The circulation, in heated and factious times, of a seditious address to the army, has no analogy to the principle of military obedience to a military order in the common dispatch of business, and cannot be governed by the same rules.

79. We are, after much and serious reflection, decidedly of opinion, that this restriction of the military principle, the general importance of which we nevertheless feel most sensibly, cannot impair the obligations of military subordination and obedience, in any manner or degree, prejudicial to the natural and legitimate objects of military command; and that in times of trouble it may afford a most salutary and necessary protection to the government and people against the possible perversion of military supremacy to the purposes of sedition or faction.

80. "In a natural and wholesome state of things, the obedience of subordinate officers is to be implicit, admitting of no deliberation, and subject to no responsibility, except for plain and manifest crimes. In such distempered seasons of open contention with governments as are now in question, addresses from commanders in chief to their armies, having reference to such debates, are a fit subject of deliberation to those whose office it may be to transmit them, and a responsibility long exclusively to such occasions must attach even to their official and ministerial acts.

81. In conformity with these sentiments, we have no doubt of the responsibility of the late adjutant and deputy adjutant-general of your army, on the occasion of publishing the general order of the 28th January; and we are of opinion, that if the author of that order is himself guilty of sedition, as we esteem him to be, these confidential officers of his staff, who consented to be instruments of his crime are under all the circumstances implicated in the guilt, and subject to the penalties of the offence.

82. If there were doubts, however, upon the question, as weighing general and fundamental principles against particular modifications of them must always be a delicate one, we cannot quit the subject without repeating that it is not a fit matter for the inference of the army itself. In what particulars sedition may consist; under what circumstances the official instrumentality of an officer, in the crime of a super-

rior, shall subject him to personal responsibility; are questions to be discussed in cooler blood, and by a different description of counsellors than are always to be found in numerous bodies at a period of heat and irritation. They are worthy of the informed and impartial deliberation of his majesty's confidential servants and advisers, and of the supreme rulers of the army of India, the honourable the court of directors.

83. To snatch a question of that nature and importance from the decision of those authorities, at the very moment of its formal reference to their judgment, and to cast it, as a source of discord and violence, into the midst of an army already warmly agitated, is the part of incendiaries, and not of friends either to the army or the state. It is a great crime; and being that of which the officers, who have lately experienced the marks of your displeasure, have appeared to you, on a careful investigation of the facts, to have been guilty, we have no hesitation, although we deeply lament the occasion of this necessary severity, in approving and commending the vigilant energy with which you have, in a season of great difficulty and danger, asserted the legal authority of your government, prevented the factious contagion from spreading through the honourable and hitherto untainted ranks of the coast army, and provided for the security and integrity of the British empire in India.

84. You will perceive, that much of what has been said on the memorial is applicable to the address to major Boles.

85. This is also a measure connected with a military combination. It assumes the cognizance of a question which belongs to sifter and higher tribunals. It pronounces, in the name of an army, open censure of the government which that army is bound to obey.

86. In these respects it stands on the same footing, and partakes in all the criminality of the paper we have already considered. But there is, in the address to major Boles, a character of transcendent guilt and danger which is peculiar to itself. We allude to the scheme, of which it professes to lay the foundation, of a combination of private power to contest with the power of government, organized resources of resistance, mutual support against the hand of justice, and indemnity against the legal consequences of crimes.

87. We do not know how it is possible to approach much nearer that extreme crisis, which it so emphatically menaces in the memorial, without reaching it. We trust, however, confidently, that those who have been improvidently betrayed into these desperate courses, will have been awakened to a sense of their perilous situation; and that by arresting the progress of the foremost, you will have saved their inconspicuous followers from the ruin and dishonour



to which their leaders were conducting them.

88. With regard to those who have taken a leading part in these criminal transactions, we feel that every principle of tried and established policy applicable to such conjunctures, and every obligation of your sacred trust, forbid the extension towards them of a false and mischievous lenity.

89. We concur also entirely in the sentiment expressed in your general orders of the 1st ultimo, that it is not sufficient for officers holding commands to avoid a participation in such proceedings, but that it is their positive and indispensable duty to adopt the most decided measures for their suppression, and to report them to the superior authorities. The purposes of tumult and sedition may as effectually be promoted by their negative concurrence as by their active participation.

90. The neglect of duty is an offence varying only in degree from a positive violation of it; and any officer who, apprised of the progress of disorderly proceedings among those who are placed under his immediate control, abstains from any attempt to suppress them, either by the exertion of his own authority or by an appeal to the superior power, gives to those proceedings one mode of encouragement, and cannot stand absolved of blame, nor found a claim to immunity; much less to a continuance of that implicit confidence which is attached to stations of authority on the cases of so culpable and mischievous a neutrality.

91. From the whole of the preceding discussion, you will naturally infer that we consider the offences charged against those officers whom you have judged it necessary to suspend or deprive of their appointments and commands, as fully justifying the respective degrees of punishment which you have allotted to them.

92. The local means and advantages which you possess, as well as the great delicacy of the enquiry, have necessarily placed the application of these principles to individuals, and the investigation of particular cases, under your exclusive cognisance; and we have only to express that entire confidence which is due to your station and characters in the justice and impartiality, not less than in the vigilance and activity of your proceedings, in a scrutiny so peculiarly circumstanced.

93. We observe with satisfaction, that the general tenor of the replies to their circular letter, addressed by major-general Gowdie to the officers commanding at the several stations of the army, confirms the opinion which we have expressed of the loyalty of the major part of the officers of your establishment.

94. In assuring you, therefore, of the firm support of this government, in maintaining a contest which involves all that is

most dear to our sovereign and country, if, contrary to our ardent desire and sanguine hope, any future call should be made on the power and energy of your government, which may require our aid. We will conclude, however, with expressing our fondest wish and expectation, that the late afflicting agitations should subside in a calm and reasonable reliance on the wisdom and justice of the high authorities to which the transactions of this troubled period have been advocated, and in those demonstrations of respect and obedience which are due not more to your station than to the faithful and honourable discharge of all your public but difficult duties, which, in our opinion, has eminently distinguished the present government of Fort St. George.

95. Such a result will be most acceptable to us, most accordant with our views of the public interest, and most congenial with those sentiments of affection and respect towards the army of the coast, which we cordially profess, and remain assured that we shall never have reason to renounce.

We have the honour to be,

Honourable Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

(Signed) MINTO,  
J. LUMSDEN,

Fort William, H. COLBROOKE.  
the 27th May, 1809.

Letter from the chief secretary of government, forwarding a memorial from colonel St. Leger, and copy of a letter from that officer.

To the chief secretary to government.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 17th, directing me to embark on board the *De-waysnes* on the 20th instant.

I beg you will inform the honourable the governor in council, that nothing is more remote from my thoughts than to disobey any order he may deem it expedient to issue; but I beg you at the same time to communicate to him a fact, of which possibly he may not be apprized, that I found it necessary, from the severe measures he has been pleased to adopt against me, to apply to the laws of my country for redress.

For that purpose I have made an application, by complaint on oath, to the supreme court, according to the directions of the act of parliament, by which I am entitled to compel the production of evidence sufficient to sustain my action, in order to prosecute it in the king's court at Westminster.

As the supreme court is not at present sitting, it is highly essential to the remedy which I am seeking, that I should be at this presidency when the court meets, which I am informed is the 18th of next month, in order that I may enter into the securities



required by the act for the prosecution of the suit in England.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of the affidavit on which my complaint is stated.

The honourable the governor in council will therefore see, that the execution of the order for my embarkation on the 20th instant will have the effect of cutting off from a British subject his remedy in a court of law; a remedy which, by a positive act of parliament, has been provided for those who suffer oppression in India.

Having said this, I beg leave also to state, that if the honourable the governor in council should renew the orders for my embarkation, I shall consider it as being done with the intention of preventing me from that speedy redress which the act of parliament points out the means of obtaining. But whatever may be their determination, I hope that the avowal of my intentions to lay my injuries before an English jury will not be considered as the mere threat of an angry man, but the mature and deliberate resolution of an officer to vindicate his character in the most public manner.

With this protest, I again repeat, that I shall obey the order of the governor in council for my embarkation on the 25th, should he, after this communication, think proper to order it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A. St. Leger,  
Lieutenant-colonel.

Madras, 18th June, 1809.

The honourable Arthur St. Leger, late commandant of the sixth regiment of Native cavalry in the service of the honourable East India company, maketh oath, and saith, that he has been unjustly suspended from the service of the honourable East India company, and ordered to proceed to England by an order of Sir George Hilario Barlow, baronet, and knight of the bath, in council of Fort St. George, by virtue of a general order of the said governor in council, dated the 1st of May, 1809; and this deponent further saith, in obedience to such last-mentioned order, this deponent was proceeding to Trichinopoly, but that at Madras this deponent received from colonel Wilkinson, commanding the southern division of the army, acting under the authority and at the instance of the said governor in council of Fort St. George, another order, whereby this deponent was prohibited from proceeding to Trichinopoly on his route to Fort St. George, this deponent's house and property then and still being at Trichinopoly, and ordered to proceed to Sadras, and from thence to Poonamallee; and that if this deponent hesitated to obey the last-mentioned order, this deponent was ordered to be placed under a captain's guard, and marched to prison: and this deponent further saith, that the general order of the

said governor in council, whereby this deponent hath been suspended from the said service of the honourable company and ordered to proceed to England as aforesaid, was published in the several newspapers of the said presidency of Fort St. George; and that the cause of the aforesaid suspension of this deponent, as notified in the said newspapers by the said governor in council, was talent therein stated and alleged to be, that the deponent had been active in promoting the circulation of a certain paper addressed to the right honourable the governor-general, and that this deponent had employed the influence which he this deponent derived from the important command confided to him, this deponent, by the government, for the purpose of subverting its authority, and spreading dissension among the troops which it had entrusted to this deponent's charge: this deponent further saith, that he did not circulate nor promote the circulation of the said paper or any other paper addressed to the right honourable the said governor-general; and that he this deponent hath not at any time employed the influence he this deponent derived from the command held by this deponent, or any influence whatever, for the purpose of attempting the subversion of its authority, and spreading dissension among the troops entrusted to his this deponent's charge; and that the aforesaid publication in the said newspapers by order of the said governor in council, as it respects this deponent, is a false and malicious libel on this deponent's character as an officer; and this deponent further saith, that the said crime, as laid to his charge in the said general order, is, according to the articles of war for the company's troops, punishable with death; and that this deponent hath not been tried or found guilty by a court martial of any military offence whatsoever, notwithstanding this deponent hath demanded a court martial to be held on this deponent for the said crime falsely laid in the said charge; and this deponent further saith, that he hath, by the above-mentioned unjust suspension from the said service of the said honourable company, been deprived of great emolument; and that his character hath been much injured by the aforesaid publication; and this deponent further saith that he intends to proceed against the said Sir George Hilario Barlow on the return of this deponent to Great Britain, in his majesty's court of King's Bench, by two several actions for damages sustained by this deponent in consequence of the aforesaid unjust removal and suspension of this deponent, and by the publication of the aforesaid false, slanderous, and malicious libel of and concerning this deponent; and this deponent further saith that in pursuance and by virtue of an act, passed in the twenty first year of his present majesty, relative to oppression and injuries com-



mitted by any governor-general, or any member or members of the council of Calcutta; and by another act of the thirty-ninth and fortieth years of his said majesty, which extends the like proceedings to oppressions and injuries committed by the governor and members of the council of Fort St. George, he this deponent intends to apply to the supreme court of judicature at Fort St. George, for an order to compel the production in the said court of true copy or copies of the order or orders of council whereby this deponent hath been so suspended and ordered to proceed to England aforesaid, and to have the same authenticated by the said supreme court, and to examine witnesses on the matter of this complaint, this deponent being ready and willing to execute a bond with a responsible person to the honourable East India company, effectually to prosecute the said complaint by actions as aforesaid, immediately on the arrival of this deponent in England, and within two years after the making of the same, and of the return of the said Sir George Hilare Barlow to England, agreeable to the directions of the said act passed in the said twenty-first year of his said majesty.

(Signed) A. ST. LEGER.

Sworn, &c.

To the honourable the secret committee of the honourable the court of directors.

Honourable Sirs,

1. I have the happiness to congratulate your honourable committee, on the termination of the dangerous troubles which have agitated this presidency, since the month of January.

2. Greater perils have, perhaps, never threatened the possessions of the honourable company, or the British empire in India, and so great an alarm has seldom subsided so suddenly, so entirely, and with so fair a prospect, not only of the permanent restoration of former security and tranquillity, but of the improvement of those blessings.

3. The fortunate issue of this formidable struggle is to be ascribed generally to the inflexible firmness which has marked the character and measures of sir George Barlow's government throughout this trying season, which did not allow a moment of success to the insubordination of the army in any of its objects, and has preserved the authority of legal government unbroken, unimpaired by the dangerous example of prosperous revolt. But the final and unqualified submission of the revolted officers has been more particularly and immediately brought about by the wise energy of the latter measure, the object of which was two-fold:—first, to separate the faithful from the disaffected; secondly, to withdraw the Native troops from the control of officers who were in open rebellion, and to replace the company's army at the disposal and under the orders of its government.

4. The measures of the 26th of July had these important purposes in view. A declaration of mere fidelity to the duties attached to their commission was to be rendered to every officer in the service; such as refused, were to be suspended from their military functions, and separated from the troops; and explanations were then to be given to the latter, that might induce them to acknowledge the power of government, and to obey such officers as should be appointed to command them.

5. A judicious distribution of the troops had been previously made at the different stations of the army to favour the execution of this measure, and it proved entirely successful at all the southern stations.

6. The officers very generally refused the test, but they all submitted to the order which removed them from their corps, and the Native troops, without any exception, in a manner which strongly evinced sincerity, their exclusive submission and attachment to the honourable company and its government.

7. By the effect of this measure a great proportion of the disaffected body was disarmed; and a great part of the force on which the revolted officers had counted for the prosecution of their desperate designs, was ranged under the standard of government.

8. Another benefit, perhaps not less important, was obtained by these measures, in conveying to the Native soldiers, still under the direction of the disaffected officers at several of the most considerable posts, a knowledge of the real state of affairs, and an example furnished by their own body of the conduct which their duty required; circumstances, which in proportion to their probable influence on the mind of the Sepoys, could not avoid inspiring their officers with doubt and distrust concerning the support they might expect from them if the contest with government should proceed to extremity.

9. The natural effect of these circumstances was much enhanced at Secunderabad, the principal station of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, by the appointment of colonel Close to that command, and by the courageous and vigorous attempt he made, in the very face of the revolt, to detach the Native battalions from their officers, and recal them to the service of the company.

10. He was overcome, it is true, on the spot, but the impression appears to have been made, especially on the Native officers, and to have afterwards moved itself into dispositions which increased the alarm of the officers. These causes, aided by some concurring circumstances, and as I wish to believe by some considerations of a character more favourable to the credit and honour of the senior and leading officers of the force, produced a sudden revolution in their views and conduct. They submitted in a body;



signed the test unconditionally, and threw themselves on the mercy of government.

11. This event induced, of necessity, the embarkation of the detachment at Jaulon, and of the garrisons of Seringapatam and Masulipatam; the whole army followed these examples, and its submission became absolute and general.

12. Such was the fortunate and welcome change which met me on landing at Fort St. George the 11th of September.

13. When I embarked at Fort William the 5th of August, the most recent event was the mutiny and revolt at Masulipatam. I received also at sea, with considerable uneasiness, casual accounts of an engagement between king's and company's troops at Seringapatam.

14. Your honourable committee will better conceive than I can describe the satisfaction and joy with which I learnt events so important and auspicious.

15. The only certain and infallible issue of a contest so unnatural and so lamentable as that which we might have had to maintain, was the total and irretrievable ruin of thirteen hundred English gentlemen who were engaged in this enterprise, equally criminal and hopeless, a consequence which must itself have embittered the victory of government, and if it had been complete, deeply enhanced the disasters and reverses which the public might have experienced in the conflict.

16. That the government in India backed by the power of the empire must have finally, and, it is probable, speedily triumphed, I have always firmly believed, but if the Sepoy battalions had in truth, as their officers appear never to have allowed themselves to doubt, adhered to their cause, and if they had afterwards felt themselves pressed by the loyal force at the command of government, and deprived of the subsistence and prospects which till then they had enjoyed in the advantageous and honourable service of the company, it is likely that their resentments would have been directed against those who had betrayed them to their ruin in the pursuit of criminal designs, totally foreign to their own interests or concerns; and it is impossible to foresee the dreadful and fatal extremities to which those feelings might have impelled them against a small body of gentlemen entirely in their power, and unprotected by those restraints of discipline which they had themselves dissolved; nor is it possible to define the limits of more general disorder and ruin prompted by such a fearful example. Many other deplorable consequences of such a civil war may be imagined, and need not be detailed.

17. That a general revolt of the officers of a whole army in a distant province should have been subdued, that a civil war of the most alarming and calamitous character with all the miseries and dangers inseparable from such events, has been averted, is of

itself matter of great and substantial consolation. But my satisfaction was much increased by the important circumstance of this result having been obtained by the councils and resources of Fort St. George itself; that is to say, the very government whose power had been defied. This sentiment struck me forcibly in the first moment, and has been confirmed by every hour's reflection since. I have thought it indeed of so much moment to the public interests, that in addition to the pleasure I personally feel in doing justice to Sir George Barlow's public merits, and to my strong sense of the signal services he has on this trying occasion rendered to his country, the circumstance to which I have alluded has become a fresh motive to mark, as I have been careful to do, in every public document that has a reference to these events, the obvious and decisive influence of his character and measures in procuring that happy issue which is the subject of the present communication.

18. It is, at the same time, a duty which I discharge with the greatest satisfaction, to bring in this place to your notice the concurrence of other causes, and the distinguished merits of other persons and bodies of men in the production of this result; the absence of which indeed must have much increased the difficulties of government, if they had not disappointed the public object.

19. One great and powerful support to the authority of lawful government, and the interests of Great Britain, has been the steady and zealous loyalty of his majesty's officers and troops.

20. The slightest backwardness on their parts would have strongly promoted the cause of sedition, and encouraged both the company's officers, and possibly the Native troops, in the prosecution of extreme and desperate measures. The sound and honourable sentiments, on the contrary, of this weighty body much discountenanced the erroneous opinions and false feelings of the malcontents, which the approved courage, discipline, and incorruptible fidelity of this European force, so much respected in Asia, shook the confidence of the revolted army, and added a solid and incalculable strength to government.

21. The fidelity of the armies of Bengal and Bombay is also to be accounted amongst the resources of the government of Fort St. George. Those who took a lead in the revolt were so sensible of the impression which would be produced on the minds of their associates, by a knowledge of the truth on the subject, that no means of imposture and fabrication were omitted, to establish a belief in the support of those powerful bodies.

22. This allegation was entirely destitute of foundation with regard to both armies, and the imposition was detected in Bengal by the indignant resentment of the officers of that establishment, at the scandalous and calumnious imputations which had been cast upon them by the committees of the



coast army; and the true sentiments of the Bengal army have already been conveyed in numerous addresses, professing the soundest principles of military subordination and civil obedience; and breathing the purest spirit of professional honour, loyalty, and patriotism.

23. The refutation of the falsehood, so long and industriously circulated respecting the promise of support from the other presidencies, had not waited however for these public disavowals, and that delusion had been generally dissipated on the coast, forming indeed another feature of the particular period when the disaffected suddenly renounced their desperate enterprise; and the faithful armies of Bengal and Bombay may enjoy the satisfaction of having contributed to the support of the authority of the company, and the cause of their country, by the mere force of character and honour, without the necessity, always painful in civil contentions, of vindicating their principles by the employment of their arms.

24. The steady support which throughout this season of anxious exertion has been furnished to Sir George Barlow by the majority of his council, has, next to the energy of his own character, given strength and efficiency to his administration, in contending with this evil.

25. In doing justice to these gentlemen, it is not my intention to reflect on the conduct of Mr. Pettie, whose opinions have led him to dissent from his colleagues on some of the principal measures of this period.

26. In a case of crisis, however, where to place the matter on a broad and general ground, a strong government might reasonably be accounted essential (if I may use that phrase) to the safety of the commonwealth, the dissent of a member of council so considerable in station, character, and talents, must give additional value to the useful and efficient support which Sir George Barlow and the public cause have derived from Mr. Oakes and Mr. Catamajor.

27. I have much satisfaction in thinking, that the support which has uniformly been afforded by the supreme government to the government of Fort St. George, throughout these troubles, has not been ineffectual.

28. The views I entertained very early concerning the true character of the faction, out of which this extensive and formidable confederacy has grown, and concerning the necessity of a vigorous opposition to every step that was made in a concerted plan of military sedition, have already been submitted to the honourable the court of directors in the dispatch from Bengal, under date the 11th April, referring to a letter which had been addressed to the president in council at Fort St. George on the 20th February, a copy of which has been forwarded to the honourable court.

29. I have been strongly confirmed in the arguments I had first conceived on this sub-

ject, by the progress of events; and my conduct has been directed alike by fixed and fundamental principles of policy which I profess on these subjects, and by what has appeared to me to be their just application to the circumstances of the particular case.

30. Feeling, as every prudent man, and especially every statesman, ought, the frequent expediency, which I might indeed call necessity, of mutual accommodation and concession in the controversies and contentions of mankind, and having learnt from the wisdom of one, whose lessons have become laws to the world, that compromise must be admitted (if I may so express myself) amongst the elements of human intercourse; I am inclined, however, to rank military sedition and revolt amongst the few exceptions to this salutary and healing principle. Much, for that very reason, may, and ought, to be done to avert a contest in which, when once kindled, concession does not find its place, and conciliation itself changes its properties, tending rather to exasperate than appease.

31. The revolt of an army, of which the object is to overawe and control the government, appears to me to exclude compromise, and I regard it as one of those evils for which the only remedy is a firm, vigorous, and determined opposition.

32. Your honourable committee will find this principle distinctly professed on every occasion which has called for the expression of my sentiments on the same subject, and I am the more induced to transcribe, in this place, a paragraph of the letter addressed by the governor-general in council to the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated the 20th of February; and a passage of a letter addressed also by the supreme government to the government of Bombay, under date the 10th of October, 1808; because the principles conveyed in these papers have, in the course of the late agitations on the coast, been referred to by the governor in council of Fort St. George, as affording sanction to the vigorous system pursued by that government in repressing the seditious violence with which it has had to contend.

Extract of the letter addressed by the governor-general in council to the governor in council of Fort St. George, dated 20th February, 1809.

Par. 7.—“We cannot conclude without recommending to you in the strongest terms to persevere in repressing with dignity and temper, but by measures of firmness and energy, that spirit of insubordination to the authority of government, which we are concerned to observe has of late prevailed in some portions of the army of Fort St. George, and we assure you of our fullest support in the maintenance of your just authority, and in your endeavours to restore due order and subordination throughout the military branch of the establishment.”



Extract of letter addressed by the supreme government to the government of Bombay, under date the 10th October, 1808.

Par. 26th. "As to menace or any attempt at intimidation, the case is not to be supposed; the supplication alone would constitute a more real injury and insult to the honourable men who compose the Bombay army, than any it is possible they should ever have to complain of." But if in any quarter of the world, where we might happen to be the depositories of public authorities, a case should arise, our minds are settled on the only principle adapted in any circumstances to that exigency; to admit of no compromise with an evil, far greater than that can be incurred by resisting it, but to maintain the full unqualified sovereignty, which is in reality the safety of the state, by combating either the seditious combination and cabals, or the criminal violence of its servants, to the last and utmost extremity. We are clear that whatever temporary inconvenience might in some predicament be avoided by declining such a contest, concession to menace or clamour can never happen without operating a general and permanent relaxation of authority, and diminution of all the public energies throughout the empire in which it occurs."—Par. 27. "We take the two pillars of every human government to be, first, that its measures be directed to the public good; next, that its authority thus exercised be maintained with unshaken firmness and resolution."

33. Such being my own principles on this subject, and such being the principles which Sir George Barlow's own mind had adopted as the foundation of his measures, and as the rule of his policy in this difficult conjuncture, it became an obvious duty on my part to afford him the fullest support which could be derived from the supreme authority of India, and to add to the efficiency of his own system, whatever force could be supplied by the manifestation of my cordial concurrence in his measures, and of my determination to strengthen his hands if the occasion should require it.

34. In conformity with these views, the letter from the governor-general in council of the 17th May was framed in reply to the communication from Fort St. George of the general order of the 1st May, and after accounts had reached us of the extension and increasing violence of the confederacy to which that general order appeared to have furnished either the motive or the pretext.

35. Sir George Barlow had expressed an opinion that some explanation of the professional duty of officers, obviously too little understood or too much disregarded in the army of the coast, and a strong recommendation of juster notions and better feelings than were then prevalent, conveyed from the supreme government at this period might produce a salutary effect.

36. Our letter was written therefore with the double view of proclaiming a firm sup-

port to the government of Fort St. George against the growing violence with which it was menaced and of conveying useful instruction, enforced by friendly exhortation and counsel, to the officers of the army. The letter itself having been already transmitted to your honourable committee by the government of Fort St. George will require no further observation in this place, and it is forwarded as an enclosure of this dispatch only for the sake of regularity.

37. I began about this period to suspect that the growing violence of the army might ere long induce a crisis which would demand the additional support of the personal authority attached to my office; but knowing that Sir George Barlow would give me notice when that moment should arrive, and receiving as yet very favourable reports from him of the hopes which might be entertained of the army's speedy return to subordination and obedience, I did not take the resolution of repairing to Fort St. George until the accounts reached me, on the 10th of July, of the open mutiny and rebellion which had broken out at Masulipatam, accompanied by information, too credible, of the connection of these events, with a general conspiracy of the whole army, conducted by a very regular and perfect organization of committees, and secret modes of correspondence from one end of the Peninsula to the other.

38. I then felt that Fort St. George was my proper post, and that I could not, in a conjuncture so awful, withhold the superintending powers vested in my person, without shrinking from one of the few occasions, in contemplation of which they were conferred, and without a dereliction of the principal duties annexed to my station. My departure was delayed only by the indispensable preparations both from my absence from Fort William, and for the exercise of my functions at Fort St. George.

39. In this interval I received from several quarters, and especially from some of the officers suspended by the general orders of the 1st May, who had come to Calcutta, various accounts of the progress made by the dissatisfied officers towards measures of a desperate character. Having conceived a suspicion that these officious reports, always of unwelcome events, might be conveyed to me, whether true or false, with views of intimidation, I felt it more than ever necessary, and exactly in proportion indeed to the increasing motives of alarm, that no encouragement should be furnished to the desperate counsels of the army by any hope of weakness or wavering in the mind of government. I had opportunities of impressing on these confederates and correspondents of the revolted army, my determination to contest the cause of legal government in India to the last extremity, and especially to the ruin of the public enemy.

40. As an example of the tone I thought it advisable to maintain with the persons



alluded to, I transcribe, in this place, a short reply which I made to the first intelligence of the events at Masulipatam, communicated to me by lieutenant-colonel Robert Bell, late commandant of the coast artillery at the mount, but then at Calcutta.

"To lieutenant-colonel Bell.

10th July, 1809.

"Sir,—I return you my best thanks for the important but afflicting accounts you sent me this morning of the revolt at Masulipatam. I cannot for a moment imagine that so great a crime should receive support or countenance from an army of English gentlemen and soldiers. I am heartily concerned for the misfortunes which await the misguided men who have embarked in these desperate and disgraceful courses: the time is come when honour and duty require that every man should make his firm and distinct election between rebellion and his country.

"I have the honour, &c."

41. I apprized general Hewitt, whose headquarters were then at Merut on the northern frontier of your provinces, of the latest events on the coast, and intimated the possibility of an occasion arising for reinforcing the government of Madras from Bengal; I requested his excellency to keep that contingency in view, and to consider of such a plan as he should deem advisable for that purpose, without adopting however such actual measures as should divulge that intention until the necessity for it should become more apparent.

42. I took the liberty, at the same time, of recommending his early return to the presidency, for the purpose superintending any military arrangements that might eventually become expedient.

43. My motive for postponing the manifestation of such preparations in Bengal, was an anxious desire to find affairs still open to accommodation on my arrival at Fort St. George, and to avoid therefore any step which should precipitate events in a moment so critical and delicate; many assurances had reached me that any arrival would be the signal of submission, and although I might reasonably suspect that such a disposition, if it existed, might be founded on expectation of concession which I should certainly have disappointed, yet it did not seem impossible that men advancing by such rapid and alarming strides to their own destruction, should catch at the presence of a new authority in order to retract from the fearful course they were pursuing, with some salvo for false pride, and with less repugnance to the unjust but passionate and inveterate malignity they had conceived or professed against the person of the governor of Fort St. George.

44. The occasion however was likely to be lost for submission, if a movement of troops were observed in Bengal; and a desire on the part of the revolted officers to anticipate an expected reinforcement to government, might lead to extreme measures from which there would be no retreat.

In pursuance of the same views, it was settled with my colleagues, that the vice president in council should concert secretly such plans of succour to the government of Fort St. George as should not disclose that intention until I should apprise them of my wishes on the subject from Madras, unless they should receive earlier accounts of the actual commencement of hostilities, in which case measures were to be immediately adopted for transporting troops from Fort William to Madras and furnishing other reinforcements to the coast; the vice president in council did accordingly, on receiving advice of the engagement near Seringapatam, with the greatest promptitude and judgment issue orders for embarking his majesty's 14th regiment from the garrison of Fort William, and 2d from Berhampore; and for advancing two battalions of Native Infantry from Cuttack to the frontiers of the northern Circars, which orders remained in course of execution, until the submission of the officers on the coast enabled the vice president in council to recal them.

45. Previous to my departure I thought it advisable to acquaint the army of Bengal officially with the criminal excesses to which the sedition on the coast had proceeded at Masulipatam; and I have the honour to enclose a copy of the general orders issued upon that occasion.

46. It happened that this paper reached the Hyderabad subsidiary force and some other stations of the coast army at the critical period already referred to, when the officers began to waver in their designs, as the last paragraph in the general orders appears either to have favoured the new dispositions, to which other and much more cogent motives had given birth, or to have been employed as an additional means of persuasion by those who wished, late indeed, but earlier than the rest, to abandon themselves and recal others from the dangerous and fatal course they were running.

47. The passage alluded to was represented, and seems to have been understood, as written in a spirit of moderation, and as encouraging the hope of conciliation, by which must have been meant, so far as it was employed as an argument of submission, the hope of a lenient judgment on those who should resign themselves implicitly to the authority and discretion of government.

48. What share this and many other of the minor and concurrent inducements to submission may have practically had in producing the fortunate termination of these disorders, it may not be altogether immaterial to consider; and I have thought it right, in point of justice, not to omit the enumeration of any motive, to which it is the wish of those who place themselves at the mercy of government to ascribe that resolution, because a more or less favourable view of that subject might justly and materially



## STATE PAPERS.

operate either to the advantage or prejudice of a numerous, and, by their profession, their former merits and services, a still respectable body of our countrymen. The whole of the question will find, however, a more proper place in the sequel, and I proceed to lay before you an account of the principal occurrences and measures since my arrival at Madras on the 11th of September.

49. I felt a great desire to weaken as little as possible the influence of Sir George Barlow's government by the intervention of a new authority, and in that view, as well as to devote my whole mind more exclusively to the great object which had required my presence, I took the resolution recorded in my *minute* of the 12th September, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

50. On the subject, however, which had brought me to Madras, I felt it to be a point both of duty and policy to form a separate and individual judgment.

51. I should have discharged imperfectly the trust for which the extraordinary powers I was then about to exercise had been vested in my person; I should have ill appreciated the momentous matter I had before me, and I should have lowered in a manner prejudicial to the permanent efficiency of your Indian government, the high and paramount authority of my office, which for purposes alike of remedy and of support in their several cases, it is so important to hold high in the estimation and reverence of India, if I had professed only a blind concurrence in councils in which I was come to preside; I should at the same time have brought to the government of Fort St. George a very feeble accession of strength, if my support had consisted only in an additional signature unsanctioned by the deliberation and decision of a separate and superintending judgment.

52. I determined, therefore, to pursue a personal investigation of the facts, followed by a mature deliberation on their results, before I should adopt any resolution, or even commit myself on any of the principal points depending.

53. I professed openly, at the same time, my readiness to receive from every quarter, so far as the urgency of the awful affairs depending admitted, either written or verbal communications; and especially on the part of those whose safety or fortunes might be involved in the judgment I had to pronounce.

54. The documents furnished by government alone were extremely voluminous, and much time was engaged also in perusing the memorials, examining the documents, and listening to the suggestions and representations of individuals.

55. The deliberation was itself the most anxious that could be submitted to the human mind, and the judgment was painfully distracted between the demands of public justice, and the deep interest of society, in the vindication of military discipline and public order, the claims of individual justice, the val dury

and effect of exculpatory pleas, the indulgence due to human error and infirmity, and the compassion excited by the humiliation and misfortunes of a subdued adversary.

56. It will ever be some matter of grateful and consoling reflection, that the final judgment I have had to pronounce, was founded on ample and careful enquiry, and on repeated and anxious meditation; from which, so far as the capacity of my mind has admitted, no consideration has been excluded that could affect either the public or individuals, on which either justice or humanity could suggest.

57. That judgment is conveyed in the general order issued in my name on the 24th of September, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.

58. As the grounds of this measure are stated pretty fully in the paper itself, I need not trouble your honourable committee with a detailed discussion of the several interesting points comprised in it.

59. Your honourable committee will see that I have studied to combine, as far as those opposite principles would admit, the correction of great and dangerous offences with a mitigating spirit of clemency and mercy.

60. The two governing principles have been, first, that example was indispensable; secondly, that the greatest measure of lenity, compatible with that object, was consistent with the public interest as well as promoted by natural feeling.

61. In a case of such general participation by a numerous body in the offence which is to be punished, it is obvious that the penalty cannot be extended to all; and that some must be selected for example, whose punishment, while it atones for the general crime, must inflict upon the rest also, if they are men and have human hearts whose guilt they expose, a penalty little short of their own doom.

62. That the examples need not be numerous is my opinion. A solemn, but not vindictive sacrifice to justice will suffice to assert the authority of government and to satisfy the offended laws. It will sufficiently establish also, not by a cold calculation of chances, but by a deep and severe impression, the hazard which attends crimes, and the affliction which follows guilt, even when the personal danger is escaped.

63. I reflected that the mass of the offending officers were to be necessarily replaced in stations of trust, that our native armies were still to be commanded by them, and that whether the penalty should fall on few or comparatively on many, our army was still to be composed of associates in the common offence; policy therefore, if a more generous principle did not run before that colder motive, points to conciliation as the most expedient, as well as in many other points of view, the most commendable foundation of our measures. The change in events has changed the principle; while revolt was on foot, conciliation, which would



have been mistaken or perhaps justly taken for weakness, must have impaired both dignity and power. After submission a vacillating course became a point not merely of prudence, but of magnanimity, consulting the best and the only true pride of government, and building up authority on the surest basis of human power.

64. It became my duty, and was an interesting point of my enquiry, to ascertain the claim to indulgence or approbation which either the army at large, or individuals, might have derived from the circumstances attending their return to their duty.

65. It would have afforded me the most cordial satisfaction to have discovered clearer traces of disinterested penitence, or of other meritorious motives for this sudden and total revolution in the conduct of the army.

66. The enquiry, indeed, need hardly extend beyond the Hyderabad subsidiary force at Secundrabad, for by the unconditional submission of that force, the keystone of the revolt was removed, and the whole fabric crumbled at once to dust and ruin. After that event, the necessity of submission was so apparent and the case so urgent, that the merit of a voluntary retreat cannot even be claimed by any other portion of the army.

67. The detachment at Jaulna had actually made two marches towards Hyderabad in compliance with a requisition from Secundrabad, when their progress in rebellion was arrested, by advices from the troops at the latter place, of their submission to government. The dismay occasioned by this intelligence could only be equalled by the indignation and fury excited in the minds of the Jaulna detachment, by an event which rendered the prosecution of their designs impracticable, and their renunciation of them fatal. They determined however, after some hesitation, to retrace their steps and resume their post at Jaulna. In like manner no symptom of returning loyalty was perceived at Seringapatam, till the intelligence from Secundrabad and Jaulna discovered to them the hopeless and desperate state of their affairs. A pressing letter from the Hyderabad subsidiary force, at the moment of its submission, addressed to the garrison of Masulipatam, exhorting them to follow their example without a moment's delay, produced the first steps towards subordination at that place, and so of various other posts and corps.

68. With regard to the Hyderabad force itself it may appear the less necessary to weigh very nicely the motives of their conduct, as the full benefit of a meritorious return to their duty has been allowed to them.

69. The operation, however, of the orders of the 26th July, the impression made by Colonel Close on the native battalions, and growing indications of their alienation from the cause of the European officers, cannot

but throw strong shades upon the sudden conversion of that force. It was brought about, indeed, entirely by the senior officers aided by the very laudable and no doubt, to some extent, efficacious exertions of lieutenant-colonel Montresor.

70. The junior part of the force was reclaimed with great difficulty, and the strong doubts by that time entertained of the adherence of the Sejoys, was a principal topic of persuasion employed by the seniors in their endeavours to bring the former round to the new sentiments they had themselves adopted.

71. With all these indications of inducements connected rather with despair of success than with contrition and repentance, I have wished to give their due weight to the motives alleged by the senior officers of the Hyderabad force, to have induced at that particular moment their return to the duties of subordination and obedience; and I am willing to think that the considerations of which they claim the merit, may be admitted to have come in aid of the more obvious and prudential reasons already referred to for their conduct.

72. They represent themselves, as I understand it, to have proposed at no period any thing beyond intimidation, as a means of controuling government, and extorting the concessions they required. They advanced from faction to sedition, from sedition to revolt; confident that each step they made towards greater violence would suffice for their purpose. In this course they gradually arrived at the last narrow boundary, which they had yet to pass, before the commencement of civil war; and while they yet hesitated on that last decisive step, the measures of government convinced them that intimidation would fail; and if they advanced further, the contest was actually to be maintained. They then describe their sense of the public evils incident to such a conflict, and their compunction at becoming the immediate instruments of such calamities, sentiments which terminated in a resolution, since Sir George Barlow would not yield to the army, to sacrifice their own objects and feelings to the public safety, and submit themselves implicitly to the discretion of government.

73. Such is the most favourable account which has been suggested by themselves of their conversion. There would remain, after all, an actual revolt to the extreme point of intimidation and menace, and stopping short only of actual war, under circumstances of very doubtful success, or rather of utter impracticability and despair.

74. The truth is, that whatever satisfaction I should derive from a favourable view of this explanation, on the outward aspect alone of these transactions, I am precluded from giving easy faith to this refined account of an instant and sudden retreat from long concerted designs, by less questionable testimony than any plausible declarations; I mean the distinct avowal by the parties in their correspondence with each other (intercepted by government.)



that despair alone drove them to renounce their criminal projects. It is clear that the danger was pressing, for they must have otherwise held out at least to negotiate for their own safety; and they might naturally have been expected to wait in the same posture for my arrival, since they stated themselves to have conceived expectations, from the terms of my general order to the army of Bengal, of measures of conciliation and lenity.

75. I must yet acknowledge, that I fairly feel the probability that men advanced to such a fearful pass, upon ground so insecure and slippery, may have earnestly wished to retreat from their desperate enterprises, and it cannot be forgotten, that many in the multitude who have shared this frenzy, have been borne down the current from crime to crime, against their own better judgments and dispositions. These may truly be believed to have rejoiced at the first overture for retreat, and to have abandoned, with sincere and honourable feelings of duty, projects to which they had lent an unwilling and compulsory concurrence.

76. I am also induced to say, that I am disposed, from what has passed under my observation, to ascribe to Major Neale, the senior officer of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, a lurking sense of better principles in the midst of his guilty participation in the crimes of that distempered period, and a sincere, and perhaps even an earlier desire than actually manifested itself, to recede from a situation so repugnant to the sober judgment and natural feelings of every honourable man.

77. Under all the considerations stated in this dispatch, and in the general order of September 25th, I am persuaded your honourable committee will approve the spirit of grace, oblivion, and entire reconciliation, which forms the character of this measure. I have the satisfaction to understand, that it has made a favourable impression on those who are the objects of it, and that if cordiality towards the government of Fort St. George should yet be retarded by the vehemence of prejudice and passion, long blindly indulged, better sentiments may be expected to arise gradually and all apprehension may be banished from this hour of a relapse into disorder and insubordination.

78. I have the honour to enclose two general orders, issued in my name to the army also on the 25th September, conveying my just acknowledgments of the zeal, efficient support of his majesty's troops, and of the fidelity of the Nativetroops of this establishment; and to these I beg leave to add my general order of the 4th October, concerning a practice the continuation of which there was, in some instances, reason to apprehend, and which must have effectually precluded the return of general harmony, which is so much to be desired. I allude to combinations and pledges to exclude from society, and otherwise insult those who may have quitted the guilty

cause of revolt before the general submission of the army. I flatter myself the admonition and advice conveyed in that paper may not be ineffectual.

79. Having stated the principal measures which have been adopted since my arrival at Madras, your honourable committee might naturally expect that I should enter, on this occasion, more fully into the origin, motives, and principles of the very general and alarming revolt of so large a proportion of your military establishment. I feel the importance of that investigation; and having had no earlier opportunity of forming a judgment founded on full information, and uncombined with the important and urgent principle which governed my conduct in Bengal, I mean the indispensable necessity of affording to the governor of Fort St. George unqualified support against sedition and revolt, I cannot neglect to avail myself of the facilities I now possess for that purpose, and shall apply my mind carefully and impartially to that general and interesting enquiry. It is, no doubt, upon such an investigation, that your future system ought to be founded, and that I should alone be justified in submitting to your consideration any suggestions that may arise in my mind upon that subject.

80. Opinions of such moment ought, however, to be mature, and the remaining period of my residence here, which will probably not exceed the first week of December, will not be more than sufficient to render any sentiments I may ultimately entertain on questions so large and complicated, affecting concerns of such high value, worthy of the quarter to which they will be addressed. I should wish also for a little more knowledge and further experience of the real dispositions left or created in the minds of the officers of this army by the late stormy season, and the calm which has succeeded it.

81. I cannot, however, permit myself to suppress some suggestions for your immediate consideration, because no doubt remains on my mind concerning their justice or expediency, and much of the impression may depend upon their earlier or later adoption.

82. The point to which I now allude, is the reward of those who have conspicuously contributed to the signal and invaluable benefit which the company has received by the suppression of this dangerous revolt. Your honourable committee, and indeed the public of England, will have probably passed through an interval of great alarm, before the happy and providential issue of these troubles could relieve the anxiety inseparable from such occasions. From your sentiments and feelings during this aspect of your affairs, the extent of the late danger, and the value of your present security may be well appreciated without enlarging on these points.

83. The first and most pressing object appears to me under these considerations, and



I am entirely persuaded will be felt by your honourable committee, to be a public and signal acknowledgment, both from the honourable company and from his majesty's government, of Sir George Barlow's eminent services. He has conducted your bark out of this tempest into safety, not by any stroke of fortune or by any ordinary measure of exertion, but by the uniform unshaken application of firmness, courage, and fortitude, rising in proportion to the difficulties to which they were opposed. A moment's relaxation of these great and rare qualities would have delivered over your government for ever in bondage to your army, and, by dissolving the discipline of the latter, would have extinguished the efficacy at once of your civil and of your military power.

84. There are other very powerful motives for affording your marked and distinguished countenance to Sir George Barlow. One of the constituent and most active principles of this criminal confederacy has been, an unfounded but rancorous disaffection to his person. I speak with concern undoubtedly, but without embarrassment or scruple, on that subject, because whatever odium has been malignantly cast upon his name, has been earned by the steady inflexible discharge of public duty, and by efforts in your service, not in themselves more grateful personally to him than to other men, but falling more particularly by the course of events within the period of his administration.

85. To consent that he, who in the highest stations of trust and confidence has intrepidly performed important but ungrateful service, should be borne down by party discontents, and especially by an armed faction, is I am sure contrary alike to your honourable committee's sense of justice, and your enlightened views of policy.

86. For purposes of conciliation, I have done much in mitigation of punishments, but it would be a vicious indulgence of that principle to sacrifice the claims of fidelity and service to the passions of adversaries. I have therefore omitted no opportunity of pronouncing, even in the ears of those to whom it sounds most harshly, the claims of Sir George Barlow to public esteem and gratitude.

87. It is on these principles that I presume to press this suggestion on your notice, more earnestly than it would become me to do, if I did not feel its deep and fundamental importance in the present conjuncture of your affairs.

88. I am not prepared to enumerate those individuals, either in the civil or military department, whose services have merited the honour of your notice; but I will venture at present to submit some names highly deserving of your consideration.

89. Major-general Gowdie stands undoubtedly first in that class. The high and responsible stations he has filled during this period of difficulty and crisis, his steady ad-

herence to that which the nature of the times had rendered his primary duty, a firm and uniform support of government against sedition, and of discipline against systematic insubordination, softened only by the influence of a temperate and conciliating mind, will I am persuaded recommend him to your countenance, and to some mark of public approbation.

90. Mr. Oakes and Mr. Casamajor, whose important share in the fortunate result of the late arduous and menacing state of your affairs has already been mentioned, will I doubt not stand high in your esteem and favour, and experience the satisfaction of seeing their faithful and most useful services graced by some mark of public approbation and acknowledgment.

91. Colonel Munro appears to me particularly entitled to that countenance and support which are wisely and justly extended to those, who in the faithful and able discharge of public duties are made the objects of factious and malignant persecutions.

92. Several officers both of his majesty's and the company's establishments have rendered conspicuous and distinguished service by a more than usual display of zeal, talents, or energy. These shall be the subject of future communication; but I cannot omit even now the name of the honourable Arthur Cole, acting resident at Mysore, whose firmness, activity, and ardour, directed by the soundest judgment and prudence, have contributed in a very memorable degree to the maintenance of the company's authority and the ultimate suppression of revolt in the very seat of the worst and most formidable disorder.

93. I hope to address your honourable committee further in a few days by H. M. S. Rattlesnake, which rear admiral Drury is so good as to appoint to convey our dispatches direct to England.

I have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect,  
Honourable Sir,  
Your faithful humble servant,

Fort St. George, MINTO.  
12th October, 1809.

Enclosure No. 2.  
Minute of governor-general.

Fort St. George,  
12th September, 1809.

Governor-general.

In taking my seat at this board, I am sure I shall have entire credit in the assurances I am nevertheless anxious to record, that the exercise of the power or rather of the performance of the duties attached to the office of governor-general respecting his presence at the other presidencies, has been suggested on this occasion to my mind by no diffidence in the wisdom or energy of the honourable person who has been appointed to fill this chair, or of his honourable and able colleagues. I have given the surest pledge of my entire



confidence in the government of Sir George Barlow, by the uniform and cordial support which, with the hearty concurrence of my colleagues, I have afforded to his measures throughout this season of crisis and trouble, and down to the hour of my embarkation.

A crisis had indeed arrived before I would allow myself to obtrude a new authority in the conduct of affairs which were directed by councils every way so worthy of confidence.

It was the peculiar nature and constitution of the troubles which agitated this government, and of the body with which the contest was to be maintained, that appeared to me to render not the aid of council or advice, but the accession of authority which my presence at Fort St. George would furnish, of material and urgent importance.

The events were of a description which will not wait for the slow operation of distant references. A revolted army must, according to my principles, be met by prompt and instant decision; and although neither wisdom nor energy were wanting in the councils of Fort St. George, I conceived that efficacy might be added to their measures by the intervention of new and higher power.

While, on these principles, my duty has called me to Madras, it does not require that I should disturb, by unnecessary intrusion, the ordinary dispatch of business and the current affairs of this presidency which, although the law requires that they should bear my formal sanction, I shall better consult the general interests of the company by requesting the honourable president and his colleagues to transact in the usual and accustomed manner.

It can still be less advantageous to the public, and it is wholly foreign to my views and disposition, that I should impair the authority and influence of the regular government by interfering with the patronage of the president, and diverting that important instrument of government from its present pure and judicious direction.

It was matter of the highest satisfaction and joy to my mind, that I found, on my arrival at Madras, this dangerous revolt already subdued by the personal firmness, decision, and energy of the governor of Fort St. George. These great, and, in such seasons, rare but invaluable qualities, were in my apprehension never possessed or displayed in a higher degree, or exerted with more signal and decisive influence on the affairs of mankind, than by Sir George Barlow in the stormy period which is past. That his sovereign and country will honour the magnanimity and fortitude of the man, and appreciate the value of his eminent services, I cannot doubt; and that obloquy purchased by the pure and inflexible discharge of ungrateful but sacred and indispensable duties, will be effaced in its appointed hour by universal respect and esteem, my confidence in the ultimate tri-

umph of truth and justice persuades me firmly to believe.

That those troubles have been composed before my arrival, and by the proper energies and resources of the very government that was the object of attack, appear to me a circumstance of great public moment, and beneficial in a signal degree to the local government of this presidency, as well as to the general interests of India.

Some points of much delicate concern yet remain for our consideration. To those I shall give my immediate and anxious application, and I shall submit to the board the earliest judgment that is consistent with a mature and informed deliberation.

(Signed) MINTO.

General letter from the court of directors, 15th September, 1809: military-department.

Our governor in council at Fort St. George.

Par. 1. Our last letter to you in this department was dated the 30th of August, 1809.

2. We have received your letters of the 20th and 31st January, and 28th February, 1809, together with their several enclosures; and we view with the deepest concern the transactions thus brought under our consideration.

3. We have at all times entertained a just sense of the merits and services of the officers of our army; and have taken every proper opportunity to evince that sense, and our consequent regard and attachment to their interests.

4. Of this habitual and deep-rooted sentiment we have repeatedly given the most unequivocal proofs; and particularly in our late instructions to our governments abroad in support of the fair pretensions of our officers to posts of honour and command; thus endeavouring to render the periods of their service in India both honourable and advantageous, whilst the ample provision made for their retirement in Europe, at an immense and indelicate expense, affords an instance of the regard and liberality of their employers not to be paralleled in any other service. In aid of this last-mentioned object we have very recently (in our answer to some of the last dispatches to Madras and Bengal) made liberal donations to the funds established at those presidencies for the maintenance and support of distressed officers, their wives, and families.

5. Whilst however we are thus attentive on the one hand, from sentiments, not of justice and liberality only, but of attachment and esteem to the interests and just pretensions of our officers, we must not on the other hand lose sight of the necessity and paramount duty imposed on us of supporting the authority of the governments under which those officers serve.



6. The support of the supreme authority of our several governments in India is essential to the preservation of those governments; to the maintenance of civil order; to the protection of society; and even to the well-being and existence of the army itself.

7. We at all times desirous to pay due regard to the representations of our officers; and extremely unwilling to impute censurable or unworthy motives to any of their actions, but it is impossible for us to consider their conduct in the transactions now brought before us otherwise than as highly improper and unmilitary.

8. It appears from the papers now brought under our consideration that about the month of June, 1807, your quarter-master general, lieutenant colonel Munro, in obedience to the orders of our then commander-in-chief at Fort St. George, Sir John Cradock (which orders were communicated to the quarter-master general by a letter of the 7th of February, marked private and confidential) submitted to his consideration and approval, a paper purporting to be a plan for the provision of tents, and the carriage of the tents and stores of Native corps, which articles had previously been supplied by a contract with the commanding officers of those corps respectively.

9. This paper was soon afterwards laid before the governor in council by Sir John Cradock, who stated in the minute which accompanied it, that "it would be superfluous in the extreme to urge at any length the validity of the arguments set forth in the quarter-master general's report, as he might say they conveyed the result of their joint reflections upon the subjects and were the issue of that experience which arose from their respective situations." It was approved by Mr. Petrie, when president, who observed in his minute on considering that paper, that the result of many of the statements which he had delivered in 1803, when he opposed the opinions of general Stuart, who brought forward the measure of the tent contract, had been by the experience of past years completely verified, as well as the apprehensions he expressed that both the public and individuals would suffer by that arrangement.

10. The plan so approved was, together with the report which stated the ground of it, transmitted to the government of Bengal, and being returned with their complete approbation and sanction, was adopted by the government of Fort St. George, and was in consequence published to the army and carried into effect in May, 1808.

11. On the 25th of September, 1808, a charge was transmitted to the head-quarters of the army against lieutenant-colonel Munro, signed by the officers then in command of five regiments of Native cavalry, and twenty-three battalions of Native infantry, for "conduct unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in having in his proposed plan for the abolition of the tent-contract, lately

"held by officers commanding Native corps, made use of false and infamous insinuations, thereby tending to injure their character as officers, and otherwise injurious to their reputations as gentlemen;" and upon this charge lieutenant-colonel Munro was on the 20th January, 1809, ordered into arrest by lieutenant-general Macdowal.

12. The charge thus preferred against the quarter-master general appears to have been founded on certain expressions in his report, which had received the sanction and approbation of all the authorities in India competent to decide upon it. Admitting for a moment that those expressions had been exceptionable, deference to those authorities ought to have imposed forbearance. Officers who thought themselves aggrieved by them were at liberty to adopt a fine of conduct, which might have afforded an opportunity of vindicating their own individual characters without departing from their respect for those authorities which they were bound to obey.

13. If any officer thought himself alluded to, or aggrieved by any thing that colonel Munro had said, he might easily have repelled the supposed imputation, by demanding that if he were suspected he should be brought to trial upon it: government would then either have granted a court martial, or would have officially and publicly declared that no imputation rested upon such officer.

14. Each individual officer would have had an undoubted right to have demanded such a clearance or trial for himself; but an officer in command of one particular corps cannot in the nature of things undertake to answer for the conduct of an officer in command of another corps, far removed perhaps from his possible observation, much less for a whole body of officers so circumstanced.

15. The character of each individual must be distinct and particular, and a combination therefore of many officers to repel insinuations (supposing such to have been advanced) against unnamed individuals of their body or class, respecting whose conduct the personal knowledge of the members generally of that body could not enable them to speak, does not seem to be founded on any principle of equity, nor would it be justified by alleging that general insinuations against the whole body, both pointing to no officer by name, could not be met in any other manner; for the obvious course to be followed in that case would still be that every individual officer who conceived his character to be brought into question, should desire to have his own conduct separately investigated.

16. But we are the more astonished at their proceeding, when we consider the expressions which have been assigned as the ground of the charge. Detached as they have been from their context, they still appear to us to be couched in the usual style of official discussion, and to be as far from conveying any imputation against individual characters, as the minutes of Sir John Cradock and Mr.



Petrie, by which the plan was supported. But when they are considered as they actually stand in the paper prepared by colonel Munro, forming a part of the chain of reasoning founded upon general principles, it appears to us that no inference can fairly be drawn from them unfavourable to the character of the Madras army.

17. While therefore we condemn the conduct of the officers who preferred this charge, we approve the terms in which you have stated your opinion of the grounds of it in your general orders of the 6th of February. It was a proper attention to their feelings, and still more to the feelings of those officers who had no share in that irregular and unjustifiable proceeding, to declare in a public document that no injurious imputations upon their previous conduct were collected by the governor in council to have been intended in the report of colonel Munro.

18. We cannot dismiss this part of the subject without observing that the circumstances of the case before us involve a question of the greatest importance: the claim of individuals who may think themselves aggrieved by the opinions or reflections of an officer of the government communicated by him in obedience to the orders of his superiors, and in the discharge of his official duty, to bring such officers to trial for those communications.

19. If persons holding responsible situations were liable to be exposed to the vexation and ignominy of public trial whenever they may in the discharge of their official duties have delivered opinions adverse to the sentiments or even the interests of any part of the service, it will be impossible for such persons to do their duty to the public in any instance which may interfere or may be supposed to interfere with these sentiments or interests, or to give upon any question a fair and honest opinion, if that opinion may by inference or strained application be construed into a criminal insinuation against the character and conduct of individuals. If such a claim could be maintained, if the practice which it inculcates were to prevail, it would put an end at once to all official confidence, and leave the government without the means of obtaining information respecting existing errors, defects, or abuses, or of forming plans for the correction of any arrangements which have a tendency to produce them. We have thought it necessary to state these principles generally and broadly, because we are deeply impressed with a sense of their truth and importance. With respect to the particular case of lieutenant-colonel Munro, it may be observed, that the communication was not only official but confidential. Its insertion in the records of government was no act of his, but the act of the commander-in-chief. By what means the paper became public we have no authentic information; no reason whatever has appeared for supposing that its publicity was owing to the quarter-master-general. Were we

acquainted with the channel through which it became public, and afterwards circulated through the different stations of the army at the possible hazard (though we trust not with the direct view of creating discontent,) we should think it necessary to mark such a breach of confidence with our high disapprobation.

20. It appears further, from the 30th Para. of your letter of the 29th January, 1809, that the "officers who had preferred the charges against the quarter-master-general of the army, had in consequence of the declared sentiments of the judge-advocate-general regarding their illegality, requested that the commander-in-chief would suspend the prosecution of them;" we are induced from this statement to indulge a hope that the officers who had given in those charges against the quarter-master-general had become sensible of the impropriety of having preferred them: and this consideration, if it shall turn out to be well founded, may relieve us from the disagreeable necessity of taking further notice of their misconduct in this respect.

21. Having considered the proceeding of the officers who preferred the charges against lieutenant-colonel Munro, we come now to notice the conduct of lieutenant-general Macdowall, our late commander-in-chief at Fort St. George in relation to this affair.

22. We enter upon this task with extreme concern, not only because we feel reluctance in passing any animadversion upon an officer who has after long services in India filled so high a situation, but because it has been urged by some of his friends that we ought to wait for any justification he might wish to offer of his own conduct. To this last suggestion, although his proceedings at Fort St. George do not indicate any intention of appealing to us, we should have been willing and even anxious to attend, if we did not consider that his case was fully before us by his own public documents upon record. And if we did not deem it essential to the peace and authority of our government that no time should be lost, in declaring our sentiments upon points which have been brought in question by the public acts of this officer, to those public acts alone, and chiefly in respect to the bearings they have upon our present and future interests, our attention will be directed.

23. It appears that lieutenant-general Macdowall, notwithstanding he had been officially informed by the judge-advocate-general, his constituted legal adviser, that those charges were in their nature illegal, did on the 30th January, 1809, put lieutenant-colonel Munro under arrest with the intent that he should be brought to trial upon them.

24. The obvious reasons on which we have grounded our censure upon the officers for bringing forward those charges might well be expected to have occurred to the mind of lieutenant-general Macdowall, and to have



determined his conduct with respect to them. But in addition to those reasons the report which had been made upon them by the judge-advocate-general on the 7th November, 1808, proved so unanswerably their impropriety and illegality, and furnished such strong grounds for considering them as an unanswerable attempt to control the councils of government through the medium of bringing one of its official advisers to trial, that it became the clear duty of lieutenant-general Macdowall to have returned those charges to the officers who had signed them, with remarks of his high displeasure.

25. The officers who gave in the charges against lieutenant-colonel Munro having in their subsequent memorial desired that the commander-in-chief would postpone the prosecution of them, you have in the 30th para. of your letter of the 25th January, 1809, remarked that it furnished additional ground in aid of all the other objections for lieutenant-general Macdowall's refraining from bringing colonel Munro to trial upon them. In this observation we entirely concur. It would indeed have been a high aggravation of the impropriety of lieutenant-general Macdowall's conduct in putting lieutenant-colonel Munro under arrest on charges which the judge-advocate-general had declared to be inadmissible, if he persevered in subjecting the quarter-master-general to a trial after the authors of those charges had themselves acquiesced in the opinion of the judge-advocate-general, and requested that the proceedings might be suspended.

26. But we observe that lieutenant-general Macdowall in his letter of the 28th January, 1809, covering that memorial of the officers, took occasion distinctly to remark that it was not before him when he put lieutenant-colonel Munro in arrest on the 20th of that month.

27. As however a paper of that description to be circulated for signature was likely to become known whilst in preparation, it would have been more satisfactory to us to have been informed that no intimation whatever concerning it had reached lieutenant-general Macdowall when he put lieutenant-colonel Munro under arrest.

28. Waiving this circumstance, however, we proceed to observe that lieutenant-general Macdowall instead of censuring and suppressing those charges, as we think it was the duty of the commander-in-chief to have done, adopted them and pursued their object by subjecting lieutenant-colonel Munro to the ignominy of an arrest, with a view to his being brought to trial upon them. It became then in our opinion the bounden duty of our governor in council at Fort St. George to interpose the direct authority of government for the protection of lieutenant-colonel Munro, by requiring the commander-in-chief to release that officer from the arrest in which he had placed him.

29. To have permitted lieutenant-colonel Munro to be brought to trial for sentiments and statements delivered by him in his official capacity, in obedience to the orders of our former commander-in-chief at Madras, Sir John Cradock, by whom they were adopted as his own, as they were also approved, sanctioned, and enforced by the local and supreme governments, would have been not merely to withhold protection from a meritorious officer in the charge of his indisputable duties, but to have brought into question, and in fact subjected to trial, the character and acts of the former commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, and even those of the government themselves.

30. We consider the general order left by lieutenant-general Macdowall for publication on his quitting Madras, as a high aggravation of his previous misconduct in having put lieutenant-colonel Munro under an arrest upon charges in so many ways objectionable, which his constituted law adviser had told him were illegal, and which the accusers themselves had desired to withdraw.

31. This order left by lieutenant-general Macdowall for publication after his departure conveys a severe reprimand to lieutenant-colonel Munro for having appealed to your government on the occasion of his arrest, a measure necessarily imposed upon him by the conduct of lieutenant-general Macdowall himself. This appeal had been sanctioned and acted upon by your government; a reprimand therefore on lieutenant-colonel Munro for having made it became, by necessary inference, a reprimand on the government itself.

32. That supreme civil and military power, which in all governments must reside somewhere, is in the presidency of Fort St. George, vested by the act of parliament in the governor in council of that presidency, subject to the control of the superior authorities in India and Europe, as described by that act: all other authorities and powers are to be held and exercised in subordination to that supreme authority.

33. To contend that any authority can exist separate, independent, and in contradiction to that supreme authority, can only be considered to be an attempt to pervert the usual practice of conducting public business in certain specified and habitual channels, into a means of checking, resisting, and controlling the government itself.

34. Any military officer addressing himself directly to the government, and otherwise than through the usual and ordinary channels of communication, certainly does it at his peril; and it is incumbent upon him in his own justification to show, either that the usual channels of application were obstructed or refused to him, or to state other and satisfactory causes for the irregularity of his address; it then becomes the duty of the government to decide how far the peculiar circumstances of the case au-



thorize and justify the irregularity of application.

35. If the government shall formally by its declarations, or virtually by its acts, sanction such application and appeal by acting on the information conveyed in it, and without censuring the mode in which it was received, it then becomes the duty of the commanding officer or commander-in-chief, through whose channel the application or appeal was originally offered, to submit his opinion to that of the government.

36. It is not competent to a commanding officer or commander-in-chief, after such notification of the sentiments of the government, to reprimand, bring to trial, or otherwise molest those who have appealed to the government, for having made that appeal in a mode which in the opinion of the government has been justified by the circumstances of the case.

37. If lieutenant-general Macdowall thought that government had exceeded its powers in accepting the appeal of lieutenant-colonel Munro, and requiring his release from arrest, it was competent to him to have stated his opinion in an appeal to us, or to the supreme government in India; but a publication in general orders, that is a publication addressed to the army against the orders of government, a publication which not only pronounced a severe censure upon lieutenant-colonel Munro, but declared an intention of bringing him to a court martial for the conduct which the government held to be justifiable, and which was therefore, as before stated, a direct censure and attack upon the conduct and power of the government, must be considered as a measure unjustifiable in itself, and of the most dangerous tendency.

38. This measure rendered it, in our opinion, your duty to assert and maintain your own legitimate authority thus publicly called in question; and we approve of the orders which you issued upon this occasion, directing the removal of lieutenant-general Macdowall from the command of the troops at Fort St. George, and for expunging the orders which he had issued from all the public records of your presidency.

39. We now proceed to take notice of other parts of lieutenant-general Macdowall's correspondence. We consider the insinuation conveyed in lieutenant-general Macdowall's letter of 21st January, 1809, to the quarter-master general, that by his not putting the quarter-master general in arrest, a door would be left open to the possible introduction of undue influence and arbitrary power, to be entirely unwarrantable and highly blamable.

40. The observations which lieutenant-general Macdowall has thought fit to record against his non-appointment by us to a seat in our council of Fort St. George, are con-

veyed in terms which appear to us disrespectful and offensive.

41. The non-appointment of lieutenant-general Macdowall to a seat in our council of Fort St. George was not determined by considerations personal to him. It was the consequence of a principle adopted by us at that time upon general views for the government of the subordinate presidencies. But whatever motive might have been supposed to have influenced us in declining to give a seat in council to the commander-in-chief of Fort St. George, we cannot admit such an exercise of our discretion to have formed a justifiable subject of animadversion on the part of lieutenant-general Macdowall, who having accepted the office of commander-in-chief was bound to maintain to the utmost of his power the authority of the government, as well as the discipline and subordination of the troops.

42. The appointment of a commander-in-chief to a seat in council at any of our presidencies is an arrangement at all times purely discretionary with us, and cannot be claimed as a matter of right by any officer succeeding by casual promotion, or by specific appointment, to the command of the troops at such presidency.

43. We now proceed to another instance in which we feel ourselves under the necessity of expressing the most serious disapprobation of the conduct of lieutenant-general Macdowall. It is in his transmission of a memorial of the most exceptionable nature from certain officers of our army, and on the strong approbation he has conveyed of that memorial in his letter to you of the 28th January, 1809.

44. It appears that about May or June, 1806, lieutenant-general Macdowall, at the desire of Sir George Barlow (privately communicated to him), wrote to the officers commanding the principal stations of the army, to require them to repress an address to the supreme government in Bengal, which was at that time in circulation among the officers of the Madras army, for the purpose of obtaining an equalization of allowances with the officers serving in Bengal.

45. But on the 29d of January, 1809, lieutenant-general Macdowall forwarded to the governor in council an address to the court of directors from a considerable number of the officers of the Madras army, in which, among other things, they say, "we petition with one voice that the Madras army be placed permanently on the same allowances with that of Bengal, and in urging this request we presume we only ask what justice demands, our services entitle us to, and what we shall ever consider as our just rights."

46. This address was transmitted through lieutenant-general Macdowall to the government of Fort St. George, with a letter from



himself, in which he strongly recommends, and supports this address of the officers, notwithstanding, that he had but a few months before sent directions to the officers commanding the principal stations of the army to suppress an address then in circulation for the very same purpose, namely, that of obtaining an equalization of allowances at Madras and Bengal. And here we pause, to remark on the very extraordinary and censurable conduct of lieutenant-general Macdowall in recommending and supporting a memorial, more reprehensible in its nature and language than that, which at a short preceding period, he had interposed his authority to suppress.

We can the less wonder that if thus encouraged and supported the officers find fault with and complain of every act of the government which in any way affects their personal interests, however necessary it may be to the well being and safety of the state.

47. Although the address of the officers is not yet before us in an authenticated form, we think it proper to take the present opportunity to make some observations upon the topics contained in it.

48. The general preliminary representation made by the officers, of the nature and disadvantages of the company's service, we conceive to be highly objectionable and incorrect. The complaint that they are banished to a distance from their country and friends, for a considerable portion of their lives, is a complaint applicable to his majesty's and to most other military services well known to be essential to theirs, when they first enter it, and therefore not a becoming topic of complaint in military men, besides which we have to observe, that no one enters into our military service in India, but on his own application, and with the full knowledge that he can advance in it only in a course of years; but when the officers add, "we are doomed to toil through many a painful year, on an allowance scarcely adequate to our subsistence, until after a period of twenty-two years service in India; we have the melancholy alternative of returning home to live in dependence and comparative poverty on the pensions of our ranks, or of combating with age and infirmities in a climate avowedly hostile to our constitutions;" when they make this representation of their situation and prospects, they surely forget that the military allowances of the company are higher than those of any other military service in the world, although the necessities of life are comparatively cheap in India; that they attain the highest rank without purchase or expense; and that the provision for retiring officers is such as no other service has ever afforded, and such as the finances of the company are even strained to support.

49. After these preliminary observations, the address proceeds to complain of the abolition of the Bazar allowances, an arrangement which is not confined to Madras, but extended to the other presidencies, which is in strict conformity to the articles of war, which prohibit the levy of duties by military officers on all articles of consumption, and is evidently founded on the most incontrovertible principles of sound policy.

50. It is not politic to give officers an interest in the amount of imposts levied on military markets, because it has an evident tendency to make the soldiers discontented with their officers by feeling themselves taxed for the benefit of those who command them. In evidence of which a very recent instance might be quoted.

51. It is further to be observed, that in India the amount of the collections in military Bazaars has always depended principally on the extension of the spirituous liquors to the troops. To give an officer therefore an interest in the amount of duties derivable from such a source is to set his interest directly at variance with his duty, and to hold out to him a reward for encouraging that intoxication which it is his first duty to discountenance and suppress.

52. It is not meant by these observations to state that these inconveniences have actually taken place under the administration of the company's present officers, but it has a sufficient reason for the abolition of a general arrangement that it has a tendency to produce consequences highly injurious to the service. This observation is applicable to every part of the succeeding argument.

53. The next complaint stated in the address is the abolition of the allowance of full batta to officers commanding stations, but this allowance has been rather transferred and extended than abolished, and that upon principles of the most obvious propriety; for on the recommendation of Sir John Crauchie the full batta was transferred from the officers commanding stations to officers commanding corps, from officers in a fixed and quiet situation, to officers engaged in the more active duties of their profession.

54. The next subject of complaint brought forward is, that the orders of the court of directors for removing his majesty's officers from the command of stations where their regiments are not quartered, and for appointing military men to the pay offices of the army, have not been carried into effect by the Madras government.

55. How far our orders on these subjects have been yet carried into effect we are unable precisely to ascertain, but we know that they have been executed to a certain extent; and as we have no doubt of the disposition of our governor in council at



Fort St. George to execute these and all other orders in the most punctual manner, and with the greatest practicable expedition, we do not doubt that ere this time considerable progress has been made in arrangements which evidently would not admit of instantaneous adoption, without danger to the public interests and to the regularity of public business.

56 It is possible, indeed, that cases may occur in which both the officers in the king's and company's service may be properly selected for the command of stations where their respective regiments are not quartered, and if such should occur it will be your duty to see that this is done without partiality to either, stating your reasons at large for any deviation from the general rule.

57 The address then goes on to complain of the abolition of the tent-contract, an arrangement founded upon arguments which we believe to be incontrovertible, although some of the facts upon which the arguments for its abolition were grounded are brought forward in the address as reasons for its continuation.

58. The address states that during war the allowances for the tent contract were unequal to the expenses, a fact which we conceive is decisive against its propriety, although the only inference drawn from it in the address is, that the contract should be continued during peace.

59. This argument might have some force if the tent-contract were to be considered only with reference to the advantages to the officers who held it; although we are of opinion that even in this limited view of the subject the continuation of the contract had been sufficiently extended in point of time to allow those officers an opportunity of reimbursing themselves during peace for the extraordinary expenses which they might have incurred during the war. Some, perhaps many, of officers who held the contract during the war, must have been removed since the peace, by death, promotion, or retirement from the commands to which it was attached, without having had the opportunity of reimbursing themselves; and this furnishes another strong argument against the tent contract, when viewed only with reference to the interests of individuals.

60 The reasons however for abolishing the tent contract, which appear to us of most force, are, that it provided at a great and constant expense for putting all the Native corps in readiness to move, when from the nature of things many of them must at all times necessarily remain stationary; that the expense of fulfilling the terms of the contract being much greater in the field than in garrison, the officers contracting were placed in a situation in which their interest might eventually be in opposition to their duty; that it must interfere

with the discipline of corps by withdrawing the attention and occupying the time of commanding officers in cases not connected with the discipline of their respective regiments and battalions; and finally, that it made the commanders of corps officers of disbursements and expeditors, not as they always ought to be, of check and control over the disbursements of others. These reasons had induced lord Cornwallis, after establishing the tent contract in war, to revoke it in time of peace; and upon the obvious ground that it was an arrangement made to promote not the advantages of the officers, but the efficiency of the service.

61. The address then again reverts to the claim of an equalization of military allowances at Madras and Bengal; a claim which though it neither be grounded on any solid principles, nor can ever be admitted as the basis of any practicable regulation, we shall examine somewhat more in detail than we have thought necessary in considering the other subjects of the address, because it is a question of extensive prospect, embracing many points besides the one now brought before us.

62. In the different presidencies of the company in India distinctions have from the beginning subsisted in respect to emoluments and advantages (not only in the military, but in every other department); these distinctions have arisen from the comparative importance of the presidencies themselves, and of the public business to be transacted under them.

63. Thus Bengal, the first great territorial possession of the company, had its establishments early settled with some analogy to its income, and that country as being the seat of government, the centre of the British interests in India, came to have a standard of public allowances, which could not be exactly imitated at the other presidencies, under very different circumstances.

64. The style of living also among the Europeans has, we presume, gradually adapted itself to the scale of income.

65. The persons nominated to civil and military employments have entered the services perfectly aware of these inequalities; and are therefore not entitled to expect that they should be afterwards removed.

66. The company have hence always resisted the idea of a general equalization of allowances and emoluments of the different presidencies, are not founded on right or reason, or the nature of things.

67. Supposing for a moment that such a principle could be admitted and enforced, the consequence in the present state of the finances of the company must be to reduce the few remaining distinctions of the Bengal presidency to a level with those of Madras and Bombay, as it would be utterly impossible to provide for the extreme of raising the emoluments of the inferior presidencies to a level with those of Bengal, extended as this rise must be to all the civil as well as military branches



of the service, if once the principle of equalization were adopted.

68. In all the presidencies, however, the scale of allowances has been more than sufficient for comfortable subsistence, and in the case of all the privates and non-commissioned officers of the army, the rates have been at all times very generally the same at all the presidencies.

69. From a concurrence of circumstances it has also happened, that an approximation to an equalization of allowances has in fact taken place, in so far as to reduce the allowances of the Bengal military service generally almost to an equality with those of the other presidencies; and if the comparative slowness of promotion at that presidency be taken into the estimate, it might not be incorrect to say, that the military service in Bengal has not been for many years past upon a superior footing, upon the whole, than that at either of the other presidencies.

If the Madras officers possess a reasonable plea to have all their allowances put on a level with those of Bengal, the Bengal officers have a plea, at least as specious, to an equalization of rank in proportion to length of service. The infantry have the same plea of complaint against the quicker promotion in the cavalry, and the artillery against both. In short, there can be no end to the operation of this principle of equalization, if it is allowed to supersede all established usages, and all considerations of expediency.

70. The regimental allowances, however, both officers and men, are very nearly the same at all the presidencies, and wherever mere comfortable subsistence is concerned, it has been the object of the public regulations at all times to approximate as nearly to an equality of allowances as the local circumstances of each presidency have admitted.

71. But staff and other extra allowances rest upon a different foundation. They are gratuitous advantages, conferred on individuals at the pleasure and discretion of the government, and are calculated, not with reference to what other men receive, who may perhaps perform similar services in other places, but in reference to the means of the governing powers, and the view which it may take of the merits and services of the receiver.

72. Upon the same principles, if the necessities of the state require that a diminution should take place in the expenditure of any part of all the settlements in India, it is not to be expected that such reduction shall fall first or only upon those who receive the higher salaries, whether civil or military, at one or at another presidency; but the government has an undoubted right, legal and moral, to decide consistently with the principles of justice, what part of the service will best admit of that reduction which the necessities of the state demand.

73. But it is unnecessary to press this principle, however incontestable, as in point of fact reductions have been ordered, and are in a train of execution at all the presidencies, and affecting all the branches of the company's service, civil and military, reductions which are absolutely necessary to the existence of the company, and consequently to the maintenance and provision of all their servants, as well in India as in Europe, as well in the retired and pensioned establishments, as in the more early and active stages of service.

74. Another subject of complaint made by the officers of the Madras army is, that the commander-in-chief, whom, in imitation of himself, they style "the representative of the army" has been excluded from a seat in council.

75. The propriety of granting a seat in council to lieutenant-general Macdowall, or to any other commander-in-chief, is a question so entirely unconnected with the interests of the officers themselves, and the constitution of the army under the company and the British government, that it is not easy to consider its introduction into their address in any other light than as an epousal on the part of the officers of lieutenant-general Macdowall's unreasonable complaints on this subject, in return for the countenance which he has so improperly shown to the equally unreasonable complaints of the officers.

76. It is not more necessary that the commander-in-chief should have a seat in council at Port St. George, than that the commander-in-chief in England should be a member of the cabinet; and although advantages may result from his personal assistance in council, still the benefits of his advice and co-operation may be obtained, and the military arrangements of government may be conducted in an efficient manner, even if he should not have a seat at the board. This part of the memorial however does not call for any detailed examination, yet it may be proper to observe, that although the officers complain that their interests may suffer by the commander-in-chief not having a seat in council, yet in fact most of the measures of which the memorial itself complains as grievances were suggested by the commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, and adopted whilst he was in council.

77. On the striking impropriety and mischievous ambiguity of the phrase, "representative of the army," we have commented in another part of this letter. We shall now, therefore, only observe, that the adopting, by the officers, of this reprehensible phrase furnishes another instance of the civil consequences of the countenance before referred to.

The last subject of complaint adduced in the address is the formation of a general fund for the off-reckonings of the army, which is stated to have been formed for the purpose



of equalizing the advantages derivable from that fund to the colonels of three presidencies, by which the colonels on the Madras establishment have suffered a diminution of income, whilst those of the Bengal establishment have received an addition to their emoluments.

78. On reverting to our orders transmitted to India on the subject of the off-reckonings of the army, we do not find that any such principle of equalization was alluded to, or in our contemplation.

79. The only object of the formation of a general fund for the off-reckonings of the Indian army which was then stated, was to provide a fund for the retired list of general officers, whose pensions, like all other military pensions, were made equal, whether those officers belonged to the establishments of Bengal, Madras or Bombay. The off-reckoning fund is indeed in its nature and effect a pension fund, and has therefore very naturally been regulated upon the same principles of equality as are all pension establishments.

In point of fact, however, the Madras officers suffered scarcely any diminution of advantages by that arrangement, the amount of their off-reckonings having been nearly an average of the off-reckonings of Bengal and Bombay.

#### Each Share.

Bengal then established on an	
average of three years - -	£. 958
Madras ditto, ditto, - -	1,294
Bombay ditto, ditto, - -	1,458

958  
1,458  
-----  
2,416

Average = 1,208

80. This, therefore, is no fair subject of complaint by the officers on the Madras establishment, even had the formation of a general fund been made, as it was not upon a principle of equalizing the allowances to the officers of the three establishments; besides which the officers affected by this arrangement are and most commonly will be resident in Europe, and cannot therefore be found among those who have signed the memorial.

81.—It is impossible for us on such an occasion as the present to quit this subject

of a practice thus again revived by the officers of our army, of combining and forming associations for the purpose of addressing government on any imaginary or real grievance which they may suppose themselves to suffer. The evils of such a practice were clearly pointed out, and the practice itself absolutely forbidden in our military general letter of the

20th April, 1805; the 4th and 5th paragraphs of which we shall quote; and we repeat our most positive directions that the strictest attention and obedience be paid to them.

4.—We cannot omit taking this opportunity to express, in the most pointed terms, the disapprobation with which we have seen the general associations of officers of different ranks formed for these and similar purposes, associations completely subversive of that system of military correctness and subordination which it must be your and our duty in future more strictly to enforce, since any relaxation in a point of such essential consequence would infallibly be attended with the most fatal disorders, as repeated experience has too often proved when such practices have been permitted to prevail.

5.—It will at all times be our inclination to attend to the comforts and to the interests of every part of our army, when made known to us through the proper channel of communication.—But we at the same time must transmit to you our most positive injunctions to adopt the strongest measures which circumstances may require, to discourage associations of the descriptions to which we have above referred, if a sense of propriety should not render such interference unnecessary.

While we deem it necessary to repeat, that combinations of this nature are in themselves subversive of the principles of discipline and good order, and calculated to afford an example highly dangerous to the interests of the state, although they may bear only the appearance of legitimate appeal to superior authority, for the redress of supposed grievances, we think it due to the officers of our army at large to state, at the same time, that we are disposed to ascribe improper views exclusively to the projectors of such combinations, and to those who have actively exerted themselves in promoting them. Such officers as may have acceded to the project are not probably aware of the true nature and tendency of the combination which they have contributed to form, and are deceived by the plausible pretext of a constitutional appeal to the authority of government.

82.—But the case will be very different, if after having been again apprised by the government of the dangerous tendency of the practices, to which in the first instance they may have incautiously lent themselves, after the pains which had been taken to shew the unreasonableness of their complaints, and the utter impossibility of compliance, they should persevere in urging requests, improper in themselves, and rendered still more so by the manner in which they are brought forward.

83.—We are too sensible of the high military spirit which has at all times distinguished our officers in the field to suppose it possible, that after these repeated warnings they can so far forget the sentiments with which that spirit ought to inspire them, as to expose themselves to the imputation of looking more to the pecuniary emoluments of their



profession than to the honour derived from an exemplary discharge of their duties both in war and peace. This distinction is not to be obtained solely by gallantry in the field, but by a strict observance of all the duties of the military character; and of those there is none more important and essential than the inculcation, by their own conduct and example, of principles of subordination to the superior authority, which can alone ensure the obedience of their inferiors in the service, and render an army useful to the state, or safe even to those who command it.

84.—When we look back to the general character of the officers in our service, we are persuaded that reflection has long since convinced those who have been concerned in the transactions animadverted upon in this letter, of their misconduct, and of our substantial regard to their real interests, of which the various beneficial regulations adopted by us in the course of late years afford the most unequivocal proofs. We shall only further add, that at a time when the exigencies of the state subject every individual in the united kingdom to great deprivations, we confidently expect the same cheerful acquiescence in our officers in India, whether civil or military, which so conspicuously mark the good sense, zeal, and loyalty of his majesty's subject at home.

85.—We now revert to the more immediate consideration of the conduct of our late commander-in-chief. The last act of lieutenant-general Macdowall which we are called upon to notice, is his address to the army upon the occasion of his quitting the command, and embarking for Europe, which though not transmitted by you has appeared through so many channels, public and private, that we cannot doubt its authenticity.

86.—It is with extreme surprise and concern that we found such sentiments and expressions as the following in an address from a commander-in-chief to the troops under him:

"The circumstances of his appointment (to the command of the army at Fort St. George) were (he says) so humiliating and unpropitious, that he declined addressing the army upon his first assuming the command of it, in the anxious hope that the court of directors might on further deliberation be induced to restore him to his right, by altering the new and extraordinary forms of government, and have enabled him to exercise the functions of his station as the representative of the army with honour to the service and credit to himself."

87.—On the evident impropriety of a commander-in-chief forces claiming as a right that situation, the councils of our government, which our discretion is free to grant or withhold, we have already remarked.

88.—The authority of the governing power can never be liable to be arraigned by those whom it employs for the limitations it may think fit to impose on their authority.

89.—Reprehensible and un military as it is in a commander-in-chief to censure and stigmatize the conduct of his superiors in the public orderly books of the army, the designation

of representative "of the army," by which lieutenant-general Macdowall has on this occasion chosen to describe himself, is if possible still more reprehensible, and has an obvious tendency to excite dissatisfaction and discontent in the army against our government, by leading them to consider themselves as injured and humiliated by us in the person of their representative.

90.—There is no sense in which this term could be understood in which it could be applied with propriety to the situation of commander-in-chief, and there are senses in which it might bear, by no forced construction, which are so highly improper, and imply doctrines so directly subversive of the whole frame of our government, that we are unwilling to suppose that either lieutenant-general Macdowall, or the officers in whose memorial it appears, could have been aware of them.

91. The term "representative of the army," is altogether novel and extraordinary. It might be understood to imply that the military class were by a representative to have a share in the legislation, and all the political and financial measures of the government. The admission of the term, though applied in a sense much more limited, would, according to its use in our language, soon give it that import.

92.—But supposing it only to be intended to mean that the army should have their commander in council, in order to take care of their interests and represent their wants, claims, and services, this would in the first place imply that the civil members of government would not be sufficiently attentive to the fair claims of the army, which is contrary to all past experience, even when no military officer had a seat in the council; and would require for the military body a privilege in the formation of the government, which no other class has, or, according to the constitution of our government, can have.

93.—The term "representative of the army," would further imply, that the commander of the army is responsible to it for his acts; that he is in fact delegated by it; and that it is not, as a British army, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain is, an instrument in the hands of the executive government, but is competent, through its representative the commander-in-chief, to judge and control the public acts and councils.

94.—Lieutenant-general Macdowall has not (as already observed) thought fit to record or transmit to us any vindication of his conduct in proceedings which imperiously demand our most prompt and decisive animadversion, neither have we any reason to suppose from the tenor of his correspondence with the governor in council that it is the intention of lieutenant-general Macdowall further to submit his conduct to our judgment and decision.

95. We are of opinion, however, that the official documents and letters from lieutenant-



general Macdowall, recorded in your proceedings, afford adequate ground for passing a decisive judgment, which cannot, with any propriety be delayed, in expectation of possible future communications from lieutenant-general Macdowall, or any other officer implicated in these proceedings.

96. Therefore, upon the whole of lieutenant-general Macdowall's case, as now submitted to our consideration, we feel ourselves bound to record our decided opinion, that the conduct of lieutenant-general Macdowall has been highly reprehensible, as having a direct tendency to encourage a spirit of discontent and insubordination, which it was his duty to repress; and that he has, therefore, justly incurred the censure you have passed upon it, and his subsequent removal from the command of the army.

97. We shall think it our duty to lay the whole of this case, as contained in the document, you have transmitted, before his Majesty's government.

98. With respect to the suspension from our service of major Boles, the deputy-adjutant-general, and of lieutenant-colonel Capen, the adjutant-general, we are of opinion, that, as those officers were placed in a situation of difficulty, their removal from their respective employments on the staff would have been a sufficient mark of your displeasure, and we therefore direct that their suspension from our service may be taken off.

99. On one part of the proceedings of your government, we feel it necessary, in this place, to deliver our opinion; we mean your declining to transmit to us the memorial presented to you for that purpose, by the officers commanding corps, respecting the tent-contract; as you consider that question to be settled and disposed of, it was competent for you to say to the officers, that you would not transmit the memorial under any implied admission on your part that the question should be again opened; but we think your caution on this head should not have prevented the transmission to us of the memorial in question.

100. We shall conclude our observations and decisions on this important reference, by recording, as an act of justice, our complete and decided approbation of the conduct of our governor in council at Fort St. George, with respect to lieutenant-general Macdowall, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, in which they appear to have shown less moderation and temper in their several discussions with the commander-in-chief, than promptitude, energy, and firmness, in supporting the just authority of government.

101. We approve the provisional appointment of major-general Francis Gowdie to be commander-in-chief of our army at Fort St. George, and we rely with confidence upon the experience and zeal of that officer, to support the good order, discipline, and efficiency of the troops committed to his charge.

We are, your loving friends,

(Signed) Charles Grant; William Aitell,

muel Toone; Charles Mills; William Wigram; George Miller; John Inglis; R. C. Plowden; G. A. Robinson; Robert Williams; John Hadleston.

London,  
the 13th Sept. 1839.

General letter from the court of directors, 29th September 1839.

Military Department.

Our governor-in-council at Fort St. George.

Para. 2. Just as we were concluding our answers to your important dispatches, dated in December, January, and February last, by the Lashington, your letter of the 13th May following to the secret committee, by his majesty's brig Virginia, arrived.

2. The departure of the Georgiana having been already, from several causes, inconveniently delayed, we feel that it would be highly inexpedient to detain her for so much longer time as might be requisite to enter into the subject of the advices now received from you, and the various topics connected with it, so fully as their most interesting nature disposes us to go, but we think it our duty not to lose a moment in giving our general opinion with respect to them.

3. We view, with deep astonishment and concern, the principles, the spirit, and the language exhibited in the paper denominated "the memorial of the officers of the Madras army to the governor-general;" and in the other paper styled an address from the same body to major Boles. The doctrines and designs which those papers avow, are subversive of the foundation of all legitimate government; the rights they claim for the army, are such rights as till now have never been avowed or mentioned in our military service; such as no army ever can possess with safety to the state to which it belongs. The first of these papers alleges grievances which have no foundation; and under the form of seeking redress, it asserts independent military privileges, which would constitute an independent military power. It demands a representative, that is, a share in the civil, political, and military government; it derides upon the measures and vilifies the proceedings of the government; it requires the removal of the person who is, by the only legal authority, placed at the head of that government; and by menace and intimidation, dictates to the supreme government of India, to which our armies, and all the officers serving in them, are by the laws of their country, by their engagements to the company, and by professional obligation, bound to be entirely subordinate and obedient.

4. It is in vain that these assumptions are accompanied by professions of duty to their parent state, and of respect for the principles of military subordination; they are in their nature, in their whole substance and spirit, as well as the inflammatory terms in which they are conveyed, incompatible with the just



honour and interest of the army itself; and breathe the language of fiction and sedition.

8. It is afflictive to us to think, that any of the natives of this country, any officers of that army, which has been distinguished by so many gallant achievements, could have so far forgotten all the principles which should have regulated their conduct as subjects and as soldiers, as to give into proceedings of so criminal a nature. Besides all the other ties which bind them to the duties of patriotism, and of military fidelity, we should have thought that both the situation of the European body, who administer the power of the British empire in India, containing so many millions of native subjects, and likewise occurrences still recent in that part of the world, would have been sufficient to keep every officer of our military establishment at a distance from the infatuation of such a course as these proceedings open.

6. We are persuaded that a great majority of our officers, however some of them may have been influenced for a time by artful inflammatory misrepresentations, most actively propagated, can never have countenanced or approved the sentiments or tendencies which these proceedings too plainly indicate. They could only have been conceived and promoted by a few under the instigation of bad passions, or unhappy prejudices, and by the help of delusive arts, imposed upon the young and inexperienced, who could mean only to assert what they were misled to consider as rights, and were unaware of consequences.

7. The authors and promoters of these dangerous and most culpable proceedings undoubtedly merit exemplary punishment; and it is to us a peculiarly painful reflection that a sense of duty may oblige us to apply this principle to some persons whose military services we have lately so applauded; but on such an occasion punishment ought to be inflicted without respect of persons; a due severity in so imminent a case is justice to the state, and mercy to the individuals who live under its protection. It is required also for the support of the discipline, the honour, the efficiency, and the permanence of the army.

3. It was your duty as a government, when you had reason to be convinced of the existence of factious and seditious agitations, not to wait till they should break out into acts of violence, but to endeavour to arrest their progress, and to discover the authors of them. It is true as you have observed, that in such cases where secrecy among the parties is essential, the tender and formal proofs which are required in legal proceedings, and in ordinary transactions, are not to be expected; but it appears to us, that the grounds upon which you proceeded to the suspension of certain officers from our service, and to the removal of others from commands or staff-appointments, either as having been the authors or active promoters or abettors of the memorial to the governor-general, or subscribers in the principle of supporting officers against the government by pecuniary contributions, were sufficient to war-

rant these and which, therefore, have our decided approbation. Before, however, we pass the final judgment which is here required of us, we wish, as in all cases, so in this especially, to weigh the whole with deliberation, including the case of lieutenant-colonel Martin, who is at home, but we shall do so with a determination that no private solicitation or personal consideration shall have the least influence with us where a great and solemn public duty, and the public interest are so deeply concerned.

9. In our letter of 15th September, 1809 we stated our opinion, that as major Boles appeared to have been placed in a situation of difficulty his removal from his staff-appointment might be a sufficient mark of your displeasure, and we therefore desired that he might be restored to the service; we are sorry, however, to find now, that major Boles has not conducted himself merely as an officer impelled by a conviction of military duty to act in opposition to the sense of government, but has gloried in that opposition; and it must fairly be presumed that it is with his own consent his case has become one of the rallying points for systematic resistance to the government, in support of the pernicious and unfounded doctrines of the late commander-in-chief, whose cause major Boles appears to have cordially espoused; under these circumstances, although we were not disposed to remove him from the service on the score of obedience which he might deem to be right to the order of his commanding officer, yet as there can be no pretence of right or duty in a factious opposition to government, now become so dangerous, and so much promoted by his means, we direct that he be suspended from our service.

10. We highly approve the general orders which you issued on the 1st of May, and we trust that they will have the effect of bringing back such of the officers of your establishments as have swerved from the true principles of military subordination to the temper of mind which is no less essential to their own interests and happiness than to the interest of the state, and to that honourable sense of duty upon which the discipline and efficiency of an army must ever depend.

11. We are extremely gratified to learn that the conduct of his majesty's officers serving under your presidency has, through all their agitations, been uniformly marked by steady subordination and good conduct; and that a large portion of your own establishment, among whom you particularly specified the subsidiary corps at Hyderabad, have been uninfected by those pernicious examples which have seduced others from the line of their duty.

12. The conduct which major-general Goudie has held in respect to all these military agitations since he has been at the head of the army is entitled to our unqualified commendation.



15. We cannot conclude without expressing our high approbation of the firmness and temper with which you have maintained the just authority and dignity of government amidst very unusual oppositions and difficulties; and whilst you continue thus to discharge your public duties you may depend upon our support.

We are, &c.

(Signed) C. Grant, W. Astell, J. J. Jackson, O. A. Robinson, R. Williams, J. Pattison, W. Wigram, G. Smith, T. Metcalfe, J. Hudson, R. C. Plowden, G. Millet, J. Inglis, W. Bensley, J. Bebb.

London,  
29th September, 1809.

### No. 1.

To the honourable the secret committee of the honourable court of directors.

Honourable Sirs,

Para. 1. We have the honour to acquaint your honourable committee, that considering it to be of great importance that the authorities in England should have early information regarding the events which have lately occurred at this presidency, we have thought it proper to dispatch the extra ship Sir Stephen Lushington, to convey the dispatches addressed to the court of directors and to your honourable committee.

2.—As it will be material that the authorities before whom the questions discussed in those dispatches will be brought, should have distinct information regarding the circumstances connected with them, we have, on the recommendation of our president, thought it proper that a gentleman possessing a correct knowledge of the course of the late events, should be directed to proceed to England by the present opportunity; and as the chief secretary of the government must, from his station, possess a fuller knowledge of these events than any other person under this government, we have employed the chief secretary in the execution of this duty, according to the principle on which a similar arrangement has been made on former occasions: Mr. Buchan accordingly embarks on the Sir Stephen Lushington.

3.—The duties of chief secretary will, during the absence of Mr. Buchan, be discharged by Mr. Falconar, the senior member of the board of revenue, and no additional expense will be in consequence incurred by this arrangement.

We have the honour to be,  
with the greatest respect,  
Honourable Sirs,  
Your faithful humble servants,  
(Signed) G. H. BARLOW.  
W. PETER.  
T. OAKES.

Fort St. George,  
29th February, 1809.

### REPORT.

The select committee, appointed to inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices, in regard to the appointment and nomination of writers or cadets in the service of the East India Company; or any agreement, negotiation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the sale thereof; and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the house, together with their observations thereupon; and who were empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them; and their proceeding, from time to time, to the house,

Began their investigation by examining into a case brought before them by George Woodford Thellusson, esquire, a member of this house, in which his patronage and confidence appear to have been grossly abused.

The whole evidence being given at length in the appendix, your committee content themselves with inserting in this place, a short abstract only of this, and every other transaction; giving the names of the persons appointed, of those by whom they were recommended, and by whom their nominations were signed, together with the names of the intermediate agents in any of the negotiations where money was paid or received.

Those appointments which have been completed in consequence of any such bargains, and upon which satisfactory evidence has been produced, will be placed first;—a second class will be found of nominations which appear to have taken effect but with regard to which, from the death of some of the parties, or from deficiency of proof in other particulars, your committee are unable to ascertain the names of the persons who were sent out to India. It is a satisfaction to your committee, throughout the whole evidence, to remark nothing which traces any one of these corrupt or improper bargains to any director, or induces a reasonable suspicion that it was done with the privy or connivance of any member of that court. Several negotiations which never took effect, will be found alluded to, or detailed in parts of the evidence; which it was thought proper not to reject under the comprehensive directions, "that your committee should inquire into any agreement, negotiation, or bargain, direct or indirect, for the sale of such nomination;" and when such information was received, they deemed it inexpedient to withhold it from this house, though they are fully aware that their desire of opening every channel of inquiry has led to an extent of examination, and to a mass of evidence, from which much might be retrenched without detriment, if it had been easy to establish a satisfactory principle of omission, or abridgment, which



might have left nothing wholly irrelevant or trifling, while it comprehended whatever might be interesting either to this house, or to the East India company.

#### WRITERS.

Mr. Edward James Smith was nominated a writer in Bengal in the season 1806-7, by Mr. G. W. Thellusson; the appointment was given to his first cousin, Mr. Emperor J. A. Woodford, who sold the appointment for 3,500*l.* through the agency of Mr Tahourdin, solicitor, who received 100*l.* out of that sum.

The other persons concerned in this negotiation were Mr. Wimbourn and Mr. Laing.

Mr Fry Magniac was nominated writer to Bengal in the year 1807-8, by Mr. G. W. Thellusson; this appointment was also given to the same Mr. Woodford, and sold through the agency of Mr. Tahourdin.

Mr Beale was the purchaser, and the sum paid by him was 3,500 guineas, of which Mr. Woodford received 3,000*l.* Mr. Tahourdin 15*l.*; the remainder was divided between Mr. Donovan and Mr. Garra.

Mr. Henry Gardiner was nominated a writer to Madras by Mr. J. W. Thellusson, in the season 1807-8.

This appointment was likewise given to Mr. Woodford, and 3,000*l.* was received for it from Mrs. Gardiner by Mr. Tahourdin for his own use, but upon an undertaking that he is to procure the next presentation of a living of the value of 300*l.* per annum for a friend of Mr. Woodford's. Mr. Bouse, a partner in the house of Messrs Ransom and Co. was privy to the bargain between Mr. Tahourdin and Mrs. Gardiner. Mr. Greenleaf received an appointment for Ceylon in the way of exchange for this writer-ship, which is the occasion of his name appearing in the transaction.

#### CADETS

Mr. Henry Stoughton was appointed a cadet to Madras, January, 1808, by George Abercrombie Robinson, esq. by the recommendation of Mr. Morland, who gave the appointment to Mr. Jones for a relation of his.

Mr. Jones through the agency of John Annesley Shee, sold it to Mr. Stoughton, father to the person appointed, from whom Shee received 500 guineas: he paid 180*l.* to Mr. Jones, and received of him an undertaking to pay 390*l.* upon his procuring for Mr. Jones a Woolwich cadet-ship.

This appointment has been vacated by the court of directors, in consequence of having discovered the means through which it was obtained.

Mr. Thomas Kelly was appointed a cadet to Bombay in April, 1808, by Sir Theophilus Mordaunt, Bart. at the recommendation of Mrs. Scott. It was afterwards exchange-

ed with Mr. Cotton at his request for a Madras cadet-ship.

William Scott, tailor, the husband of Mrs. Scott, sold this appointment to Mr. Kelly, through the agency of David Brown, who received for it 150*l.*; Brown was paid 50*l.* or 40*l.* and Mr. Southcomb, who introduced some of the parties to each other, received 10 guineas.

Mr. George Barker was appointed cadet for the Bengal infantry in December, 1808, by Robert Thornton, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. Mee.

Mr. Mee sold this appointment for 200 guineas, through the agency of John Annesley Shee, who received 60*l.*

Mr. George Teulon was appointed to an infantry cadet ship to Bengal in 1808, by Edward Parry, esq. in exchange for a Madras appointment given to captain Sealy by Jacob Bosanquet, esq.

Captain Matthew sold this appointment for 120*l.* to captain Holmes for a friend of his; Annesley M'Kercher Shee was employed as agent for captain Matthew, who paid him 50*l.* and captain Holmes paid him 10*l.*

Mr. John Samuel Williams was appointed to a Bengal cadet-ship by Mr. Cotton in 1808, in exchange for a Madras cadet-ship of Mr. Manship's.

This appointment was procured by Mr. Abercrombie, who was assisted with the loan of a sum of money by captain Williams, the cadet's father. Mrs. Elizabeth Morrison and Annesley M'Kercher Shee were the agents employed.

Mr. Benjamin Pratt was appointed a cadet to Madras, 7th February, 1808, by Sweeney Toone, esq. at the recommendation of Capt. Kennard Smith, who exchanged it with R. C. Plowden, esq. for a nomination of the next season. Mr. B. Pratt was recommended to Mr. Plowden by Sir Nicholas Nugent.

This appointment was purchased by Mr. Henry Foster, through Sir Nicholas Nugent, for the sum of 150*l.* A. M'K. Shee acted as agent for Mr. Foster, and received 50*l.* or 40*l.* The original appointment was to Bengal, and it was exchanged for Madras.

Mr. John Power was appointed a cadet to Madras, 1804 or 1805, by lord Viscount Castlereagh, at the recommendation of lord Longueville, through the earl of Westmorland.

Mr. Power paid 300*l.* for this appointment to Matthew Spillman Esq. A. M'K. Shee was the agent for both parties, and received 50*l.* from Mr. Power.

Mr. Brathwaite Christie was appointed a cadet to Madras 15th July, 1807, by James Reid, esq. at the recommendation of H. R. H. the D. of Clarence.

Mr. Page, navy agent in Great Russell-street, paid the sum of 200*l.* for this appointment to A. M'K. Shee who paid 150*l.*



to the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, chaplain to H. R. H. the D. of Clarence, for procuring the same.

Mr Thomas Maw was appointed a cadet to Bengal in July, 1807, by Robert Thornton, esq. at the recommendation of the Rev. Nicholas Corneille for Miss Elizabeth Spinluff.

Miss Spinluff sold this appointment to Mr Hewett, a relation of Mr. Maw, through the agency of Mrs Morrison and A M<sup>r</sup> Shee, and received 70l for it. Mrs. Morrison thinks the sum paid was 150l. or 180l. A M<sup>r</sup> Shee received 50l.

Mr. Arthur Denny was appointed a cadet to Madras on the 11th February 1806, by George Woodford Thellusson, esq. at the recommendation of the countess-dowager of Westmorland and Mr George.

This appointment was sold by Mr. George. Mr. Anthony Stoughton, uncle of the person appointed, paid to John Annesley Shee, whom he employed to procure it, the sum of 250 guineas. David Brown was agent for Mr George.

Mr Henry Keating was appointed a cadet to Madras on the 5th of June, 1807, by John Manship, esq. at the recommendation of George Woodford Thellusson esq. in return for a Bombay nomination of the season of 1804, given to Mr Manship.

The uncle of Mr Henry Keating purchased this appointment of Mr John Henderson, ship-broker for 250l or guinea. John Annesley Shee received of Mr Henderson about 45l for his agency.

Mr George Boys was appointed a cadet to Madras on the 26th March, 1806, (of the season 1805) by Charles Mills, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. (now Sir William) Fraser.

This appointment was given by Sir William Fraser to Mr Thomas Cusac, who sold it to Messrs Barber and sons, Cuspers-court, Cornhill, and received of them the sum of 150l. They were employed as agents for Mr. Boys's father, who paid for it the sum of 300 guineas. 100l was divided between Mr. Barber and Mr John Henderson. J. A. Shee was agent for Mr Cusac.

Mr. William Collett was appointed a cadet for the Bombay Infantry by the India board on the 3d of July, 1805.

This appointment was in the nomination of Lord Castlereagh, who, at the recommendation of the right honourable John Sullivan gave it to Richard Cadman Etches, for a relation of his, on account of services performed by Mr Etches for the government. Mr Etches sold it to Mr Chaplin, an attorney, for the sum of 250l. J. A. Shee was agent for Mr. Peamore, an attorney, who received the money for Mr Etches.

Mr. John Mannon was appointed cadet for Bengal the 26th February, 1808, by the India board, at the recommendation of Edward Cooke, esq.

Mr Cadman Etches procured this appointment through Mr. Cooke, for a relation of his, on account of services performed by Mr. Etches for the government. Thomas Watson was employed as agent to sell the same, as mentioned in the next appointment.

Mr Robert Mazon was appointed cadet for Bengal, February, 1804, by G. W. Thellusson, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. Herbert.

Thomas Watson sold this appointment, and received the sum of 500 guineas of Messrs Anderson, of Philipps lane, for this and Mr John Mannon's appointment, who purchased the two for a friend of theirs for his two nephews. A M<sup>r</sup> Shee received 50l of Watson; and lady Leigh received from Watson about 200l. for the latter appointment.

Mr Thomas Casey was appointed a cadet by William DeVaynes, esq. on the 9th July 1806, at the recommendation of Mr Herbert, now abroad as purser of the Lufraete extra ship.

Mr Herbert sold this appointment to Messrs Hendry, Houghton, and Co. of King's Arms Yard, correspondents of Mr. Casey's relations who lived in Ireland, for the sum of 200 guineas. Mr John Henderson was agent for Mr. Herbert, and received 60 guineas.

Mr Thomas Lock was appointed a cadet for Madras on the 3d February, 1807, by John Bebb esq. at the recommendation of James Pattison, esq. in exchange for one of Mr Pattison's Bombay nominations.

This appointment was purchased by the Rev Dr Locke, of Farnham, for his nephew, of Thomas Watson, who sold it for lady Lumley, and paid her 200l.

Mr Samuel Lewis was appointed a cadet in 1800, by Sweeney Loune, esq. at the recommendation of Mr. Evans.

This appointment was passed from Mr Evans to Mr. Sanderson. Annesley M<sup>r</sup> Kercher Shee seems to have procured it of Mr. Wright, and received 500 guineas from the cadet's father. Mr Samuel Lewis being a Mulatto, and thereby disqualified, procured a young man of the name of Phillips to personate himself and pass the previous examinations, for which he paid him 20 guineas.

A cadetship for Madras appears to have been purchased for a person of the name of Brown, in 1804 or 1805, which was sold by Mr Herbert for 250 guineas; but your committee could receive no satisfactory information by whom the party was nominated, or his christian name. Henderson and Shee were employed as agents, and received part of the above sum.

A cadetship in the nomination of J. Manship, esquire given by him to Mrs. Welsh, appears to have been sold, but the parties to that transaction, who have been examined, state, that they are unable to recollect the name of the person appointed. The



name of Mrs Welch does not appear as recommending to any of Mr Manchip's cadetships in 1805 or 6.

Another, in the nomination of Sir Lionel Dorell, appears to have been given to, and sold by, the Rev. Thomas Lloyd, but Mr Lloyd's name does not appear as recommending any of the cadets nominated by Sir Lionel Dorell in 1801 and the following year.

It appears in evidence, that some other denominations of this description have been purchased; but your committee have not been able to discover and bring before them some of the persons who appear to have been parties to these transactions; particularly Sir Nicholas Nugent, Mr William Lewen, Tugwell Robins, Mr Joseph Home, captain Methew, and captain Holmes.

A further examination into some other bargains, is precluded by the death of lady Lumley, lady Leigh, and captain Sealy.

The attention both of the legislature, and of the East India company, has been attracted a various periods to abuses, which were supposed to exist in the disposal of their patronage; in consequence of which, at the time when their charter was renewed, an oath was framed, to be taken by each director within ten days after his election, containing, among other engagements, the following: "I do swear, that I will not directly nor indirectly accept or take any perquisite, emolument, fee, present, or reward, upon any account whatsoever, or any promise or engagement for any perquisite, emolument, fee, present, or reward, whatsoever for, or in respect of the appointment or nomination of any person or persons to any place or office in the gift or appointment of the said company, or of me as a director thereof, or for or on account of stationing or appointing the voyage or voyages of any ship in the said company's employ, or for or on account of, or any ways relating to, any other business or affairs of the said company." 33 Geo III. c. 52. s. 160.

In the by-laws of the East India company, c. 6. sect. 3 a penalty is imposed upon every director taking any reward on account of any appointment, in double the amount of such reward, two-thirds of which to the company and one third to the informer, and such director is rendered incapable of holding any place whatever under the company.

The form of declaration on every writer's petition is, "I recommend this petition, and do most solemnly declare, that I have given this nomination to \_\_\_\_\_ and that I neither have received myself, nor am to receive, nor has any other person, to the best of my knowledge and belief, received, nor is to receive, any pecuniary consideration, nor any thing convertible in any mode into a pecuniary benefit on this account."

The form of certificate required to be signed by the nearest kin to each cadet, contains the following declaration:

"I do further declare, that I received the appointment for my son \_\_\_\_\_

gratuitously, and that no money or other valuable consideration has been, or is to be paid, either directly or indirectly, for the same; and that I will not pay, or cause to be paid, either by myself, by my son, or by the hands of, any other person, any pecuniary or valuable consideration whatsoever, to any persons who have interested themselves in procuring the said nomination for my son from the director above mentioned."

The printed preparatory instructions, which are circulated by the East India company, for the use of those who may be nominated *cadets*, begin with the following resolution: "that any person who shall in future be nominated to a situation, either civil or military, in the service of this company, and who shall have obtained such nomination either directly or indirectly by purchase, or agreement to purchase, through the medium of an agent or other person, shall be rejected; and the person so nominated shall be rendered incapable of holding any situation whatsoever in the company's service; and in the event of any person having obtained an appointment in the manner before stated, and proceeded to India previous to its being discovered, such person shall be dismissed the company's service and ordered back to England, and shall also be rendered incapable of holding any situation whatsoever in the company's service."

It is to be observed, that abuses in the disposal of cadetships are better guarded against than in that of writerships, since the present form of certificate has been applied to them; for in the writerships the director himself only declares, that to the best of his knowledge or belief no pecuniary consideration has been or is to be received; but with regard to every cadet, the parent or next of kin makes a similar declaration for himself. The cases which are exhibited in this report demonstrate that such declarations are not of sufficient force to prevent a very extensive traffic in these nominations, which are apparently the best secured by a positive denial of all undue practices.

An enquiry was set on foot by the court of directors, in 1798, upon the allegation and suspicion of abuses in the nominations of writers, the origin, progress, and failure of which it may be proper to give in some detail.

25th April, 1798.—A committee of the directors was appointed to investigate into the truth of the alleged practice of the sale of patronage, and in consider of such means as may appear likely to prevent the same in future, if such practices have occurred.

9th July.—Each director's nomination of writers was laid before the committee, who resolved that each member of the committee should state in writing the names of the persons to whom he has given the nomination, together with the reasons which induced him to give the same; and that the several parties who have received such nominations for their sons, &c. be required to produce satisfactory information to the committee upon oath, or in such manner as the committee shall deem



most expedient, that neither they nor any other person on their account, or with their private knowledge, have given or promised to give any consideration on account of such nomination, either to the directors from whom they obtained the same, or to any person on his behalf; and it was agreed to recommend to the court to direct each individual member of the court to do the same.

1st August, 1798.—The court approved this report, and (15th August) each director in office, as well as those out of by rotation (except Mr. Devaynes) gave explanations in writing.

18th February, 1799.—It was resolved, that every appointment made in consequence of corrupt practices be null and void, unless the parties to whom the appointment is given, shall, upon examination before the committee, make a fair and candid disclosure of all the circumstances attending the same. It was likewise resolved, that each director should in future, on the petition of the writer whom he nominates, "declare upon his honour to whom he has given the appointment, and that he neither has received himself, nor is he to receive, nor has any other person to the best of his knowledge or belief received, nor is to receive, any pecuniary consideration, nor any thing convertible in any mode into a pecuniary benefit on this account."

The direction being changed in April, on the 14th of August, 1799, a new committee to investigate the truth of the sale of patronage, &c. was appointed.

17th January, 1800.—The draft of a letter proposed to be addressed to the parents, &c. of persons appointed writers since 1793, requesting them to declare whether the appointments were given without any pecuniary or other consideration, was considered by the committee; when a discussion arose, whether it should be on oath, when it was adjourned till the 21st of January, and it being then suggested whether it would be proper for the committee to proceed in their enquiry, it was decided in the affirmative.

The committee then proceeded to consider the drafts of the letter to the parents, &c. a draft of a report to the court stating their reasons for recommending this mode of investigation, as also the form of a declaration for the persons who have received such appointments. The consideration was adjourned to the 24th of January; when a discussion ensuing thereon, and on the necessity and expediency of the mode of public investigation therein proposed, it was agreed to postpone the said report, and to proceed to a treaty to the authority and instructions already received from the court. The committee resolved that in their opinion the parties to whom each director had given nominations, should be called upon to state on what grounds they have received the same. In every case that the committee may deem it expedient so to do.

The committee then examined *viva voce*

its different members, as a preliminary to the proposed measure; each member declared upon his honour that what he had stated in regard to his appointments was strictly true, and expressed his readiness to confirm the same by his oath.

28th January, 1800.—The committee met to consider a draft of a report to the court communicating their proceedings, and proposing further measures for the court's adoption, as also a draft of a letter referred to in the said report.

31st January.—The report of this day's date, with the letters to the parents &c. and the declaration to be made by them, was approved.

18th February.—The court, after considerable discussion of the above, confirm the same; but resolve that the consideration of what is further to be done on the said report be adjourned to the 11th of February; when it is resolved, that the committee of parents be instructed to proceed in the examination of the other members of the court, as they did with themselves. It was then moved, that the declaration proposed in the report be upon oath: on this, the motion of adjournment was carried.

25th February.—A report signed by 15 directors, approves the declaration, and recommends that the several persons to whom the same is sent be requested to confirm such declaration upon oath.

Another report on the same day, signed by 12 directors, recommends that no farther proceedings be had in this business till the 1st of May. Both the above reports are approved by the court.

26th February, 1800.—The right honourable Henry Dundas addressed the court, acknowledging the receipt of their minutes and stating, that he took it a duty that he owes both to himself and the court, to omit no means in his power for ascertaining whether any person whom he has obliged through the favour of the court has presumed to abuse his kindness in so cold and unwarrantable a manner.

Sir Francis Baring inserts from the resolutions to call for the declaration, on oath.

The committee of patronage taking with the direction in April, on 18th June, 1800, the court took into consideration the propriety of re-appointing the said committee.

It being moved, "That a committee of patronage be re-appointed," an amendment was moved, to leave out all the words after the word "that," and to insert in their room the following "it does not appear to this court that any circumstance has been stated to the court, by which the committee lately appointed for an enquiry into the disposal of patronage, that can induce or would justify the court in adopting the illegal and novel administration of extra-judicial oaths to a variety of persons, not directly connected with the East India Company, or the management of its affairs, and which, though it would tend to throw a suspicion



upon the court at large, which no circumstances that have hitherto come to the knowledge of the court can induce them to suppose the members thereof merit, would not, they conceive, be an effectual mode of bringing to light any such practices, even if such in any partial instance should have existed."

On the question for the amendment being put, the votes for, and against, were equal; when the lot decided for the amendment.

25th June.—The chairman, deputy chairman, and eight other directors, dissent from the resolution not to re-appoint the committee of patronage.

24th September.—A motion was made in the court of proprietors, that the above proceedings be read; they were read accordingly, and notice given by the mover, of his intention of bringing the subject forward at a future court.

30th January, 1801.—It was moved, "that it is the opinion of this court, that the enquiry into the alleged abuse of patronage, ought to be continued."

It was moved to amend the said motion, by adding thereto the following words, "to investigate any charge that may be made of corrupt practices against any one or more of the court directors."

The above amendment passed in the negative.

When a ballot was demanded on the original question; it was 3d February, 1801, lost by a majority of 139: 411 voting for the question, against it 530.

The following opinion of counsel was given to the court of directors, previous to the ballot being taken; viz.

Case for the East India company:

"Whether the court of directors, or any committee of the said court, whether considered as a committee of that court, or as a committee of proprietors, being legally authorized to call for the examination of such persons upon oath, as recommended by the court of directors in their resolution of the 25th February, 1800; or whether an magistrate would be justified in administering the oath so recommended; and generally to advise concerning the legality and effect of such proceedings

"We are of opinion, that neither the court of directors, nor any committee of the said court, or committee of proprietors, have any legal authority to require or receive examinations of persons upon oath, as recommended by the resolution of the court of directors of the 25th February, 1800; and that no magistrate will be justified in administering such oaths.

"We therefore think the proposed proceedings would be contrary to law.

(Signed) "J. MITFORD.

W. GRANT.

J. MANSFIELD.

T. ERSKINE.

Geo. Ross."

"If this house should in its wisdom adopt any legislative measures for the purpose of preventing all traffic in the disposal of offices under government, it will, in the opinion of your committee, be proper to extend the same protection to patronage held under the East India company; but they see no reason to recommend any special or separate provisions as applicable to their case, judging that the East India company has within its own power the most effectual means for accomplishing that end.—It can never be advisable, without absolute necessity, to add new offences to the long catalogue already enumerated in the penal statutes; nor is it wise to diminish the sanctity of oaths by resorting to them upon all occasions. Where solemn declarations have been habitually disregarded, little reliance can be placed upon the sanction of any other species of asseveration. Instances occur but too frequently, where an oath comes to be considered merely as part of the official form by which an appointment is conferred; and the human mind, fertile in self deception, accommodates itself with wonderful facility to overcoming all scruples, or applies a perverse ingenuity to evading all restrictions which stand in the way of present interest. Little fear of detection is entertained, where transactions are in their nature private and confidential; and the appellation of honour, most improperly applied to negotiations of this clandestine kind, attaches by a singular perverseness, a stronger degree of obligation to the performance of such engagements, upon the very ground that they are illegal.

With a view to prevent all dealings in patronage, the obvious and natural mode will be to take away all inducement to traffic in it; and this can only be attained by making the hazard of such speculations greater than the temptation.

The regulations of the company are founded upon this true and efficacious principle. But examples have hitherto been wanting to demonstrate the determination of the court of directors to enforce their orders; no instance of purchasing or procuring by undue means an appointment in the civil or military service of the East India company after such appointment had actually taken place, and since the court's resolution of 29th February, 1799, having been so far established as to enable the court to dismiss the party appointed.

The immediate consequence of the information contained in this report, must be, that a certain number of persons in the service of the company will be instantly deprived of their employments, recalled from India, and declared incapable of again receiving any appointment under the company. The money improperly given for procuring these situations, will be absolutely lost, without any possibility of recovery; and those who have either imprudently or corruptly



been concerned in obtaining what they conceived to be benefits for their relatives or friends, will find that they have done the greatest injury to those whom they desired to serve, by inducing them to dedicate some of the best years of their lives to an employment, which the original defect, and corrupt practices through which it was obtained, must disqualify them from prosecuting.

Hard as some of these cases must be, and innocent and ignorant as many of the young men nominated under these circumstances probably are, of the undue means by which their appointments were acquired, your committee are of opinion, that nothing but a strict adherence to the rule laid down by the court of directors, can put a stop to the continuance of these abuses, and prevent the chance of their recurring.

In the year 1779, when, in the course of the investigation already mentioned, indemnity was offered to all those who would make a fair and candid disclosure of all the circumstances through which their situations had been procured, though information was gained with regard to facts, no example could be made, in consequence of such disclosure, of those who were found offending; and it may be doubted whether such practices have been less prevalent since that inquiry, than before. The deficiency of their power to compel persons to answer, precluded the court of directors from discovering, if they punished, or from punishing if they discovered, the traffic which was the subject of complaint.

The oath taken by the directors seems as effectual as any thing which can be devised for the purpose of guarding against corruption, so far as the directors themselves are immediately concerned: and your committee have already remarked, that no one case of corruption or abuse, which has been before them, affects any member of that court. It is, in the passing through several hands, which happens frequently with regard to the more numerous and less valuable appointments of clerks, that opportunities for this sort of negotiation are presented, which without a greater degree of vigilance and strictness on the part of each director, at the time of making such nomination, it will be impracticable to prevent in future.

Your committee may perhaps be exceed-

ing the limits of their province, in the further considerations to which this subject leads; but as they decline recommending any special legislative enactment, their view of the proper remedy for these abuses may be incomplete, unless they proceed to suggest some other observations.

The unpleasant duty of increased vigilance is not likely to be performed without some incitement of benefit or disadvantage attendant upon the exercise or neglect of it; and it is equally conformable to experience to presume that patronage will continue to be abused, so long as no inconvenience is felt by the person primarily giving, or by the person ultimately receiving it.

Where strict examination is a duty, any species of negligence cannot be wholly blameless; and it appears not unreasonable to curtail in some degree the patronage of those who have either not been sufficiently watchful in the disposal of it, or whose diligence has been unsuccessful in preventing the abuses which are complained of. As an additional check against those who are inclined to purchase such appointments, it may be expedient that a bond should be given by the parent, guardian, or friend of every person receiving a nomination, containing a penalty to be paid to the East India company, upon proof being made at any subsequent period, that any valuable consideration was given for such appointment; that species of proof being deemed sufficient to levy the penalty, upon which the court of directors may think themselves authorized to vacate the appointment.

The practices which are developed in the present report, and other transactions which this house has recently had under its cognizance, are sufficient to demonstrate, that patronage of various descriptions has, in several instances, become an article of traffic; that an opinion of the generality of such practices has been prevalent to a still greater extent; and that fraudulent agents have availed themselves of this belief, to the injury of the credulous and unwary, and to the discredit of those in whose hands the disposition of offices is lodged. It will depend upon the steps which may be taken in consequence of these inquiries, whether such abuses shall receive a permanent check or a virtual encouragement.







## MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

*An Account of the SIEGE and SURRENDER of BIDNORE,\* and of subsequent operations. From a Manuscript Memoir of TIPPOO SULTAUN.*

\* THE following manuscript is not only valuable as illustrative of the talent and policy of the writer, but as elucidatory of a portion of modern Indian History, hitherto but imperfectly known, though anxiously desired. It is a broken part of a Memoir of the Life of the Sultaun, written by himself, in the form of a summary of the operations, that immediately preceded the *capitulation of general Mathews*, and the surrender of the fort of *Bidnore*. The terms on which the garrison is said to have been delivered up, are detailed at length, for the purpose of shewing, in a succeeding passage, the alleged brief of capitulation, on which is justified, the subsequent barbarity of the tyrant towards the general, and his brave and equally unfortunate companions in arms.

The supposed articles of capitulation bear internal evidence of misrepresentation; stipulations which a Briton could not condescend to ask, nor the decent pride of a soldier permit him to accept; stipulations which would not be offered without affront to a generous enemy, nor required by the basest; inferring such a condition on the one side, ~~and~~ conclude the very idea of stipulation on the other. If no faith can be claimed for this instrument, on the statement of the Sultaun, the alleged breach of it will not be found to stand on a firmer foundation.

From this event the Sultaun hastily proceeds to the detail of the operations against *Mangalore*, less successful in their issue, and interrupted at an interesting crisis, by the conclusion of a peace between the British and the French, then, in alliance with Hyder Ally. The mortification expressed on this unexpected occurrence, is deep, and peculiarly descriptive of the writer's character, position, and prospects.

If this sketch possess not the literary merit, the still rarer quality of fidelity, or the winning recommendation of modesty, discoverable in the writings of these eminent persons who are the historians of their own achievements, it is not without a character of its own. It bears the strong features of an ardent but irregular mind, seizing and representing circumstances on its own impressions; meaning, possibly, to give a faithful account of transactions,

\* This fragment is taken from a publication of the select correspondences and records of Tip্পoo Sultaun, discovered and obtained on the fall of Seringapatam. The present translation of these original and authentic papers, is from the pen of a gentleman, to which Asiatic Literature is indebted for much of its celebrity and cultivation, and to which the interests of his country are even more singularly indebted, for the manifestation of her genius and policy, and the assertion of her rights, at the principal courts of India, through the only medium through which they could be felt or understood, or adequately described and appreciated; a language, until this day, almost exclusively confined within the walls of the Hindostanee palaces, or to the cabinets of the curious, but now diffused, through this eminent example and influence, with favourable co-operative causes, throughout every branch of the company's civil and military establishment.

The Editor will have an opportunity, in a succeeding volume, of considering the work before him more at length, and of confessing his particular obligations to it.



but deceived, not unfrequently, by the influence of its passions. What it may want in grace or order, is more than compensated by the rapidity of its relation, and the energy of its style. It is a picture drawn by a lively, but heated imagination, bold in design, and spirited in execution, but not every where correct in the outline, nor true in colouring:

"A discharge of artillery and musquetry succeeded, which occasioned the loss of a few of those who looked on. Then the troops of the Usud-Ilye, and the French people, advancing on each side of the road, gave another discharge of musquetry. Immediately on hearing this discharge, I (being then seated at the distance of a hundred yards) advanced rapidly with a division, when about sixty of the English people were sent to hell. The rest being pursued, left behind them the two guns they had previously seized on; and thus the aforesaid Nazarenes were driven back, discomfited, and disheartened, to (the position occupied by) their worthless leader, who thereupon, with all his forces, sought (refuge in) the fort and batteries. Writings of the said worthless leader were found in the pockets of four of the English Sirdars, (or officers) who were among the slain. On this day about three hundred Nazarenes were made prisoners, and twenty guns taken. On the second, or following day, I myself, taking two thousand light troops with me, attacked and gained possession of a large powder magazine at some distance from the fort, and of a magazine of grain, close to it. Six hours after the capture of these two places, the enemy sent about four thousand men to attack us. This force advanced by a concealed route, (or secretly) an action ensued between them and the Usud-Ilye army, in which both parties, passing from the fire of musquetry, fought with the bayonet and sword. On this occasion, also, about two hundred of the good for nothing people were sent to hell. A few persons, too, of the army of Ahmedy Sircar tasted the sherbet of martyrdom; and one Risaladar, after being wounded, was carried off by the Nazarenes.

The third day I had all the powder and grain removed from the said magazines, and lodged in a place of

safety. On the same day, the Nazarenes set fire to the palace of the rajah, and to ten or twelve other noble buildings; keeping up, also, such a fire (from their guns), that there was not a span's space of the wall, (of the outer town) which was not reached by their shot.

"On the fourth day, carrying on my approaches in front of the Dardl Imaret, and in front of the mosque, and by two other sides, I erected batteries close to the fort, in which I placed some large guns, which I had caused to be removed from the walls of the city.

"The Nazarenes had conveyed into the fort, from the different magazines, (of the city) about fifty thousand shot, and a vast quantity of powder; the remainder consisting of about two hundred thousand shot, one hundred thousand quintals of lead, and five hundred thousand quintals of powder, besides an innumerable quantity of other stores, fell into our hands.

"Having next fixed on a high spot, I caused batteries to be constructed and mounted with guns, at the sight of which, the Nazarenes, without religion, opened a very heavy fire. When the said Nazarenes became tired, (of firing) the batteries of the Usud-Ilye opened their fire, discharging from four to five thousand shot; and in this manner did the firing continue on the part of the Usud-Ilye Sircar, for five or six days. As to the Nazarenes, they did not fire a single shot from the fort on the second day. What fire they kept up was on the first day, the reason of which was this: the fire from without was so hot, that no creature within the fort durst approach their guns, (for the purpose of working them) while general Matthews, (the name of their worthless leader) causing a ——— to be made, crept or slunk into the same. There was not, in short, a span's space throughout the fort of the Usud-Ilye the guns did



not reach, or where the blood of the Nazarenes was not spilt.

"On the fifth day, the Nazarenes, during a storm of rain, rushed from a concealed place, and attacked our entrenchments, but the Ahmedy troops being on their guard, the infidels were repulsed at the point of the sword and bayonet, many of them being seized by the legs, and in that condition thrown by the people of the Sircar, into the trenches. The rest leaving their wounded behind them, fled in confusion into the fort.

"After this, I pushed on my approaches before the gate of the fort, and on every other side still nearer, and caused such a fire of musquetry to be kept up, that not a single man of the Nazarenes, within the fort, durst ascend the walls or come near their guns. In this manner did the Nazarenes altogether make three sallies, in considerable force, but were each time repulsed with great loss, and compelled to sink back like mice, into the fort. Thus did hostilities continue during ten days. On the eleventh day the Nazarenes begged for quarter, and sent me the draft of terms of capitulation, consisting of the seven following articles :

"Article 1. Neither the troops of the Sircar, of the Usud-Ilye, nor the inhabitants (Ryots) of the country of the Sircar, shall, after we evacuate the fort, spit in our faces, or abuse us or wound us.

"Article 2. Let our private property be left to us ; and let guns, musquets, money, goods, military stores, &c. be taken by the Sircar.

"Article 3. Whatever money, goods, or cattle, belonging to the Sircar, may be in our possession, we will deliver up the same ; and if we should take with us to the value of the daum or firm of money or goods ; and if, upon search by the people of the Sircar, any thing of the kind should be found upon us, we consent to be considered criminal. Inflict (in that case) whatever punishment you please upon us.

"Article 4. Let us have a safe guard to the sea side.

"Article 5. Let some ships of the Sircar be lent to us (for conveying us home) : and let us be favoured with grain and other articles of provision, by the Sircar, at a fixed price. After we arrive at our own place, the amount of the price of the same shall be sent.

"Article 6. Ships to be furnished for the conveyance of whatever number of men shall (chuse to) embark. But those who may not consent (or like) to embark on board of ship, shall be dispatched by land to Bombay, under an escort.

"Article 7. Two Sirdars (i. e. officers of rank) of the Sircar, shall remain with us as hostages, until our embarkation ; and two Nazarene Sirdars to remain with the Sircar. Whenever the Sirdars of the Sircar shall return to the presence, the two Nazarene Sirdars shall be dispatched (or sent back to us)."

"I agreed to these proposals, and according to the request of the Nazarenes, caused two treaties, one in Persian, and the other in English, to be drawn up ; to which were affixed my seal and signature, and, in like manner, the seal and signature of the Nazarenes. One of the treaties was kept by the Sircar, and the other was given to the Nazarenes. The following morning, the Nazarenes preparing or assembling, all their people within the fort, loaded such parts of the Tosheh-khaneh of the Sircar, as consisted of specie, on mules, horses, and bullocks, bearing the mark of the Sircar, and distributed the rest of the articles amongst their people, after which they came out of the fort ; on passing the gate, the worthless chief of the Nazarenes, first drawing his sword, delivered up the same with his own hand, after which, all the rest, amounting to about two thousand two hundred Nazarenes, and ten thousand infantry, native troops, grounded their arms, and proceeded to the encampment assigned them without the city. The next day, sending for Matthews, (the name of their worthless leader) and their other worthless commanders, I demanded of them, whether the



treaty which they had executed the preceding day, was right, (or valid) or not right. To this they all answered, that on that point there was not any doubt, and that the treaty was right (or valid). Hereupon I sent to them about twenty principal men and Sirdars of the Sircar, through whom I thus interrogated them :

“ What is the reason that contrary to the treaty, you have taken with you the money\* and goods, (of the Sircar) and also the prisoners made by you in the Sircar's country, dressing them up in your own apparel? What is the reason that you have loaded cattle, bearing the mark of the Sircar, with specie, and carried the same away? Finally, why at the time of your evacuating the fort, did you distribute among your people the Tosheh-khāneh of the Sircar? ”

“ Their answer (to these demands) was, that they had no knowledge of the matter, and that if the Sircar had any suspicions, and did not put trust in their declaration, a search might be ordered by the Sircar. To this I replied, through the Sirdars, that it would be best for them to issue positive orders to their people to deliver up to the Sircar, whatever coined money of the Sircar captives made in the territories of the Sircar, or cattle, goods, &c. they had taken with them. In reply to this, they declared that neither themselves, nor any of their people, had a single daum, or dirm, (farthing) or retained a single hair of any inhabitant of this country; proposing, at the same time, that a guard of the Sircar should be placed over them, and that a search should be made, and (every thing) taken (that might be found). After much altercation on their part, the Sirdars of the Usud-

Ilhye, took from them, and brought (to me) a writing to the above effect: Hereupon I dismissed the accused, worthless Sirdars, and on the second (or following) day, having surrounded them with guards, I caused them to march from the encampment they then occupied to the vicinity of another spot (which had been appropriated by them) as a burying ground. The Sirdars of the Sircar, placing themselves in the road, examined them one by one, as they passed. The accused ones were, in consequence, found to have concealed in every seam of their clothes, Hydery hoods, (pagodas) and jewels. They had also made holes in sheep's heads, which they had filled with pagodas; some had concealed pagodas in loaves of bread; others within Hukha snakes, and Hukha bottoms; while several had even resorted to the most indelicate means of concealment, all of which were detected by sweepers and other Samries, appointed for the purpose by the Sircar. Many young people also, male and female, natives of the country of the Sircar, were found disguised in the dress (of the Nazarenes). These captives of their own accord, set up a loud cry, (by which means) about five hundred were discovered. The search being over, I had the worthless Sirdars placed separately, the Nazarene people separately, and the other infidels separately, and as they had not acted conformably with their written engagements, I made the whole prisoners, and distributed them throughout the country. During the investigation, ten or twelve Mussulman women (Syeds and Shaikhs) who had been made captives or slaves, by the infidel Nazarenes at Surat, and in Bengal, were found among their people.

\* The whole pretext for a breach of capitulation, rests, as it appears, on a forced construction, which Tippon affects to put on the 3d Article. The Money “ belonging to the Sircar,” (the words of the article) tantamount, in English, to public or government money, he converts, by a mere quibble, into the coin of the government, as if general Matthews had stipulated to give up, not only the public property, but coin of every description, bearing the stamp of the Mysore mint, whether it should be public or private property: an interpretation not warranted by the letter of the article, nor by the custom of war in similar cases. In this principal way, and possibly, also, by a fanciful article, does the Sultan seek, but vainly, to justify the inhuman treatment of his captives.



These persons being likewise separated from the Nazarenes, and restored to their freedom, were permitted to depart.

"After this, passing the Ghauts, I proceeded by five or six days' marches, to fort Kuriā-Bunder, (Mangalore) which is an excellent fortress, erected by the Ahmedy Sircar, and on which, in the course of five and twenty years, about twenty lacks of rupees have been expended. An ungrateful rogue, who had been honored with the government of it, had invited the Nazarenes, and delivered it up to them. Here I arrived, and on the second (or following) day, after crossing another Ghaut, (or pass) situated two coss on this side of the said fort, encamped near the city. The worthless Nazarene, who commanded in the fort, had erected a battery of heavy guns, on an eminence near the fort, in which were placed about three hundred Nazarenes, and a thousand other troops. After I had taken up my position, I dispatched a kushoon to occupy the town; this division, passing the outer wall, was attacked by a body of Nazarenes, posted there by the enemy, between whom and my people a sharp conflict was maintained till evening. Having, during the same day, collected the necessary materials for the purpose, I erected a battery in the night, opposite to that of the Nazarenes, in which I placed fifteen guns, and sending a storming party of two kushoons, I posted them in a hollow, where they remained till the hour of morning prayer, when, after firing a volley, (from our battery) and crying out, "Allah Yar," they rushed forward, and, with great slaughter, drove the Nazarenes, without religion, from the eminence they occupied, taking, also, many prisoners, and pursuing the fugitives to the very gates of the fort, in front of which my people maintained themselves, till such time as, with the divine assistance, I was enabled to entrench them. In the course of the two next days, every thing being prepared for the purpose, I invested the place, and mounted two batteries. A very hot fire was kept up

on both sides the first day. On the second day, the gunners of the Hyderi army served the batteries in such a manner, that ten guns of the fort were dismounted and shattered to pieces, and a great number of the Nazarenes sent to hell. In the end, the Nazarenes abandoned all their guns, and were no longer able to appear on the walls; while I had two or three other batteries erected, in which placing six mortars; I caused large stones to be thrown from them. Hereupon the Nazarenes, without religion, dug trenches within the fort, into which they slunk (for shelter).

"In this conjuncture, the rains of that country, which continue for six months, set in. At the end of two months, I had carried my approaches, notwithstanding the violence of the rains, to the ditch of the fort; in the course of which time, the besieged had made two sallies, at the hour of midnight. On one of these occasions, I happened to be seated near the trenches, in a house in which I had taken up my residence, when hearing a more continued report of musquetry than usual, I hastened, in the midst of the rain and darkness of the night, to the support of the people in the trenches, and said to the Sirdars of the Usud-Ilye army, that with the divine aid I would, the following day, when the sun was in the meridian, (or at twelve o'clock) cut off the heads of the infidels, within their own ditch and batteries, by the hands of my foot troops, and in this manner, retaliate their thief-like action of coming against us in the night. Accordingly, under God's assistance, and the protection of our prophet, I formed a party of 30 Eshām soldiers, and 20 other persons of approved courage, which dividing into two bodies, I sent one of them, consisting of 25 men, in noon day, against the gate battery, and the other 25 men into the ditch, where each party falling upon the infidels, without religion, they cut off the heads of about forty of those impure minded (people). Such as escaped the edge of the sword, falling into the ditch and other places,



like chickens, and crept, for concealment, into the nearest holes. The Usud-Ilyes men, resembling lions, returned with the prisoners they had made in safety. In fine, the Nazarenes were reduced to such straits by our fire, that they no sooner saw one of the Hydery people lift a musquet to his shoulder, than they would take off their hats, and bow to him, like an ape.

"One day the Nazarenes, at break of day, attacked and penetrated into the trenches at the edge of the ditch. I was seated, at the time, in my quarters, having just performed my customary exercises, when, hearing the noise of musquetry and of men, I took a company of Usud-Ilyes, and ran on foot to the trenches, where I found the Nazarenes standing. The Usud-Ilyes people, instantly attacking them with sword and bayonet, sent several of them to hell, and made some of them prisoners. The remnant of the sword took to flight.

"In short, during three months, such was the slaughter on both sides, that the trenches exhibited nothing but a mixture of mud and clay with the blood and flesh of men. The toes of many were completely rotted, in consequence of the excessive rains, and owing to the mire (in the midst of which they were constantly forced to stand). Often, of a dark night, and wading through the floods occasioned by the heavy rain and wind (which here always exceed any thing known in other parts of our kingdom), I say, often during this time, have I, both by night and day, gone the rounds, to see that the necessary works were properly carried on, and that the Ahmedy people were duly watchful. In consequence, it happened that two or three sirdars, and others, fell, in the darkness of the night, into wells, which were then quite full, and became martyrs, without any one's knowing of the accident. Moreover, at this time, the water lay on the ground knee deep."

### *Engagement entered into by MEER SADIK.\**

"He is the sultan !

"In the name of the most merciful God,

"May God preserve our gracious sovereign !"

I, Meer Mahommed Sadik, son of Meer Ali Nuky, servant of the Khodadad Sircar, do swear by God, and engage (to which engagement God and his Prophet, and the word of God, which is the Imam of true believers,

are witnesses) to perform my duty to my lord and master faithfully, with all my heart, and with my four members ; that is to say, with my eyes, my ears, my tongue, and my hands : that I will study nothing but obedience

\* This record shews that the person, to whom it relates, had possessed an office of great importance under *Tippoo Sultan*, (the Dewán) in which he had amassed certain wealth, and had been suspected, it should seem, of having accumulated more. He had been forbidden the Presence for three years, but had found means to make his peace by a promised disclosure of his property; and on that condition had received a free pardon. The oath imposed, or possibly self-prescribed, on Meer Sadik, is singular and noticeable. The general allegiance of a subject is not only enjoined by it, but the most minute duties are detailed and enforced with such earnest and persevering particularity, as if the performance of them would depend more on the exact specification of their parts, than on the binding nature of the oath, and the spirit with which it is taken. It is a comprehensive classification of the functions of the principal organs and members of the body, and an appropriation of them, root and branch, on the most solemn and reiterated imprecations, to the service, and nothing but the service, of the jealous and merciless Sultans. This is not, perhaps, an ordinary appeal, a mere oath of office, but a special application to the conscience of the swearer, which had been already tried, and had not been restrained by a human fence. This oath may have been equalled, in the solemnity and diversity of its expressions, by Erasmus's, and by some efforts, of a similar nature, of the primitive church,



to my lord and master, and never act, in any instance, contrary to my duty, or to his interest. And (I moreover promise) to communicate whatever I shall hear or see to the resplendent presence.

If, however, (which God forbid!) I should happen to be guilty of a breach of any of the four obligations, (above-mentioned) or of the obedience which I owe, may God, the most holy and omnipotent, and whose name is the Avenger, overwhelm me and mine with his wrath, and utterly destroy us!

According to the prohibitions in the holy word of God, the Almighty has forbidden eight things: those (eight) crimes, by the blessing of the confession of faith, I will reprobate and put from me, even as (I would) the devil. I will moreover, in conformity with the holy word, not only zealously discharge my duty, on all occasions, to his majesty, my lord and master, but also labour to promote and maintain the concord and union of the people of Islam, or those who (are accustomed to) repeat the confession of faith.

If (which God forbid!), any act, forbidden by the holy words, should come to my knowledge, I will drive the unworthy person, committing the same, from among the people of Islam; for the most glorious and high God has declared, that whosoever commits one of the eight sins, above-mentioned, is the son of rejection. And I am descended, on both sides, and through three generations, from nobles and Siyuds of the tribe of Koreish, and of the Mahommedan religion, and am true and faithful both in tongue and hand.

And I declare, under the aforesaid solemn sanctions, that except the

wealth of my royal master, the shadow of God, at the time of his becoming a servant of the Khoddid Sircar, your slave was possessed of three pagodas. After becoming the servant of the Sircar, (the centre of bounty) I sent for my family, who possessed in jewels, &c. about three thousand rupees. Since that time, your slave, who is always ready to sacrifice his life in your majesty's service, swears by the book of God, (witness God, and the Prophet of God!) that all he has acquired in cattle, arms, effects, clothes, and vessels of brass, jewels, money, presents, from his lord and master, including profit and original property, as above stated, amounts, in all, to about 1,08,200 rupees; out of which sum he expended, during the three years that he laboured under your majesty's displeasure, and confined himself to his own house, about 15,000 rupees. There consequently remain 93,200 rupees, as detailed in the subjoined statement.

I swear by the book of God, and by the words of the Prophet, that your slave represents his true situation: but if he should (be suspected to) have embezzled any of the Sircar's property, or to have taken from any asaf, mutasuddy, amuldâr, or serishtedâr, or to have done injury to any inhabitant of the Sircar, let orders be issued from the presence full of splendour (the shadow of God) for inquiry to be made therein; and if your slave should be found guilty, let a severe punishment be inflicted on the unfaithful offender; (i. e. of me.) Let him be rolled up in a mat, and burnt, and let his dwelling and family be destroyed; but, though your sacred majesty should forgive, God will surely punish that wicked doer.



From the beginning of his service, your slave has not given a farthing to any of his relations; and in your slave's house, marriage ceremonies have seldom exceeded five and twenty rupees, and at no time one thousand rupees. Your slave's pay was twelve hundred rupees per month; in lieu of half of which your majesty graciously conferred upon him a jageer of three thousand pagodas. Of this, whatever I have spent, I have spent; the remainder is ready to be laid, together with my life and heart, an humble sacrifice at your sacred and august feet.

All former crimes of this devoted slave, my royal lord and master has, through his abundant generosity, favour, and protection, forgiven; but if, hereafter, I should receive any bribes, or commit any (other) misdemeanour in the (management of the) country of the Khodadad Sircar, the aforesaid oath will be binding on me. And I will perform the duties of my station with heart, soul, and fidelity; and never be neglectful of, or deficient in, the same. To this engagement, God and the Prophet of God are witnesses; and if I act contrary thereto, I shall be obnoxious to the wrath of the throne of vengeance. And the specification of my duties, according to the four above-mentioned members, is as follows:

1st. As to the duty of the eyes.—I will not authorize, by any sign made by my eyes, any embezzlement of the property of the Sircar; and if any one should, to my knowledge, do any thing prejudicial to the affairs and property of the Sircar, I will not wink thereat, but will forbid the same, and report it to the exalted presence.

2d. As to the duty of the ears.—If any person should utter expressions of a treasonable nature, or prejudicial to the wealth or affairs of the Khodadad Sircar, or act seditiously, and the same should come to my hearing, I will not remain silent, but will forbid and punish the offence, and also report it to the exalted presence.

3d. As to the duty of the tongue.—That is to say, in all matters relating

to the due management of the affairs of the Khodadad Sircar, whether now or hereafter, and in which the interest, glory, and prosperity of your majesty may be concerned, it (i. e. my tongue) shall be ever actively employed, as long as it retains motion; nor shall it fail, at any time, to make all necessary communications to the presence full of splendour.

4th. As to the duty of the hands — That is to say, the enemies of my royal lord and master, I will kill with sword and pen, and most certainly will never neglect any opportunity of destroying his enemies with sword and pen: I will, moreover, communicate all such transactions to the resplendent presence, in my own handwriting; and I will, likewise, write out all abstract accounts with my own hand. I will, in fine, in all affairs, be loyal with my four members, and omit or neglect nothing which can be accomplished by them.

Particulars (or inventory) of the above-mentioned sum of one lack eight thousand two hundred rupees:

Deduct, expended during my disgrace, and retirement to my own house -	15,000
Remains -	93,200

In jewels, being presents graciously bestowed by the Khodadad Sircar, about rupees - - - - -	20,000
Furniture of the Ashoor-khaneh, carpets, lamps, &c. about - - - - -	5,000
Jewels and pearls of your majesty's female slaves, about - - - - -	3,000
Gold ornaments, (weight 2,000 pagodas) value -	6,000
Silver plate, (4,000 rupees' weight) value - - - -	3,400
Copper and brass vessels, &c. about - - - - -	2,000
Arms, one hundred and fifteen articles; viz. for Bargeers, one hundred firelocks: your slave's own arms (as swords, pistols, &c.) fifteen: value - -	2,000



Tents, and new wearing apparel, (exclusive of old clothes) about - - -	4,000
Horses, camels, cattle for the plough, sheep, &c. -	30,000
Ready money, in specie, about - - - - -	15,200
Price of timber in store - -	0,500

N. B. The foregoing articles have been set down at about twelve rupees above their real value.

[Written on Wednesday, the tenth of the month Hyder, year Shudall, 1226, from the birth of Mahommed, in the hand writing of Meer Sadik.]

### \* *Tour to LAHORE.*

From the manuscript notes of an officer of the Bengal army, made from actual observation, during a late tour through the Punjab to Lahore; and affording, among much valuable matter, some illustrations of the character and manners of the Sikhs.

On the 15th April last, I crossed the Jumna, at Rejenore Ghaut, seven coss from Saharanpore, in company with a large kafila of Sikhs, returning from the Hardoar Mela; and arrived at the town of Borea, situated in the Doab, that part of the frontier so called from lying between the rivers Jumna and Sutledge. I was much gratified with the general appearance of the country, then in a high state of cultivation, affording satisfactory proof of the fertility of the soil, and industry of the people. I was no less pleased with the kind reception I experienced from the inhabitants of the town of Borea; who all assembled near my tent, to gratify their curiosity with the novel and extraordinary sight of an European. Many of the Jautnee ladies, wives of the royuts, begged leave to be introduced to my presence, and every look and gesture testified their surprise. They stood near me, laughed heartily at my appearance, and made a multitude of inquiries. They asked me if I did not wear a hat; if ever I ventured to expose my face to the sun, or if I always staid within doors, or moved about under cover? whether the table which was placed in my tent, was that I slept upon (although my cot was close beside it, but with the curtains down.) They took a particular survey of the cot, looked at the bed clothes, and curtains: they then examined the lining of the tent, &c. &c. at all which they seemed greatly surprised and delighted. Curiosity is one of the strongest passions

of the fair sex, whether in Europe or in India; and you may judge how much the Jautnee ladies were gratified on this occasion, by their exclamation, that God had been very kind in indulging them with so wonderful a sight as an European, which they considered as equal to the two other great gifts of heaven, namely, the sun and moon. This ludicrous comparison, the Indies probably intended as a compliment to me; though it must be ascribed, in some measure, to their fondness for hyperbole, which I had frequent opportunities to remark. They were all of pleasing appearance, with mild regular features, and olive complexion, agreeably contrained by beautiful, well-arranged, white teeth; for which all the natives of the Punjab, both men and women, are remarkable. Neither pawn nor the beetle nut grow in any part of this country; and the lips and teeth of the natives are unstained by the use of these luxuries, which give no disgusting an appearance to the mouths of many other Asiatics.

The people were well dressed, and bore every appearance of health, ease, and contentment; the effects of a just and good government, to which the inhabitants of those districts are happily subject; and, in proof of this observation, I may mention that, during the whole course of my inquiries, I heard not one cause of complaint. The cultivators are assessed to the amount of one half of the produce of their crops, which is paid in kind to the chief, as money currency is very



limited throughout the Punjab. Although that is the general rate of assessment, yet every allowance is made to the cultivator for unfavourable seasons, and every species of oppression carefully guarded against by the chief, who, although he is absolute, rules with such moderation and justice, that he is beloved and revered by his people, whose happiness he studies to promote. Though vested with uncontrolled power, his administration of justice is mild and equitable. He seldom dooms to death even for murder: so lenient is the system of polity, that crimes of that heinous nature are punished by the temporary imprisonment of the criminal, by corporal chastisement, and confiscation of property of every denomination, which the chief converts to his own use. All offences, whether murder or the slightest misdemeanor, are under the cognizance of the kotewall, who submits a detail of all the cases that come before him to the chief, by whom alone punishments are awarded, agreeable to his will. This system of judicial administration seems to have a happy effect, inasmuch that capital crimes are rarely perpetrated, and the police in the different towns is so well regulated that persons of all nations enter them with confidence, and meet with no molestation while they remain. The same attention is shewn to an English gentleman as in our own territory, by the kotewall, who readily sends the usual supplies of provision, and for which he will receive no payment. He also furnishes a guard of Chokeedars at night.

The town of Boree and the adjoining districts were independent of rajah Runjeit Sing, at the time I allude to. The inhabitants of that tract of country are both Singhs and Sik'hs. The Singhs, or Lions, are proselytes of Goorogobind Singh, a reputed saint, who lived in the reign of Alum-gheer, and declared himself to the world as the converter of men into lions. They are all soldiers; but Goorogobind Singh was not a Singh himself. Nei-

ther the time nor manner of his death is noticed in any record, nor in any traditional account.

A Sik'h wishing to become a Singh, finds no difficulty in accomplishing his proselytism. He goes to the Akalees, or priests of the sect, at Amritsaur, who ask him if he wishes to become a convert to their persuasion, and if so, to produce proofs of his determination; upon which the convert breaks with his own hands, the zunar, the small thread, or cord, worn across the shoulders by most of the Hindoo sects, and after the performance of certain ceremonies, he is given to drink a sherbet made of sugar and water, from the hand of an Akalee. After this initiation, he never shaves his beard, nor cuts his hair, and ought not, according to a rigorous observance of the doctrines, to pair his nails, but that is dispensed with, though contrary to the rules of the lawgiver. Now become a Singh, he is heterodox, and distinct from the Hindoos, by whom he is considered as an apostate. He is not restricted in his diet, but is allowed, by the tenets of his new religion, to devour whatever food his appetite may prompt, excepting beef. He is allowed also to drink every kind of liquor, such as the Singhs. The Sik'hs are those, who (if originally Hindoos,) together with the peculiar tenets and observances prescribed to the sect by its founder, Nanuk, retain firmly the institutions of their faith, in strict conformity to the doctrines of Brahma.

Both the Sik'hs and Singhs marry one wife, and in the event of her death may marry again; but if the husband die, the widow cannot again enter the nuptial state, but the widow of a Jaut is allowed to marry a second or third husband. Widows rarely declare themselves Suttees\* in any part of the Punjab; but in the city of Jumoo, a contrary practice prevails. There it is generally practised, and is indeed considered as an indispensable sacrifice to the manes of the deceased husband; and, if the widow does not voluntarily attend the corpse of her husband, and

\* Widow who devotes herself to death on the funeral pile of her husband.



consign herself with it to the flames, the rajepoots consider it their duty, in such cases, to put the widows to death, and to cast their bodies into the fire, to be burnt with her husband's. So horrible a custom as this, does, I believe, no where else prevail. However frequent the instances of widows devoting themselves to death on the pile with their deceased husbands, yet in all these cases, excepting in the city of Jamoo, if it be not in every instance voluntary, there is no where else, that it is ever urged or enforced by any measure of compulsion.

- A Sik'h will neither eat nor drink with a Singh, after the abjuration of his faith, and rejection of the doctrines of Brahma, nor have any further intercourse or connection with him, than if he were a christian. Many Jauts become Singhs, and the wives of both, that is both of Singhs and Jauts, are not immured, and shut up like the Sik'h women, but go abroad unveiled and at pleasure; and the women of both sects bear the general reputation of chastity.

I arrived, on the 18th of April, at Mulana, where I found the weather piercingly cold during the nights, and till 8 o'clock in the morning. My route lay through a fine level open country, with a delightful view of the distant hills, passing Mustafabad, a pretty large town, walled in; but it may be noted that every town, and even villages, are surrounded by a wall, in this part of the country, as a defence against the attacks of parties of predatory horse from the Punjab. Mustafabad has a citadel in its interior, built of burnt bricks, with curtains, round towers of the angles, and a cavalier in which the chief resides. He exercises the functions both of prince and of judge. The town of Mustafabad and four villages are dependent upon him. This part of the country is so completely divided and sub-divided into small independencies, that many of the villages, according to the information I obtained, are governed by two chieftains, one exercising independent jurisdiction over one portion of the inhabitants, and the other over the remainder; each being entirely

independent of the other; and this is pretty nearly the state of government throughout the country extending to the Sutledge.

Mulana is a small town, walled in, and has a citadel in the centre. Here I conversed with a sturdy, veteran Singh, who was present at the battle of Buxar, and had visited Calcutta at that time. He mentioned that the people in the Doab generally live to 80, 90, and 100 years, an account to which I could readily assent, from the appearance of the country, which is very open, dry, free from jungle, and well cultivated. He told me that he never recollected such a season as the present, which has been remarkable for frequent showers of rain at short intervals, since the beginning of March, and which have had the effect of keeping off the hot winds, that usually prevail in this part of the country during that month, though only in a moderate degree.

Mango groves are as numerous in the country between the Jamna and Sutledge, as in our own provinces, and the chief difference that I could perceive, was in the nature of the soil, which here is a fine brown marl, producing wheat, barley, gram, and other grains, and capable of great extension in its cultivation. The different chiefs are too jealous of each other to admit of any general combination for the public good. They are chiefly occupied with selfish, narrow views, anxious as to the means of maintaining their own independence, to repress the encroachments, or to take advantage of a rival chieftain. In this state the country has remained for a long series of years.

From what I had hitherto experienced, I was convinced, that during my journeying in this country, I should be regarded as an object of rare and singular curiosity; and every day gave fresh proof of the fact. No sooner was my tent pitched, than it was surrounded by all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Wherever I came, the curiosity of the people was excited. Men, women, and children, on horseback and on foot, assembled from every quarter of the vicinity; and never quitted me till the darkness of night deprived



them of so marvellous a sight as a white man without a beard.

On the 19th I arrived at Umballa, passing Bimball in my route, a town like most others in this part of the country, walled in, and having a large citadel, much resembling in appearance those ancient English castles, formerly the strong holds of the feudal barons. Mulana, and all the country lying between it and Umballa, are dependencies of Dia Cour and Roop Coar, relicts of Goorbukhs Singh and Lal Singh, the deceased zemindars of those districts. They can bring into the field between 7 and 8000 fighting men, horse and foot. Their families reside in a well built citadel, surrounded by a brick wall with round bastions. The town is large and populous, the houses are mostly built of burnt bricks. The streets are so very narrow, as scarcely to afford room for the passage of an elephant. The country between Mulana and Umballa, appears fertile, and is extremely well cultivated. Having enquired why the more powerful zemindars did not reduce the weaker to their subjection, I was told that they had no desire to extend their possessions, or to cause commotions by such acts of injustice, and that they were content with the territory that they already possessed.

At Umballa I met the usual kind attention. On my arrival, I had a visit from the Dewan, deputed on the part of the ladies of the citadel, politely requesting to know, if I would allow them to order dinner to be prepared for me. The inhabitants throughout this country, and as far as the Sutledge, bear a high character for hospitality and kindness to strangers. Their benevolence is not narrowed by bigotry or prejudice, and disclaims the distinctions of religion or complexion. They are particularly attentive to travellers of all casts or countries. The chief of every town makes a point of sustaining all poor and needy travellers, from his own funds, a part of which are set aside for that purpose, and when that falls short, from an in-

creased number of indigent claimants, their wants are supplied by a subscription made from the principal inhabitants of the place. It is very pleasing to travel through the towns and villages of this country. The inhabitants receive the stranger with an air of welcome that prepossesses him in their favour. They are, at the same time, courteous and respectful, contrary to what the traveller experiences in Mussulman towns, where he is looked upon with contempt, and regarded as an unwelcome intruder. The character of the Sikhs had been represented to me in a very favourable light, and my own observations confirmed all that I had heard in their favour. They are just and amiable in their social intercourse, and affectionate in their domestic relations. One quality particularly raises the character of the Sikhs above all other Asiatics, and that is, their higher veneration for truth. Both as a people and as individuals, they may be considered as much less addicted to the low artifices of evasion, lying, or dissimulation, than any other race of Asiatics. Implicit dependence may be placed upon their promise, in all matters either of public or private concern; and if a Sikh declares himself your friend, he will not disappoint your confidence: if, on the other hand, he bears enmity to any one, he declares it without reserve.— Upon the whole, they are a plain, manly, hospitable, and industrious people, and by far the best race I have ever met in India. They have all the essential qualities of a good soldier:— in their persons they are hardy and athletic; of active habits, patient, faithful, and brave. They are strongly attached to their chiefs, and will never desert them, while they are well treated.

On the 20th of April, I marched to Patala, in a southerly direction.— The country continues open and pretty well cultivated, but without mango trees; there are, however, large peepul\* trees about the different villages, and also hedges of the jow, growing to middling-sized trees, which to Euro-

\* *Ficus religiosa*.

† *Tamarix indica*.



pean eye, have a novel and pretty appearance. These hedges are cut by the natives, and commonly used for fuel.

Although the soil of this part of the country is so favourable to the production of grain, the crops were by no means so full and luxuriant as in the company's territories. From inattention on the part of the landholders, together with the unorganized state of the country, which being held in petty independencies, and beyond the Satalledge, in jagher and jeechal, is only partially cultivated. The rains raise no more than sufficient for home consumption; whereas under proper management, a large surplus might be raised for exportation. The country, though fertile, is uncommonly dry, and irrigation becomes necessary to ensure a plentiful harvest; yet wells are only seen near towns and villages, where they water their crops; but the distant fields, when ploughed and sown, are left to take their chance of the weather, notwithstanding the simple and ingenious method they employ to draw their water, and consequently they produce low and scanty crops. The water is drawn up from the wells by what we call the Persian wheel. Why this piece of mechanism is so named, I know not; and here, where it is in very general use, the natives do not assign its invention to the Persians, but claim it as their own;—they call it *rahutt*. One of these *rahutts* I examined particularly; it was worked by two bullocks, and gave a constant supply of water. It was constructed with three wheels, two of which were placed vertically, and the third horizontally. The former were fixed on an axle, over which the governing, or horizontal wheel was turned by the passage of the bullocks; it had 42 pots, each holding  $5\frac{1}{2}$  quarts of water, all fastened to a circular cordage close to each other; these descending two or three cubits into the water, were filled in succession; and on passing their horizontal direction at the top of the well, emptied themselves into a wooden receiver; whence the water was conducted by a trough to the different channels of divergence. In some places

two *rahutts* are worked at the same time, on opposite sides of the well; and in this way, they water a considerable space in a short time. The receiver is placed within the wheel, but has no connection with it. Water is found throughout this country, at a depth of from 10 to 15 cubits from the surface.

*Patcata* is a place of considerable extent, surrounded by a mud wall and ditch, but neither affording any great defence. The *rajah Sahib Singh* was strengthening the former by an additional wall of unburnt brick, three feet thick, to guard against the attacks of his enemies. His place of residence is within the town, in a citadel of shewy and lofty appearance. It is a square fort built of burnt brick, with curtains and round bastions, in which I am told he has 3 or 4 guns. At this place there are several little monuments of deceased Sikhs, some of them bearing inscriptions of the name, age, &c. of the deceased, which do not here denote the person interred to have been a self-devoted *Suttee*, as is generally the case where such monuments appear in other parts. That practice does not prevail in this part of the country. These monuments are built over a small part of the body, after reducing it to ashes, and the remainder is thrown into the nearest river, to the margin of which Hindoo bodies are carried to be burnt. The bodies are never thrown into the river, without the previous ceremony of burning, in any part of the Punjab. A Christian musician, named *Pasis*, late master of the band in the 4th Native regiment, was this day killed by two Sikhs in an affray, originating about a prostitute of the town. He was what is called a half-cast man, and had deserted from his corps, on account of debt. He was here called captain *Pasis*, and had the command of a small body of foot, in the *rajah's* service. The two men who killed him, were immediately confined, and their property confiscated. *Pasis*, however, was the aggressor, he had not only given the first abuse, but wounded one of the Sikhs. Confiscation of property and imprisonment is in general, as before noted, the only punish-



ment inflicted for wilful murder. This, perhaps, in most countries, might render crimes of that sanguinary nature more frequent; here it does by no means appear to have that effect; and the penalty is found to be sufficient; for murders I believe, are far less frequent than in any country equally populous; which I think a convincing proof of the good fellowship, subsisting among the inhabitants of these countries, and of the general character they bear for moderation and good manners.

On the 24th, I arrived at Makewara. The direct road from Umbala to this place is by Kajepoor and Shirhand. I was this day informed that Shujah-ul-Mulk, king of Kandahar and Cabul, having marched to the country of Littee, appointed Sheer Mohummud Khan vizier, who taking advantage of his absence, raised to the musnud one of Zemaun Shah's sons, and disclaimed any further obedience to the king's authority; but the son, aware of the vizier's treachery, wrote privately to Sujah-ul-Mulk, pressing his immediate return to prevent the vizier's proclaiming himself king. The king obeyed the summons, came speedily back, and put the vizier to death! Abdallah Khan, son of the vizier, and Subah of Cashmeer, in consequence of his father's murder, resolved to throw off his allegiance to the king, and sent an invitation to rajah Runjeit Singh, to march his army to his support, offering him considerable pecuniary recompence.

Makewara is a small town within four miles and a half of the Sutledge, whose course ran under it, about twenty-two years ago, but has since taken a distant and more northerly direction.

On the 25th, I crossed the Sutledge, or as anciently called, Satrudhra, (Rudh, implying blood in Sanscrit,) where a bloody battle was fought, and arrived at Rahoon. This river seems to have its source in the hills, bearing from this, about north-east, and flows in a south-westerly direction, through a fine, open, champaign, country. Its banks are very low, and it bears the appearance of a fine canal running in two channels; the first fordable, and in breadth about one hundred yards,

and the second three hundred and fifty yards across; the water is deep but not rapid. There are twenty boats at the ghaut, of rude construction, but well adapted for crossing artillery and cavalry, in one of which both my elephants crossed with ease. They are each capable of containing twenty horses, the men ride into them at once, without dismounting; they resemble in figure what we call an oblong square, with a prow at one end, without which they would look more like tubs than boats, they are thirty feet long, twelve broad and the sides fourteen inches, with bottoms of six planks thick; each plank one and a half inch. The river, during the rains, is full one and a half mile broad. The distance from the Jumna to the Sutledge is six stages, being sixty of their coss, each measuring 2,600 ordinary paces.

On the 26th April, I marched to Mukoondpoor, distant twelve miles; the road very good and the country open. There are no mango trees at this place, nor any other shelter for tents. This village is walled in, and is held in jageer by a person named Sahib Singh Eadee, who has prohibited shooting within his demesnes. The present is their harvest season; and although the land is covered with the crop, the rajah's cavalry not only prefer riding through the corn fields, to following the course of the road, but help themselves without ceremony to bundles of ripe corn, to feed their horses at the journey's end. This they do whether in their own country, or their neighbour's; a practice authorised, they say, by their master.

I have lately had occasion to notice some specimens of that insolence for which the head fakeers are generally remarked, and which every European traveller in the Punjab, must be prepared to expect. Yesterday, one of those sainted personages, who travel about the country in fine palkees, with numerous attendants, came in our way. He eyed me, as I passed him upon the road, with a look of the most ineffable contempt. He was clad in a garb of silk, and was accompanied by some horsemen to protect his sacred



person, and to declare his dignity. He entered into conversation with my moonshee, and told him that he would write to his friend, in charge of the ghaut at the Beerh river, not to suffer me to cross; and that he would also use his influence with the rajah to turn me out of his country.

On this day's march, my moonshee was accosted by a Kandahar moghull, on his way to Cawnpore, with the following salutation:—"Where are you travelling to I wonder? What! you are the menial of a christian. I can tell you, that you would sooner bite the dust, than dare attempt to go into my country in this style; you think yourselves very great people, but I will teach you that I am as good as you," &c. To all which the moonshee made no reply. This moghull was alone, and mounted on a tahoo. At parting, he scoffed and spit upon the ground as a mark of his contempt, and concluded by adding, that we were a parcel of low, ignorant, wretches. I was all this time in front in my palkee, otherwise I should no doubt have come in for a share of his compliments. The rajah Runjeit Singh has but few Mussulmans either in his service or country, and not one of those in any high situation or place of trust. There are about ten or twelve thousand of them in his army, but they are confined to the lowest ranks, their privileges and indulgences are closely circumscribed, and they are not allowed to call the Azan in a loud voice in any part of the country.

On the 27th, I marched to Phugwara. I observed that the bullocks and sheep, between this place and the Jumna, are small and lean, and it is remarkable that in the Punjab they have neither tame hogs nor ducks, and but very few geese. Fowls of a small breed are procurable.

Phugwara is a large town, walled in, and is the residence of Futteb Singh, Alloowateea's collector, who holds four purgunnabs of Runjeit Singh. This country is so very dry, and so

free from jungle, that no kind of game is to be found. Neither the Arhar,\* nor hajera,† are here produced; but wheat, barley, gram,‡ mote,§ mough,|| jowar,¶ oord,\*\* and the sugar cane, grow in great luxuriance, and are all cheap. Wheat flour, 1 maund per rupee; barley, 1 maund 10 seers; gram, 1 maund; mote, 1 maund; mough, 35 seers; oord, 35 seers; kund, seah, or goor,†† 1 maund 15 seers; and rice, 20 seers per rupee. Some coarse kinds of cloth are manufactured in this part of the country.

On the 28th, I marched to Jalunder. The country open and dry, and the road good. The morning very cold. High hills in sight, and distant sixty miles. There is a very large mango grove to the eastward, and another to the south of this town; both are said to produce excellent fruit. We received information to day, that about eight miles from this town, at the village of Darowly, sixty horsemen stopped a car belonging to the Rannee, (who was absent) wounded one of her servants, and carried off a horse. My moonshee no sooner received the information, than he girded on his sword, called for his bow and arrows, and set off towards the place of attack, where he met the plunderers, who enquired for the Rannee, the (wife of Runjeit Singh, in whose company I travelled from Hurdooar) and being told that she was gone in front, they went off, saying, they had nothing to do with any one else. This attack upon the Rannee's car, was meant in retaliation for some former acts of aggression and plunder, made on them by Runjeit Singh. I must not omit to say, that my little moonshee shewed himself a brave and enterprising character, sallying forth with his father and fifty armed men, to oppose the assailants, whose numbers were reported to be forty; and it was dreaded that they had plundered the moonshee's wife. He declared that a most bloody conflict would have ensued, in spite of the enemy's superiority, had they offered

\* Cytisus Cajan. † Holcus Spicatus. ‡ Cicer Arietinum. § Phaseolus Lobatus.  
¶ Phaseolus Mungo. || Holcus Sorghum. \*\* Phaseolus Max. †† Coarse sugar or Jaggy.



any violence to his family: but fortunately they had no such intention. Had they known the contents of the Runjee's Rutt, they might have obtained and carried off a considerable booty, as all her jewels, to the amount of a lack of rupees, were lodged in that carriage.

Jalunder is a place of great extent, but is now in ruins. It was the former residence of the Afghans, and is now inhabited by their descendants, and by the Sik'hs, who are the principal people here. They construct their habitations, from the materials of the old walls and ruins of the houses, formerly occupied by the Afghans: a striking monument of divine vengeance, over the fallen fortunes of that sanguinary and oppressive people. The houses were all originally built of burnt brick, they were strong and commodious, but have given way to time principally from the want of lime cement. This place is held in jageer by two brothers, now at war with each other. They keep up a constant fire of small arms during the day, and set fire to each others corn fields at night, to the loss and ruin of their respective districts. They have a number of rahutts here, for the purpose of watering their tobacco cultivation, which requires constant moisture, and they find that mode of watering the easiest and least expensive. There are several small tanks of water near the town. The name and fame of lord Lake, whose route on his return from the Sutledge, was by this place, are as well known as in our own countries, and the victories, the justice, and moderation, that distinguished his lordship's career, at the head of his army in the Punjab have established the English character, for bravery, liberality, and honour, on the firmest foundation.

When Runjeet Singh reduced this part of the Punjab, it seems to have been more with a view to shew his power, than for any purpose of aggrandizement: since wherever he met no opposition, he restored the towns and their dependencies to their former proprietors, to be held of him in jageer; but where he was opposed by the chieftains, he dispossessed them, and appointed others to suc-

ceed as their jageerdars. They are so feudatory as to acknowledge fealty to the rajah, being bound to obey his commands, and join him with their adherents, in all cases requiring it; but they pay him no fixed tribute.

On the 29th, marched to the Chuck-vee Ghaut, and was fired upon from a small mud fort on the road, belonging to one of the brothers, mentioned above, who took us for a party belonging to his hostile brother, but no accident happened.

30th, crossed the Beeah or Becas, anciently called Bapasa, on the same kind of boats as at the Sutledge. The Beeah flows in two branches, the waters of which are deep but not rapid: its western banks are high, and its breadth cannot be less, in rainy seasons, than one mile and a half.

May 1st, marched to Oodamitta; here I found the name of lord Lake much better known than that of Alexander the Great, whose name is totally forgotten, and the people here are ignorant of the name and exploits of that extraordinary hero, as much so indeed, as if he had never visited their country. Singularly strange it must appear, that an event so memorable in the history of the world, and so universally recorded in the countries of Europe, has not left a vestige of itself behind, in the country of its occurrence. It is vain to enquire for the altars raised by Alexander in commemoration of this event, or of the ground where they stood, for the Macedonian visit, and the name of Alexander are as entirely unknown, on the spot on which he encamped, as if they had belonged to another world. The name of Lake is here familiarly known, and as it is cherished with grateful recollection by the people of the present day, the march of the modern hero and his gallant army to the banks of the Beeah, or Hyphasis, bids fair to be much longer perpetuated in the popular recollection of the Punjab, than to the famed visit of antiquity, and perhaps most justly so; for the conduct of the British army and their noble leader, while in this country, was calculated to impress its inhabitants with the highest admiration and



respect for the British name and character, nor did it fail in its effect. It has raised a monument in the affections and remembrance of the people, that will probably survive the memorials of art, and eclipse in its duration the altars of Alexander.

The high opinion which the people of these countries have formed of the English, and the terms of admiration in which they express themselves on that topic, are particularly gratifying. Nor is it difficult to explain the cause, to which this favourable judgment is to be ascribed. In every previous case of incursion of a foreign force, with which they were acquainted, might have been employed, as if it conferred right; and power, rarely, if ever, was seen to respect any claims of property, that it could invade with impunity. From preconceptions thus founded, the contrast presented by the army of Lord Lake, must necessarily have been viewed with surprise and admiration. In a case where all their traditional information, as well as their own experience had prepared them to expect a course of plunder and rapine, and all the concomitant evils of foreign eruption, they found the principles of justice, honour, and all the highest virtues, regulate the conduct of the British army. They saw an irresistible military force, insensible to the fear of an enemy, yet fearful of offering the slightest injury to persons or property within their power. They saw, what to them appeared a phenomenon, power directed only to the attainment of good; and rigidly maintaining, in the midst of its triumph, the rights of persons and property, both public and private. First impressions are usually the strongest, and as the people of the Punjab knew nothing of the English, from experience or personal observation, before the march of Lord Lake's army into that country, their first acquaintance was made under the most favourable auspices; and that it has made a strong and lasting impression, is evinced in the sentiments of veneration and esteem which they now enter-

tain for the British character. Many of them, with whom I have conversed, do not scruple to express their desire to be placed under the English government.

Between the Beeah Ghaut and this place, the clans of Futeh Singh Allowallah and Ramguree were at open war; and it seldom happens that the country is free from those petty feuds, an evil that is, perhaps, inseparable from the form of government to which these districts are subject. I saw but few mango trees in this part of my route, but the phola tree grows in every part of the country, forming hedges and clumps, which have a pretty effect, and agreeably diversify the face of the country. The trees attain to the size of an ordinary babool,\* and are not unlike it in appearance, bearing small leaves of a medicinal virtue, said to be antibilious. I measured a well at this place, and found the water twenty-three cubits from the surface of the earth and six deep, which I was told is the general depth throughout the country; but in some parts it is from thirty to forty cubits before you come to water. The weather is now rainy, very cool, and pleasant.

On the 2d, I arrived at Vatala. This is a large town, lying twenty-four miles east of Amratsur, it stands upon a fine open plain, and the jagher of the Rannee Sada Koowar, mother-in-law of Runjeit Singh, who resides in a lofty citadel within the town, and from whom I received very great kindness and attention. This town is surrounded by groves of mango trees and tanks of water, and it is considered the healthiest place in the Punjab; they have already reaped about half their harvest. The weather is still very cold with rain, almost every day. They have an excellent plum at this place, but no where else, called, *Alocha*. Their apples are rather larger and of better flavour than in our parts of Hindoostan, having more acid. They have also mulberries and baret,† but no kinds of fruit.

The fakree, mentioned on the 26th

\* *Mimosa Arabica*.

† *Zizyphus Jijaba*



ultimo, actually went to Runjeit Singh; and warned him of all the bad consequences, which he pretended were likely to follow from his allowing me to travel through his territories; he told him, that I should no sooner return to the Doab, than two or three regiments would be sent to deprive him of his country; but the rajah laughed at the fellow's simplicity, told him he was a fool, and to hold his tongue. He ridiculed the idea of alarm from an European travelling through his country; and said that he himself could travel to Calcutta if he wished it, without any personal risk, and should be sure to meet with attention and protection all the way. These *fakeers*\* are said to be great incendiaries, but the rajah never gives attention to what they say. They are extremely haughty and disrespectful.

The hills are distant from Vutala about seventy miles; they appear to be covered with snow, and exhibit a grand view, on the declension of the sun.

On the 10th, I arrived at Amrutsur, an open town, about four coss in circumference; the streets are rather narrow, the houses in general good, lofty, and built of burnt brick; but their apartments are very confined; it may claim, however, some little superiority over the other principal towns of Hindoostan in point of architecture. It is the grand emporium of trade for shawls and saffron from Cashmeer, and a variety of other commodities from the Dukkun and eastern parts of India; shawls are twenty-five per cent. cheaper here, than at Furrukabad. The rajah levies an excise on all the merchandise sold in the town, according to its value, which is not complained of by the merchants. The exports of this place are very trifling; the inhabitants only manufacturing some coarse kinds of cloth and inferior silks. From being the resort of many rich merchants, and the residence of bankers, Amrutsur is considered a place of great wealth and opulence. The rajah has made a new fort here, and called it

Runjeit Ghur, and has brought a canal from the Ravee, a distance of thirty-four miles. This canal is narrow and cost but little.

14th, the Rubec,\* is now all reaped. To-day I visited, in due ceremony, and without shoes, Amrutsur, (for the pool of immortality) from which the town takes its name; it is a bason of about one hundred and thirty-five paces square, built of burnt brick, in the centre of which stands a pretty temple, dedicated to Goorogobind Singh, to which you go by a causeway. It is neatly decorated, both within and without, and the rajah is making additional ornamented work to it, at his own expense. In this sacred place is lodged, under a silken canopy, the book of laws, as written by Goorogobind Singh, in the Goormook'hee character. The temple is called Hurmundul, or God's place; there are from five to six hundred akalees, or priests, belonging to it, who have built good houses for themselves out of the voluntary contributions of people visiting it. Holkar made an offering of two thousand rupees, and they receive considerable sums from the rajah, who visits it twice a day, during his stay at Amrutsur, on which occasion the priests generally press him for money, telling him that his country is the gift of Goorogobind, without whose will he could not hold it. On that account he seldom stays above four or five days, and generally resides at Lahore, which is still considered the metropolis of the Punjab.

A Sikh wishing to become a Singh, must go through the ceremonies of the institution at this temple. It is, however, only the more indigent description of them who apostatize, and generally those who are fed by the priests. Although no person can visit the temple without paying, on the first admission, a sum of money to the priests, who divide it equally among themselves, yet they are by no means avaricious; the monies so collected, being either expended on their personal wants, given in charity, or laid

\* The harvest which is reaped in spring; that of Autuma being called Khureef.



out in erecting additional buildings; and there is no instance of an akalee's accumulating money for any other purpose. Choirs of singers assemble at three o'clock every morning, and chaunt their canticles by reliefs, during the day, and till late at night, in the temple; and at two or three other sacred spots, and with great solemnity, thus exciting to religious veneration and awe, and raising the soul to heavenly contemplation. Although the priests are held in the greatest reverence, still you are not to suppose that they are entirely exempt from every vice. In many respects they bear a great similarity of character to British sailors, spending their money thoughtlessly and extravagantly, and as fast as they can get it, chiefly too, like our British tars, in the indulgencies of women and liquor, totally improvident of the future. The concourse of fine women who go to bathe at the temple in the morning is prodigious. The individuals composing this groupe of beauty, are far superior in the elegance of their persons, the symmetry of their forms, and the fine traits of countenance, to the generality of the lower Hindoostanes. The Birakees, (or fine singers) as they are here called, are composed of handsome young women, Muoslimas, but are by no means superior either in their singing or dancing to the nautch sets of other parts of Hindoostan; they are, however, much better dressed, and many of them appear decorated with gold and silver ornaments, to a considerable amount. The Singhs being greatly devoted to pleasure, give every encouragement to the nautch girls. Their songs are chiefly in the Punjab dialect, which is performed as being better understood than the Persian or Hindoostanee, but to an European ear, they are by no means so pleasing, being full of discordant, inharmonious tones.

When Aknud Shah came to Amrutsaur, he razed their temple twice, killed cows, and threw them into the water, which to this day is a cause of great abhorrence to the Mussulmans,

whom they seldom mention without this imprecation, "mulitch anas," the worst of people, d—n them.

My first visit to the temple cost me 200 rupees, which I bestowed with pleasure, and returned much gratified by the reception I met with from the priests, who prayed, at parting, for everlasting friendship with the English, and a common expression of the Singhs here and elsewhere is, "Gooroo Bukshaga, raj."—"May Gooroo Gobind give you the country." Many children have died here lately of the small pox. The inhabitants are subject to fevers also, owing in a great measure to the situation and excessive heat of this place, which is greatly exposed to the sun; having few trees in its neighbourhood, and being encompassed by a wide, barren, uncultivated heath. Syphilitic complaints are but very little known in the Punjab.

The Rajah has a mint here, and the different coins are still struck in the name of the greatest saint in their kalendar, namely, Baba Nanuk Shah, who lived in the time of Akber.

On the 15th, I again visited Amrutsaur, but I did not find the priests so courteous and attentive, as on the first day, when they offered me an apartment near the temple, and also gave notice that I might ascend to the top of it when I pleased. But now this indulgence is forbidden, and the apartment shut, both offers being revoked from some doubt of their propriety in the minds of a few of the priests, and one dissenting voice is quite sufficient to deter the whole of them from fulfilling a promise, or from the performance of any previous resolution; however, they sent a choir of psalm singers to my tent, who sung a number of psalms, as composed by Baba Nanuk Shah, Gooroo Gobind Singh, and the other saints, to the tune of the Rubab (four stringed instruments,) Dotara, (two ditto,) Sarinda, or Bebec, and the Tublah, transporting the soul to heavenly musings; and although in so different a language from the songs of



David, they strike the ear as compositions of the same kind, and are all in praise of the attributes and unity of God.

When I entered the temple, I took off my hat, a mark of respect that did not escape the notice of the priests, and which pleased them exceedingly; it was talked of the whole day in terms highly pleasing to me. They regarded it as an instance of European respect and humility in presence of the deity, and they did not fail to contrast it with the conduct of many Singhs and others, who go there uncereceriously with their swords on, and forget the respect that is due to the prejudices, customs, and religion of the country. The priests of this temple may justly be considered a most happy set of mortals, as they freely acknowledge themselves to be. They are much employed in prayer, or in sacred songs and heavenly musings, without any of the cares and sollicitudes that perplex the busy crowd. All their wants are supplied by the rajah, who has set apart certain lands in Jaedad which alone are amply sufficient to supply the necessaries of life in abundance, to the whole establishment, of the priests of the temple. The names of their ten saints are as follows: Baba Nanuk Shah, Amerdass Shah, Gooroo Arjun Shah, Gooroo Tegh Bahadur, Gooroo Angut, Gooroo Ram Das, Gooroo Hurgobind, Gooroo Hurkissen, Gooroo Gobind Singh Shihb.

This part of the Panjab, as well as every other part of it, where the rajah's influence and authority exist, is under a good police, and the country perfectly safe for travellers; capital crimes and robberies seldom occurring, from the severe examples the rajah has lately made by hanging the offenders, in some instances, by confiscating the property, and putting to death all the inhabitants of the towns and villages, near the place where such robberies have been committed; and so salutary, or to speak perhaps more correctly, so effectual have these ex-

amples proved, that single persons unguarded, travel now in safety, perfectly secure both in their lives and property.

Good camels are procurable here in great numbers at 50 rupees each. They come down laden with rock salt, from a mine called Noon Mean, about 80 miles to the northward of Lahore. One morning lately, I passed a string of 600 of them all laden with salt, which they carry in slings, a large lump on each side of the camel, resembling in appearance blocks of unwrought marble.

20th, I arrived at Lahore. The name of this capital, I find to be a corruption of Ellahnour, or God's splendid city; it stands on the east side of the river, which is deep, and about 300 yards across, but its stream is not rapid.

Lahore, 20th of May.—One angle of the fort is within a few yards of the stream, the rajah resides in the fort. It is a place of no strength, without a ditch or any defences for cannon, and has more the appearance of a palace, than a place of defence. Its walls are lofty, and decorated on the outside, in the highest style of eastern ornament; but hastening to ruin, as well as almost all the private houses, and all the musjids in the place, exhibiting the effects of the destructive hand of time, in as a great degree as the cities of Delhi and Agra, and already its ruins are fully as extensive as those of the latter city. The present name of the river is a corruption of Ayravatee,\* which name was given to it by the rajah Inder, who lived in the Sutte-yug and was married on its banks, to a lady of that name. Its banks are low, and its course being through a flat country, all the way from its source, the water is constantly muddy, and is not used by the inhabitants, who only drink water from the wells, which here and throughout the Panjab is excellent.

Lahore is still a pretty large town, composed of lofty houses; the streets are very narrow, it has a good bazar,

\* Aíravatee means "belonging to Aíravata," which last is the name of In-dra's elephants.



but it is not inhabited by people of any wealth or consequence; Zomann Shah having, on his coming to this place eight years ago, plundered it of thirty lacs of rupees; since which time the principal bankers and merchants have considered Amrutsar the safer place of the two, and reside chiefly at the latter city.

The next river, now called Chendrabaga\*, was formerly named Chunderbaga\* by the same rajah, as mentioned above. Baga, meaning pleasure, (i. e.) the place of pleasure, where he experienced some favourite gratification, and the Jelum, anciently called Inderahee,† Indram meaning sweet, so called from its salubrious waters, which they say are always clear, and as cold as ice, and very wholesome.

On the 23d, I waited upon the rajah Runjeit Singh, who received me very politely, in a grand, lofty, spacious saloon of the palace, all of marble, and inlaid with red and other coloured stones, pretty much resembling that at Agra. It is about 100 feet in length, and is called the Aena Makul, from the decoration of its roof by small square-shaped pieces of glass, at which the rajah informed me the Singhs used to amuse themselves by firing with their matchlocks, and would soon have destroyed it totally, had he not put a stop to their amusement, by making it his chief place of abode. In front of this saloon there was a fountain playing, and, in the centre of it, his hot weather sleeping room, tattied in: his wives and other ladies occupying the greater part of the palace, which is very spacious, and all built of marble.

This palace was originally founded by Akber; additional buildings were given to it by Jehankcer, by Shah Jehan, and by Aurnungzebe. Several Fran, Kaudahar, and Punjab horses were stationed in front of the palace, all richly caparisoned.

The rajah is about twenty-seven years old, he is blind of his left eye, which he lost in his infancy, by the

small pox; he is rather below the middle stature, and of very affable and affected manners, active and fond of exercise on horseback, which he takes early every morning. He is considered brave and clever in the field, quick in his conceptions, and possesses a very good natural understanding. He asked me a number of questions, and first as to my religion; he did not detain me long upon this point of inquiry, but hastened to subjects better suited to his comprehension, and in which he seemed to feel a more lively interest. He particularly inquired what number of cavalry one of our battalions could beat. I told him thirty thousand with ease, which he seemed to think rather too great a number; and after pausing a moment or two, observed that he believed they were a match for 20,000. He then asked me if I understood the discipline of cavalry and infantry, and if his troops could be made equal to ours? if I could lay a gun well; cast cannon, and make small arms, &c. &c.? Almost all his questions were upon military topics.

He is quite the soldier, and regrets that he can get no active clever Europeans into his service; his personal bravery is such, that he frequently leads on his storming parties, and is the first man to enter the breach. Like most Hindus, he is a fatalist, which gives additional energy to his natural courage. He says it is vain for a man to attempt to hide himself, since whatever is doomed to be his end must inevitably happen, as pre-ordained.

24th—Crossed the *Ravee*, and visited Shah Durrab, about two miles north of Lahore. Here stands the celebrated mausoleum of Jehangeer, within a wall of nearly 600 yards square, with gateways formed of red stone. It is a magnificent building, of 66 paces square, with octangular towers, at the angles, and flights of 56 steps to the top. The roof is covered with slabs of white marble, and it is about 14 feet high. The mar-

\* Chendrabhaga is the ancient name of the Chinab in the Purana. The word signifies a part of the moon, from the clearness of its water.

† Inderahee is the name of Indra's wife. Indra is Jupiter of the Hindoos.



ble tomb in its centre, is larger than Shah Jehan's, at Agra; it is inlaid exactly in the same manner, and is as perfect as the day it was made. The four aisles, or passages to it, are laid with slabs of white and black marble, the Ajacubah and other stones, all very beautiful; and although the ornamental part of the workmanship of the interior is not so profuse as that of the Taje, is at once strikingly elegant, and would appear wonderful to a person, who had not previously visited Agra. I could get no correct account of the cost of this building; one man who pretended to know, said it had cost 8 crores of rupees, which put a stop to any further enquiries, as I was told he was the only person who could give any information on the subject; but I think, it must have cost full half as much as the Taje, the same workmanship and the same hands of the same workmen, are seen in both. This mausoleum is still in good condition, in spite of the lapse of time; some of the marble railing is beginning to fall, as well as parts of the domes of the angular towers; but in general it is in much better repair than any other buildings of the Moghul emperors, either at Delhi or Agra. The rajah spends many of the hottest days of the year, under the vaults of these aisles, where, from their being so completely shaded and sheltered from the influence of the sun, it must always be cool. During the night of the same season, he sleeps on the top of the building.

Tavernier has committed a gross mistake in saying that the remains of Jehangeer were interred in a garden between Delhi and Agra. His tomb bears the following inscription in Arabic:

"The resplendent place of sleep of his Majesty. The asylum of pardon. Noorooddeen Mohummud Jehangeer, Badshah, who died in the year 1037 of the Hejra, 160 years ago." \*

"Translation of the Arabic Inscription

"In the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful. He is

the pardoner of sins. Almighty and blessed God said (say Oh Mohommud!) Oh my servants, ye that have multiplied sins upon yourselves be not hopeless of God's mercy. Verily, God will pardon all sins, he is the pardoner and the merciful; every soul shall taste of death, and ye shall meet your rewards at the day of judgment; and he that shall be brought out of the fire, shall be admitted into paradise and find redemption; for what is the life of the world but deceitful goods. Then, (say Oh Mohommud) my Lord, pardon and be merciful, for thou art the most merciful of the merciful, immaculate cherisher, the cherisher of the west

"All praise to God, the Lord of the universe."

Near this monument, but in a separate inclosure, stands the mausoleum of the famous Kahjah Ayas, father of the celebrated Noor Jehan; it is of a neat octagon figure, having a dome which is covered with marble slabs; the tomb is of marble, inlaid with flower-work of stone, and bears Arabic inscriptions of the ninety-nine names of God, &c. but what is singular enough, neither the name of the deceased, nor the time of his decease, are noticed: this tomb is neglected and is falling into ruin. To the southward of this, on the open plain, is to be seen the monument of Noor Jehan Begum Ashruffe Nissa; it is a square of 36 paces, low, with a flat roof, the tomb of plain marble, without any kind of inscription and is still in good condition. Close to it is another, said to contain the remains of her favourite waiting maid; the sides to which are vaulted, but are now in a ruinous state. The wall by which it was enclosed is completely levelled with the ground, and as the rajah pays no attention to it, his Sowari find it a cool convenient place for the accommodation of themselves and their horses. The country on that side of the river is pretty well cultivated, and studded with clumps of mango, jameen, and plane trees, con-

\* The year of our Lord 1838, being of the Hejra 1239.



signs to the monuments; and, in its wider landscape, presenting to the eye a vast extent of verdant plain. The rajah has a mint here, as well as at Amritsar, and also a cannon foundry; but his brass guns have been purchased in different parts of India, his workmen seldom succeeding in casting good guns.

25th.—The rajah very kindly offered to solicit of Ata Mohummed Khan, subadar of Cashmeer, permission for my visiting his country, and if leave be obtained, he proposes to furnish me with an escort of horse, the Sharah, or high road, being considered as very unsafe, and travellers liable to be plundered and put to death; the countries lying between the hills of Cashmeer and the Punjab, being inhabited by independent hordes, who are neither subject to the rajah nor subahdar, and who subsist chiefly by plunder.

This morning, the Rajah shewed me his gun practice within the fort, at a marked place 250 yards distant; his gunners fired several rounds from an English iron 12-pounder, a Dutch brass 8-pounder, and three other brass guns, country-made, and a very fine brass 5-pounder which he took from the Pataula rajah, and which has an iron cylinder like the gun captured at the battle of Dehly, and carries very accurately. The Rajah, who is a capital shot, laid his gun, and hit the centre of the target, the first shot. Their carriages are tolerably good, and one of them was lately made by a carpenter from Dehly, in imitation of ours, though not equally well executed; it is constructed of good, well-seasoned siss-wood, and cost him 1200 rupes. They have elevating screws, and in good order: his Goolandase are from Perron's and the Begum Samroo's service. They have been well trained, and are very expert. The English gun bears the king's arms, and was brought into this country 50 years ago by Jeind Khan, subahdar of Gazerat. This practice with the guns, and horse-exercise are the favourite amusements of the Rajah, from day-break till 8 o'clock. His gun-powder is of the common kind, as usually manufactured

in the country, and is made at Lahore and Amritsar. He has both brass and iron shot, all beat, and some brass shells which he fires out of ten-inch mortars with wooden fuses, and which his goolandase informed me answered extremely well, seldom bursting before they come in contact with the ground. Three of his goolandase having hit the target in this morning's exercise, received each 100 rupes and a piece of cloth, which kind of reward he never fails to make to any of his soldiers displaying particular bravery or dexterity; an encouragement which, if combined with a regular, good system of discipline, would excite great emulation, and promote perfection, but without which the natural indolence and love of ease of these people, together with the inferiority of their understanding, operate as a bar to that exertion so necessary to attainments. The Rajah is at all times both feared and beloved by his soldiers, to whom he is kind and just.

May 28th.—I again visited the rajah Runjeit Singh, whom I found in the lower apartment of the palace. There were two beautiful Punjabee horaces, picketted close to him, saddled bridled, and all ready to be mounted. In many other parts of that elegant building, were also picketted several other horses, though of inferior note and beauty to the two that I have just noticed.

On the 29th.—I visited the ruins of Lahore, which afford a melancholy picture of fallen splendour. These ruins present a striking view of the influence of time; and of the vicissitude of all sublunary things, the mind is naturally depressed with a crowd of melancholy reflections, in contemplating the extensive scene of dilapidation; the image of the greatness and activity of this city in its former days, rush upon the imagination, and comparing those with the present desolation, the mouldering ruins, the gloom and death-like solitude that now envelope the scene, the contrast oppresses the heart with sorrow, while it mournfully declares the instability of human hopes and projects, and the vanity



of all human pursuits. Here the lofty dwellings, and the mosques, which not 50 years ago raised their tops to the skies, and were the pride of a busy and active population, are now crumbling into dust, and in less than half a century more will be levelled with the ground. In going over these ruins, I saw not a human being; all was silence, solitude, and gloom, in perfect accordance with the train of melancholy ideas produced by the surrounding objects. The decay of the mosques and other buildings, is greatly accelerated in consequence of their having been built without the use of any lime cement. This city in the days of its glory must have been most splendid and well deserving the name it bore of Allah Noor.

30th.—On making enquiries respecting the route to the westward, I am informed that the distance from hence to Eeran is no less than 105 days journey; 15 from this to Peshawur crossing on the road the four rivers Ravee, Chenab, Jelum, and Attock. From thence to Cabul 8 days; and 20 days from thence to Kandahar, and very little water to be met with on the road. From Kandahar to Herat is a journey of 24 days, crossing the two rivers Arkundoo and Almun. From Herat to Mushud is a distance of 16 days journey crossing one river, namely the Goorean, and from Mushud to Eeran 22 days travel. According to the best information that I can obtain, it appears that from Lahore to the Attock there is no danger to be apprehended by travellers, but from thence to Herat there is very great danger, from large gangs of desperate thieves and murderers, who frequent that part of the road; but from Herat to Eeran you travel in perfect safety.

June 4th. To day I visited the rajah's pleasure garden called the Shalimar. It is situated three miles to the eastward of the town of Lahore. It is planned and laid out in the usual manner of all large oriental gardens, with long puccah walks, intersecting each other at right angles, and enclosing parterres of shrubbery and flowers.

The wells here are from 33 to 4

cubits deep; I mean that is the depth of earth which they are obliged to cut before they reach the water.

"The rajah Runjeet Singh," within the short period of two years, has reduced to a tributary state all the chiefs who were formerly independent of him, and occupying the countries from the banks of the Jumna to the Scind, and should no attempt be made by his neighbours to check his growing power, a few years more will make him very formidable. Soldiers of fortune are coming into his service from all parts of Hindoostan, from a knowledge of his military views and projects, the high pay he gives, and other encouraging contingencies, that attach to his service.

On the 13th I marched to Sumeen & Kulall, two villages defended by mud forts, delightfully situated, and commanding one of the most finely diversified prospects that imagination can picture. The plain between these two villages, which is of great extent, and the nearest range of hills, are covered with tall grass, of beautiful verdure, and which affords shelter to game of all kinds. The plain is bounded on the south east by the river Beek, which winds its meandering stream in a south-westerly direction, through a fine, open, level country. To the east and north-east, are three ranges of hills, the nearest of which is about 7 miles distant, and the farthest 100. These last, which are of great elevation, are either covered with snow or crowned with white cliffs; exhibiting a grand and captivating prospect, particularly towards the latter part of the day, when the rays of the declining sun tinge their summits with the rosy tints of pink, of azure, of violet, and innumerable hues and shades, blended in endless variety by the pencil of nature; the whole displays a most sublime, beautiful, and majestic landscape, heightened by the contrast of the soft verdure of the plains beneath, and the winding stream of the Beek, which occasionally opens its course, and occasionally opens its shining bosom to the view. The hills are ranged in the form of an amphitheatre, and tower above



each other in majestic grandeur as they recede in the distance. The enjoyment of this delightful scenery is increased by a cool, a serene, and elastic atmosphere. I do not believe that ever the beautiful valley of Cashmeer itself can show a more sublime and pleasing prospect.

The tract of country lying between the Jumna and the Scind, generally speaking, is badly cultivated. Such parts as are cultivated are kept in very good order; but I mean that the proportion of land that is totally neglected is very great, the waste lands exceeding the cultivated by, at least as two to one. The rajah cultivates no part of the grounds himself, they are all held by sirdars who pay him tribute, or they are held in jageer\* or jadedad† the latter by the principal part of his army, who subsist themselves in time of peace by the plough, but when called upon for actual service, the rajah not only subsists them, for the time their services are required, but provides them with clothes also. He can call into the field by a signal one hundred thousand fighting men, horse and foot, by collecting all those holding jadedad lands, calling upon the different chiefs for 9-10ths of their force; but his establishment seldom exceeds 14 thousand foot soldiers and 7 thousand horse, whom he pays regularly every six months, partly in grain and partly in money, according to the kind of man and horse (the troopers finding their own horses, matchlocks, swords, and arrows, but the Rajah supplies them with ammunition, and a new saddle at the end of every six months.) If the horse be very small, and the rider aged or weak of body, he only gets 100 rupees and 100 maunds of grain; but if of the better kind, he receives 200 rupees and 200 maunds of grain, and if both horse and rider be of the first class, they receive 300 rupees and 300 maunds of grain, for their six months' service. None of the

infantry soldiers receive less than 7 rupees per mensem, which he allows to aged and weak-bodied men; but young, stout, handsome men get 8, 9, 10, and 12 rupees, agreeably to the rajah's pleasure, which difference of pay is given to men serving in the same corps. The rajah has a number of good guns and well mounted, which are served by the corps of golandazes formerly mentioned.

Having written to Ajah Mohammed Khan, subahdar of Cashmeer, in May last, for permission to visit his country, I got no reply during my residence at Lahore, but two months after my return I received his answer of refusal, in which he says, notwithstanding my application was backed by a recommendation in its favour from the rajah, that he will on no account permit any European to enter his country.

The distance from thence to Lahore, agreeably to my mode of reckoning, of three miles to an hour, amounts to 404 miles, or 30 days journey.

I have made repeated inquiry, but without being able to obtain the slightest information, of Shah Poru, the King Porus of European historians. I have been equally unsuccessful in my inquiries respecting Sickunder Shah, Alexander the Great; nor can I find any trace as to the time when, or by whom, Lahore was founded. They have no records in the country, that I could hear of, and are, in general, a very illiterate people, both the high and lower orders only speaking the Punjab provincial dialect, a language that is still without any written characters, and is a corruption of Hindoostanee and Persian, without any knowledge of books, and few of them can either read or write, though many of them, even the common troopers, speak Persian, Hindoostanee, and Punjabee, without being able to read or write a word of either of these languages.

I must not forget to relate a fact strongly characteristic of the rajah's

\* Lands assigned gratuitously, or in consideration of past services, for the personal expenses of an individual, without the express condition of military service in time to come.

† Lands allotted to a chief, for the maintenance of a certain body of troops, which he must have in readiness at all times when required.



leality of disposition: a few months since, a man came into his presence with an intention of putting him to death upon the spot; and, having drawn his sword for the purpose of carrying his intention into effect; he was instantly seized, and withheld by the people who were present; but the rajah, instead of punishing him, gave him 60 rupees, and told him, since he would not give him any information respecting the persons who had sent him to commit such a deed, to go about his business, and to profit by the clemency that he had experienced.

I met with one man, a Kutre Hindoo, who pretended to more knowledge than his neighbours, and who is considered by them with a sort of oracular respect. Upon asking him what he understood by Hindoostan, he replied, that country comprising twenty subahdarries, seven of which are in the Dukun; five in Buggal, five in Oude and the Doab, five in the Punjab, 17 of which have been conquered by the English, and the five still independent are the subahs of Lahore, Cashmeer, Moultan, Tattah, and Buter, 200 coos beyond Moultan and Cabul Hindoostan, extending northerly to Ghuzne and Ghoorbund, both dependencies of Cabul.—In each subah are five chucklas, and in each chuckla 25 purgannahs.

The rajah, Runjeit Singh, informed me, that when Zemaun Shah visited Lahore, about eight years ago, he brought with him three lacks of horsemen, crossed the Ravee, and encamped close under the city, which he plundered of 30 lacks of rupees; at which time the rajah's force did not exceed 40,000, and as he could not venture to give him battle, he took up his position at Amratsur, but finding the Shah had no inclination to advance further into the country, he stole upon him in a dark night, attacked his lines, and killed a vast number of his people; upon which the Shah recrossed the river next morning, and marched away in great consternation; since which no attempt has been made by the Igthaus to cross the Sciud, and they are understood to be greatly in awe

of Runjeit Singh's present military strength.

I shall here introduce some remarks which I omitted in their proper places.

I arrived at Hurdoar on the 6th April, and I observed with much satisfaction, every appearance of individual happiness, and of the general prosperity of the country, the greater part of which was in the highest state of cultivation. The inhabitants expressed themselves as content and happy under the protection of the British government, and it is manifest that the security extended to their persons and property, proves a strong incitement to their industry, which, in the course of a few years, has restored their country to prosperity, and raised it to so flourishing a condition, that the name of the Garden of India is much more applicable to it now, than at any former period, even during the government of their favourite Prince, Fyzoola Khan.

The name Hurdoar, or Huridwar, is compounded of Hur or Huri, one of the names of Krishu, and the Shanscrit word dwar, a gate or door, which etymology, with its adjunct, gives Hura, gate into paradise. This spot was the favourite residence, and place of ablution, of Hur and Rankall. Situated about three miles from Hurdoar, was the residence and bathing place of Ditch perjabut. It is on the same side of the river, and near the place where Dilvellee Singh Saraff of Nujeeabad, and rajah Hera Singh Goojeer, have, conjointly with the Gosains, built, within the last seven years, five splendid houses, of strong durable materials, and which are said to have cost no more than thirty-thousand rupees. If these buildings have been raised for so small a sum, they must have been superintended by some extraordinary economy; as upon the lowest European estimate they would amount to a much larger sum. They are constructed of hewn stone and burnt bricks, and are intended for the convenience and accommodation of persons of all descriptions visiting these sacred places.

It would be difficult, and almost im-



possible to ascertain the actual number of people present at the Mela, but, considering the vast extent of ground they occupy, and they form one continued and uninterrupted crowd, extending not less than three or four coos from Hurdoar down the west side of the river, their number may be estimated at little short of a million. The grand bathing day was on the 11th of April, and the ceremonies were conducted and ended in the most peaceable, quiet, orderly, manner, without the smallest riot on the part of any of the different sects, about the precedence of bathing, which was wont to be a never-failing source of dissension and tumult. In the present instance, every precaution had been previously taken that prudence could suggest. All the pilgrims were carefully disarmed, and a sufficient force, with two guns, were brought near Hurdoar on that day, and so stationed as effectually to over-awe any spirit of riot or disorder. The happy effect of these precautions were remarked by the multitude, and they did not disperse without acknowledging their gratitude and respect to the English government, for those judicious arrangements, which so effectually secured them in the quiet and peaceful performance of their religious ceremonies; and the inhabitants of Multan, Peashawar, Cabul, Kandahar, Cashmeer, and other distant parts of India, who visited Hurdoar on this occasion, will not fail to disseminate through their respective countries, a report highly favourable to the English name; and I can assure you, as a matter of fact, that the pilgrims of these different countries, offer up their prayers and hopes, as they travel along the road, that they may be brought under the English dominion.

A man's curiosity must be great indeed to lead him a second time to witness the Hindoo fair or Mela, for considering the little variety to be expected in the review of people bathing, and the very limited number of commodities offered for sale, suitable to the European taste; the loose sandy ground upon which he is obliged to pitch his tent, without shelter from the sun,

although in a jungle of small trees and underwood; the inconvenience experienced from being in the midst of such an immense multitude, create in an aggregate of circumstances sufficient to deter him from placing himself again in so uncomfortable a situation.

The inhabitants of this country are composed of Sik'hs, Singhs, Jatts, Rajepoots, and other low Hindoo casts. The inhabitants are in the proportion of about one fourth Singhs, who continue to receive converts. The rajah Runjeit is a Singh Punjab. They make good soldiers, are capable of bearing great fatigue, and can march from 40 to 45 miles a day, five months together. They are not allowed, by the canons of their law-giver, either to cut hair or to shave their beards, or the hair of any other part of their bodies, or even to pare the nails of their hands or feet, but with these orders they find it necessary to dispense.

When I was at Lumeen and Kulal, I received information that the fort of Kongra, situated in the hill, 50 coos to the eastward of the Byass, was besieged by the Nepal rajah, with an army of 40,000 men, which had lain before it for two years; and the rajah of that place, Sunarschud, was in considerable distress, his provision being nearly expended; and it was said that the Nepal chieftain meant to extend his conquests in that direction even to Cashmeer, after the reduction of the fort. The Kongra rajah has 40,000 men with him; but he has no guns, except what belong to the fort walls, Ghoolan Mohommud is with him, and two years since a battle was fought there, between the two armies, which ended in a defeat of the Kongra troops, of whom three thousand were slain, and also two thousand Rohillas, commanded by Ghoolan Mohommud in person.

On the 20th of Jans I left Lahore, arrived at Bhaseen, and encamped under the branches of the largest banyan tree I ever saw. It covers ground sufficient to give shelter to 5000 men; and several tents might be pitched under its branches.



On the 26th I recrossed the Hyphasis at Bahrawar Ghaut, where there are fifteen passage boats, and arrived at Cuppoortool, the residence of Futteh Singh Akowalee, who was absent, but he had given orders for every attention to be paid to me, and I was accordingly received with marks of civility and kindness. Cuppoortool is a populous town, but unfavourably situated, upon a barren sandy plain, and without trees to shelter even a single tent.

I marched on the 1st of July to Opra, passing on the road two small villages, one of which is the birth-place of Almass Ali Khan, whose kin-

red still reside here. On the 2d I marched to Nooness, crossed the Sutledge, with my attendants and baggage on two boats, at Culiana Ghaut; the river is here narrow and rapid.

On the 5th I marched to Sirhind, which place exhibits a vast extent of ruins, and was in former days a very considerable Afghan city; it now belongs to Burgh Singh; there are numbers of mangoe groves in its vicinity, and excellent tanks of water.

From this day I directed my course to Pottyghur; and as I returned by the same route as that I pursued to Lahore, my tour now closes.

### *Dhoondy Jee Wang, (or Wagh.)*

The subjoined document, in the hand writing of Tipoo, explains some particulars of this notorious and well-known adventurer, and the reason of his confinement within the fortress of Seringapatam. It shews also, the mode by which the Suliap availed himself, in political occurrences, of the opinions of his confidential servants. He himself states the case, and propounds the questions arising out of it, which his counsellors answer in writing, previously, but shortly, repeating the points in reference. All who are of one opinion deliver their sentiments collectively; others, as Bishna Pundit here, who differ from the generality of the persons consulted, speak their sentiments distinctly and separately. The manner in which the Fundit delivers himself, in this instance, is frank and bold enough.

Something very mysterious pervades the whole paper.—Tipoo, it may be supposed, was not exactly a personage to jere with, and yet there appears something very little short of jest in the proposals made and retracted by Omar Khan, on the behalf of Dhoondy. That the latter was serious in his desire to be taken into the Sultan's service, there can be little doubt, or that he had confidence in the friendly intention of Tipoo towards him; otherwise he would not have put himself completely into his hands. Perhaps the agent, Omar Khan, had officiously exceeded his instructions, in undertaking to answer for his constituent's acceptance of the faith; or that the price or wages of proselytism did not come up to his expectations. The first supposition would seem to be the more natural one. It is plain that the proposition did not move from Dhoondy, since the Sultan, as it appears, after many preceding conferences with Omar Khan, is extremely earnest to ascertain, whether he had prevailed on Dhoondy to accept the honour of Islamism. He observes, in his hurried and careless way, "Having brought the Catinie along with you, you have, of course, got him to engage to embrace the faith, and have moreover made him acquainted with all our other orders." This would seem to imply a mutual understanding and concert between the Khan and the Sultan, to make a convert of this spirited chief, to which he was not a party; a circumstance which he affirms in the sequel, asserting, that "the Afghan, (Omar Khan) had never communicated these things to him, and that he had heard them now for the first time."

Dhoondy, possibly, had been entrapped into the power of Tipoo; and the latter, as well as Omar Khan, might have supposed that, being there, he would not know how to extricate himself from the joint design, attended as it was by temptations, which the strongest minds were not always had firmness enough to withstand. The bigotry of the Sultan might induce



high to think that the alleged superiority of his religion would not be without its influence on the conversions or his policy suggest, that a little apparent force might save the pride and consequent obduracy, in giving an air of reluctance to the renunciation of the errors of his primitive faith. Neither the Khan nor the Sultan, however, calculated rightly of their map. This supposition is fortified by the circumstance of the Khan's escape, not free, or, no very hard reckoning! with a few reproachful and opprobrious terms.

The question, (or case) proposed by the Khodâdâd Sircar, for the consideration of all the four departments of government, and of Bishna Pundit, and relating to the robber, Dhoondy Jee, is this:—first, the aforesaid robber has many times humbly represented, through the medium of Bishna Pundit, and once or twice in Urziez from himself, (to us) that he was the servant of the Sircar, and that, if a little help were afforded him by the Sircar, he would (engage to) take all the country of Shânoor; and, (again) that he was the servant of the Khodâ-gâd Sircar. In answer hereto, that person was told, once or twice, by letter from ourselves, and furthermore by different verbal communications, that as it was (a time of) peace, we should, (or could) positively afford him no assistance. To the same effect we sent him word, about two months ago, by Futâh Shâh, saying you are a servant of the Khodâdâd Sircar, and our well-wisher: you must (therefore) never enter the territories of the Khodâdâd Sircar, as, by your doing so, the peace would be disturbed, (or broken;) but you may remain in the territories of others, and do therein what you will. This message being delivered to him, he sent back, along with Futâh Shâh, an Afghan of the name of Omar Khân, to whom he gave in charge a horse, and an Urzer for us. On the arrival of these two persons in the presence, we demanded of them an account of the situation of affairs in that quarter; to which Futâh Shâh answered, that this was the intention of the accursed Rao: namely, to introduce himself, by whatever means might be (practicable), into the presence; and there labour, after being admitted to the honour of Islamism, to attain distinction and renown; and that he had, accordingly, sent his confidential (friend or servant) Omar Khân,

for the purpose of representing them particulars to us in detail. The following day we summoned Omar Khân, together with Futâh Shâh, to our presence where we desired (the former) to state truly to us, and without lying, what Dhoondy Jee said. Hereupon the aforesaid (Omar Khân) made a similar communication to us; namely, that the real wish of Dhoondy Jee was to obtain an introduction to the presence, and by approving (after his admission to the honour of Islamism) his zeal and devotion in our service, to secure to himself an honourable name. The communication of this wretch being concluded, we, (being still doubtful of its accuracy) made him repeat it, which that nobody accordingly did. After this we said (to him) well; but wherefore does he come hither? By his coming, displeasure will arise between us and the Poonah people. Let him remain there, and we will secretly supply him with what money and other articles he may require. To this that one (or Omar Khân) rejoined, that he had (already) stated to us what the utmost wish and object of Dhoondy Jee was, and could only add, that he was actuated by no other. Hereupon we further said: It is well: do you go back to Dhoondy Jee, and say to him, that the first condition (prescribed by us) is, that he shall agree to embrace the faith; the second, that he shall marry (under our direction) into some respectable family; furthermore that upon his receiving the honour of Islamism, he shall be put in possession of one or other of these two forts, namely, the fort of Murumsa or Humungy, together with a jâger (adequate to the maintenance) of a thousand horse. If (we added) he does not agree to these things, his coming hither will not be proper. To this effect did we three or four times, sending for Omar Khân, signify our pleasure to him. We even



desired him to repeat aloud, what we had stated to him, in order that we might be satisfied whether or not he (perfectly) remembered, or had rightly comprehended, the same : whereupon the dog repeated the whole, word for word. What is here stated took place three or four times. After this, giving that dog a horse to ride, we dispatched him, with directions to be expeditious, and to inform the Catamite, (his employer) that on condition he embraced the faith, he might repair to the presence; but that otherwise, it would be needless for him to come. Accordingly, this accursed dog proceeding from hence (soon) returned, accompanied by Dhoondy Jee. The aforesaid dog (i. e. Omar Khan) was no sooner arrived, than sending for him, we said to him, having brought the catamite along with you, you have of course, got him to engage to embrace the faith, and have, moreover, made him acquainted with all our other orders? Hereupon, that accursed dog humbly set forth, that by the blessing of God, Dhoondy Jee had not only agreed to embrace the faith, but to comply, heart and soul, with every thing required of him, and, in this disposition, had repaired to the presence. On hearing this we were highly delighted, and said, we have ordained, that his name shall be Shaikh Ahmed. Let a time be fixed for his repeating the kulmah (or Mahommedan creed). To this the infidel (meaning Omar Khan) answered: it will be better if his repeating of the kulmah be delayed till after two or three visits to the Durbar; but if it be required of him, he will repeat it this moment. Hereupon we said, that it did not signify. But on sending for them the next day, the same reply was given (by Omar Khan). Being again sent for on the third day, we caused Meer Sadik to enquire of (Dhoondy Jee himself) when he meant to be admitted to the honour of the faith, and to urge him to embrace it speedily, in order that he might repair to his jageer. Hereupon, the accursed dog (i. e. Dhoondy Jee) plainly denied

every thing, declaring that he did not know, and had never heard, a word of the matter. After this we had the Catamite examined by the Asaf, by the Sudoor, and by others; to all of whom this nobody affirmed, that the Afghan (i. e. Omar Khan) had never communicated these things to him, and that he heard them now for the first time.

The remaining particulars (of this affair) will be verbally made known by Meer Sadik, Mahommed Riza, and Purnia. If the above named be kept here, no doubt strife (or enmity) will arise (in consequence) with the three\* infidels; and if we send him away, still will enmity ensue; you will, therefore, write down what shall appear to you advisable and beneficial on this occasion. It was owing to the confidence which we placed in the communications of the reprobate dog, (Omar Khan) that we sent for Dhoondy Jee to the presence, in order that we might have an interview with him.

[Then follows the opinion of the counsellors referred to, and of which a translation is subjoined. It appears to be in the hand writing of Mahommed Riza (the Binky Nabob).]

The humble representation (or opinion) of the slaves of all the three departments of government, that is to say, of the Meer, Meeran, the Asaf, and the Sudoor, is this:—

With respect to the keeping or sending away of Dhoondy Jee, as directed to be considered by the presence, there is no doubt, or question, that the keeping of him will be attended with complete evil, and give rise to enmity (or disagreement) with all the three infidels. On the other hand, if he be sent away, the same enmity will be produced. Therefore, what we, your slaves, humbly suggest, is, that Dhoondy Jee be kept imprisoned, and never be released. The humble representation, this 14th day of the month Takky, year Rasikh, and the birth of Mahommed 1223, of  
**MEER MAHOMMED, Sadig Asaf.**  
**GAULAM ALI, Sudoor.**  
**MAHOMMED RIZA.**

\* The English, Maharrata, and Nizam.



[Next follows, in the Marhatta language, the opinion of Bihara Pandit; to which a Persian translation, in the hand-writing of Mahomed Riza, is subjoined. Here is the opinion of the Pandit.]

"Dhoondy Jee is not a person of (good) faith; he is without faith. He is not fit to be retained, nor ought to be released; he should be put to death."

[The milder judgment of the majority prevailed. Dhoondy Jee was retained in prison, and did not recover

his liberty, till the day on which Seringapatam was stormed and taken, when, availing himself of the confusion of the moment, he effected his escape, and collecting together a numerous force, which the recent subversion of the Mahomedan dynasty of Mysore made particularly easy, made head for a considerable time against the British army. He was in the end, defeated and slain, in an action with Colonel Wellesley, on the 19th September, 1800.]

### MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN NEPAUL.

The expenses of the military establishments of this country are for the most part discharged by assignments of land, though in some instances the soldier receives his pay from the treasury, and occasionally from the granary; others are paid partly in money, and partly in land, but the most usual mode, and the one most agreeable to the troops, is that of putting them in possession of kaiths, on which they very commonly settle their families, whom they can maintain much better in this manner, than by the pecuniary stipend to which they would be otherwise entitled.

There would not appear to be any fixed rate for determining either the quantity or quality of the kaiths of the several ranks, much depending on the interest of the parties, and other incidental circumstances; and as to the situation of these lands, it is for the most part fluctuating.

Subahdars, or commanders of companies of sepoy, (of which they have between fifty and sixty of various strength, from 255 to 120 men) receive from fifteen to twenty, and even twenty-four kaiths, some of which comprehend villages. A jemadar has from seven to twelve kaiths; what the lower ranks receive in land, is variable; but in money and land, together with the pay of the private sepoy, amounts to about seventy-six rupees per annum, exclusive of his

coat, which is supplied by government. One of the jemadars of the rajah's company of guards stated, that he held three kaiths, which yielded him (after dividing with the cultivator) about sixty rupees per kaith, or one hundred and eighty rupees; and that he further received from the treasury two hundred and eighty rupees per annum. He added, that he had been much better off when he belonged to a private company, as he then, instead of receiving any portion of his pay in money, enjoyed sometimes ten, and sometimes twelve tolerable productive kaiths. It is proper to be observed in this place, that, generally speaking, the government has so much consideration for its military and other public servants, as to apportion their jaghires to the numbers of their families, being particularly indulgent to the widows, orphans, and other destitute branches of them. Many young men not yet capable of bearing arms hold kaiths; these indulgencies, however, are not so common at present as they were under Puthi Narain, or even during the reign of his successor.

Some of the villages occasionally bestowed in jaghire, are of considerable value, yielding from three to five thousand rupees annual revenue, they are managed by a *deoharia* and a *mizaria*, the latter of which term is evidently from the Arabic, signifying a head husbandman, and being nearly



equivalent to the mukkuddam of Hindostan.

The revenues of a village, exclusive of what arises from the produce of such lands as may be annexed to it, consist principally in the rent of houses, and the sair, or duties charged on salt, tobacco, pepper, beetle-nut, and similar articles of general consumption. The proprietor, or occupant, of a village is also entitled to the fines levied on the perpetration of certain crimes, among which the chief are those denominated Panchuk-hut, the number whereof, as the name implies, is five; being, 1. Ghow-hut, or maltreatment of a ghow; 2. Stub-hut, or ill usage of a woman; 3. Atma-hutten, or wounding one's self; (a violence not unfrequently committed by particular descriptions of Hindoos for sinister purposes;) 4. Pur-hutten, or wounding another; and 5. Toona, or Kool. Adultery (termed here, significantly enough, chak-chakwe, in allusion to the habits of the bird called by Europeans the Brahminy goose) is likewise fineable in some cases; the injured party, however, is at liberty to put the offenders to death, if he has the power of reaching them immediately on the commission of the crime. The woman often has her nose slit, or cut off,\* in which case she becomes a slave, the property in her vesting in the proprietor of the village.

*Of the Thurgurs, a privileged class of nobles.*

The Tinsongunga, previous to the conquest of Nepaul, by Purthi Nerain, separated the territories of the Ghoorkha being marked by the Mursiangti. This tract contains, besides a pretty numerous peasantry of Dhenwars, several Rajepoot families, and some Newars; but the tribes by whom it is chiefly occupied, are of the Brahminical, and Chetree orders; and as these last constituted the principal strength

of Purthi Nerain's government, and continue to form the main support of the present one, they rank very high among its subjects, no description of whom possesses such considerable credit and authority as their leaders enjoy. They consist for the most part, of the Khus and Mangur tribes of the Chetree class; and of the Paure and some other cast of Brahmins; their chieftains are known by the appellation of Thurgur, (or one inhabiting a nest) among whom (with the exception of a few individuals deriving their descent from the same stock as the reigning prince, and who are consequently Rajepoots) are to be found by far the greatest part of those who conduct the affairs of this state. Their number, strictly speaking, is limited to thirty-six,\* for though, in loose language, every individual of those clans is sometimes styled a Thurgur, yet the title properly descends only to the heads of certain families. Nor are all these of equal consideration, there being three gradations of this order, of whom the pre-eminent one is denominated Chutter, on account of its consisting of six chiefs. It is from the Chutters, that the Kâjees or Dewans are usually selected, which does not, however, prevent the other two inferiors from being likewise eligible to this office. It is impossible for us, with the slight information which a short visit to Nepaul enabled us to collect, to describe this curious institution with all the accuracy that it would appear to deserve: It may be added to what has been said concerning it, that the leading members of this body, whether actually employed or not, appear to possess such a high authority in the state, as to render it nearly impossible for the executive government, in whatever hands that may be, to pursue any measures of an important nature, in opposition to their advice. It is even stated, that the throne of the

\* If the law be too severe in this respect, it may be deemed perhaps too indulgent in another. The Newar ladies, however, have no great reason to complain of their lordly lawgivers, since, to counterbalance a single severity, they have allowed to them such a latitude in marriage, as to obviate the scarcely possible offence, calling for such a barbarous and disgusting punishment; leaving them at liberty to have as many husbands as they please, and to divorce them on the slightest pretences.



price himself would be no longer secure, should the principal Thurgurs concur in thinking that his general conduct tended to endanger the sovereignty, which they profess themselves bound, as far as rests with them, to transmit, unimpaired, to the distant posterity of its founder, and the interests of which they do not allow to be determined by the partial views, or temporary policy, of the ruling individual. The great ascendancy of this order is the more remarkable, as it would seem to rest almost wholly on the respect they derive from their ancient services, and attachment to the Ghoorka family, and not to arise in the smallest degree from the ordinary sources of political influence; since it does not appear that they are particularly distinguished among their countrymen, either for their opulence, their extensive possessions, or the number of their adherents. They occasionally hold jaghires on similar terms with the soldiery, and, like them, indifferently in all parts of the Nepaul territories; but their hereditary fiefs, or estates, are situated entirely, in the districts of Ghoorkha and Samjoong, which constituted the patrimonial inheritance of Parthi Nerain. Besides the produce of these lands, and the emoluments

arising from the offices they happen to fill, they receive an annual fine of four annas from every taxable kaith, or plantation of a hundred moories, throughout the country; the amount of which they would appear to distribute among their respective clans, according to rules established for the purpose. The only special immunity of a personal kind, that they are said to enjoy, consists in their being exempt from the final jurisdiction of the Panjanni, or annual court of inquisition, and liable to be disgraced or punished by a decree of the rajah alone. They formerly affected, like the Omrahs, a great simplicity of dress, justifying their practice in this point by observing, that it was with their swords, and not with the aid of fine garments, that their ancestors had raised the Goorkhah house to the respectable station which it now occupies; but whatever risk the Thurgurs might have heretofore run of incurring censure or ridicule, by appearing in vestments of silk or muslin, it is pretty certain that they have latterly relaxed considerably in this point, and that there are at present some among them who are far from manifesting any solicitude to maintain inviolable this rustic characteristic of their order.

*An Account of the Reception of the BRITISH EMBASSY at CASUL, and a description of the Ceremonial on the Introduction to, and of the Person and Dress of the King; with some particulars of the Customs and Manners of his Court.*

THE preceding account, brought us into the presence of the king. We were then standing at the further end of a long sloping avenue, formed by very high walks on the right and left, and terminating at the upper extremity, in a lofty square edifice of two stories. The lower story had originally been an open arcaded hall, but the arches were now built up with masonry. The upper apartment was of the same size, but quite open,—the roof and arcades being supported by double pillars of wood, miserably carved and ornamented. In the fore

part of this balcony arose a polygonal pavilion, elevated three or four feet from the ground on a square pedestal, and consisting of a gilt dome and spire supported on wooden pillars. Here the king was seated. The long avenue in which we stood fronting the king, I imagine to have been from 40 to 50 yards in length, and 10 to 15 in breadth. Three reservoir full of water, occupied the centre of the avenue, in each of which there was a fountain playing. When we entered the court, we first descended into the nearest reservoir, where one of the officers of



the palace (called a guseul) ranged us in a line from right to left. A signal then being given, one half of the troops, who lined either side of the avenue, marched out at a gentle trot, rattling their armour, and making as loud a clatter on the pavement with their foot as possible. As soon as we were ranged, we made the obeisance required, by taking off our hats three times, covering the lower part of our faces with our hands, muttering something supposed to be a prayer, and then concluding by the motion of stroking our beards. The guseul, then standing before the envoy, called out in a loud voice, with his eyes turned up towards the king, "This is Mr. Elphinstone, the English ambassador, God bless him!" and so with all the rest of us in order. He had great difficulty, however, in mastering some of our uncouth names, such as Cunningham, Macartney, Fitzgerald, &c. and by the time he had nearly finished his talk, he blundered out any sound that struck him. After our names had been called, we stood for about half a minute, or perhaps a minute, in perfect silence: when his majesty, in a very rough and audible tone of voice, uttered from aloft, "Koosh Amuded!" i. e. "You are welcome!"

On receiving this satisfactory assurance, we were again directed to lift our hands in prayer for the health of the monarch.

We were then conducted about ten paces up the court, along the right verge of the fountains; and having proceeded so far, we again halted, and, a second signal being given to the armed men in waiting, the remainder then marched out in like manner with the first division. After standing here for about a minute, the king, in the same loud voice as before, called out "Khelaut," signifying that we were all to have honorary dresses. On this, we made an obeisance, by taking off our hats, and repeated, for the third time, a prayer in the prescribed form. The king then quitted his high gilt throne, and, supported by two eunuchs, descended to a low tukht on his left, [the north-west angle of the hall.

As soon as he was there seated, we advanced toward the building at the extremity of the avenue, and turning up a steep, but short ascent, to the left, proceeded to another open square, terminating, like the former, in an arcaded hall of audience, where the king generally receives his courtiers and visitors on public days. On entering, we ranged ourselves along the south side of the apartment, fronting the king, whose tukht was placed, as I formerly said, in the north-west angle. We made our obeisance as we passed him by taking off our hats, and repeating a prayer as before. After a pause of one or two minutes, the silence was broken by the king's saying, if his Britannic majesty and the English nation were all well; his words were: "Uhwale Pādshah Ang'aisetan humau by Khyreut und." The envoy replied, "Ul hound, o lil-labe." This was followed by another pause of about three minutes, during which time I had my eyes fixed on the king. He then asked, how long we had been detained on the road. The reply was, either three or four months, I forget which. Here, there was again a short interval, which the king broke by saying, that the British and his nation had always been on the best terms, and that he trusted they would continue so. The envoy replied, "If it please God." Not a word more or less passed, during our introduction.

In a few minutes after, all of us, excepting the envoy and Mr. Strachey, came away. We took off our hats once more, as we took leave; and then walked away towards the apartment, in which we had been seated previous to the introduction. I understood that on our quitting the avenue which fronted the hall, Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Strachey were called up, and permitted to approach within about two yards of the throne, where they were directed to sit down. The governor-general's letter was then delivered to his majesty, and read by the Moonshes Boushee; after which Mr. Elphinstone entered into a discourse, explaining the causes and objects of his mission.—On all which heads his



majesty was pleased to give the most gracious replies and flattering assurances.

We waited below, until they were dismissed and joined us, when we were all invested with the dresses which the king had ordered. After that, we got up and rode home. Mr. Elphinstone's dress consisted of a rich chapkan, or coat of cloth of gold,—an upper cloak of equally rich stuff, trimmed with fur, a beautiful shawl turban, and a costly shawl kummerbund. He received, besides, a sword mounted with gold, the handle, belt, buckles, and tip of the scabbard richly set with precious stones, together with a dagger of the same description. The dresses presented to the other gentlemen were equally valuable, but none of them were accompanied with a sword, and Mr. Strachey's only with a dagger. I should think the articles which were given to the envoy, (if the sword was good, and the gems all real) might have amounted to the value of 300 rupees. Our dresses were worth about 500 rupees each.

Having now, as well as I can, described the ceremony of our introduction, it only remains that I should give you some idea of the king's person, dress, and appearance, and of the royal ensigns, court, and courtiers. When we first entered the long sloping avenue, leading to the hall of audience, I did not immediately observe the king. Expecting to see him on a place similar to that on which I had so often viewed the great Mogul, I did not at first cast my eyes sufficiently high. When I did observe him, however, I was particularly struck with the dignity of his appearance, and the romantic, oriental character of the whole scene. A highly respectful silence prevailed; and humility was depicted in the countenance and demeanor of every attendant and soldier in the court. The distance of our first station from the throne was so considerable, that, for some time our view was very indistinct, and the features of the king's face scarcely discernible. All I could perceive was, that he was loaded with jewels, and was clothed in a vest

of rich-wrought silk, embroidered with large golden flowers. The throne on which he sat was a regular polygon, of ten or twelve sides, the upper part of each side terminating in a pointed leaf. The ascent was by three steps, similar to those of a pulpit; and, indeed, it only wanted a canopy to resemble many pulpits which I have seen. It seemed to be made of common wood, gilt all over, and the inside cushioned in the usual manner, with a soft bed to rest on, and one large and two small pillows, covered with fine white cloth. The king sat like all other Asiatics, with his legs either crossed or doubled under him; but he always preserved an upright posture. Each hand resting on the upper part of the corresponding thigh, and the elbow projecting forward—just such a posture, as a fierce, independent fellow is apt to assume, in society, when he wishes to brow-beat the rest of the company.

The spot on which we stood, was the same on which his own subjects humble themselves in the presence, where his commands are proclaimed and executed, and where public justice is dispensed.

On each side of the throne, stood several eunuchs, who from the want of beards and whiskers, had, at a distance, the appearance of young men. I took them, at first for the younger brothers or relations of the king. One in particular on each side was posted close to him, and held the usual emblem of royalty (a black chowree) in his hand, which he used with a very gentle fluttering motion.

As his majesty descended from his throne, supported by the eunuchs, it struck me, on a comparison of his stature with that of his attendants, that he could not be above five feet six inches high. He appeared rather stout and squat,—partly perhaps from the nature of his dress, which was thick, heavy, and loaded with jewels. When we ascended to the hall of audience above, we found him seated there on a low oblong stool, the pillows and bedding of which were enclosed within a small frame, eight or ten inches in



height—the cushion being of rich gold cloth, covered with the finest muslin: here he sat with his legs doubled under him—his left elbow reclining on the side cushion, and a rowary of large pearls in his left hand. These he kept constantly turning; while his right hand was doubled down on his thigh, with the elbow jutting out. For an Asiatic, the position was sufficiently becoming, natural, and easy. I now had a better opportunity to examine his face and features. His complexion was very fair, but at the same time dead, and destitute of the slightest ruddiness. His beard was thick, jet black, and shortened a little by the scissors; and his eye-brows high but not regularly arched, and together with his eye-lashes, apparently blackened with antimony. The colour of his eyes, I could not distinguish. His nose was moderately prominent, and his mouth was obscured by the darkness, thickness, and form of his beard and whiskers. On the whole, he may be called good-looking, but not remarkably handsome. His manner was dignified and princely; although his stature appeared small, and his form by no means superior. When he spoke, he made not a sign or motion, nor ever changed his reclining position. His voice was loud and sonorous, his articulation distinct, and his language well chosen. Throughout he did not evince the smallest embarrassment. His dress was superb; the crown of a very peculiar form, and richly ornamented with jewels: I think it was either quadrangular or exagonal, and, at each corner, was a fine plume of black heron's feathers, about eight or ten inches long, which certainly, however, owed their effect more to the lustre of the

conspicuous jewels, than to their intrinsic beauty. These feathers, however, are the badge of sovereignty, and serve to distinguish God's chosen upon earth. I believe the frame of the crown must have been of black velvet; but it was so completely covered with feathers and jewels, that I could not accurately discern. Every precious stone had a place, but it struck me, that emeralds, rubies, and pearls, were the most prevalent. After the diadem, his collars were the richest part of his dress. Some of the largest pearls that I ever beheld, were intermixed in them, with emeralds and rubies of extraordinary size and beauty. On each arm he wore what are called bazobuns and amulet cases, all richly set with jewels. I think too, from the general glitter of his appearance, that he had a coat of armour, composed of scales on his arms, thighs, and on each breast, set in the most costly manner. Among the jewels, I did not perceive many diamonds; the stones which prevailed, as I said before, were emeralds and rubies.

All this splendour was set off by a black shawl kummerbund, and blackish upper vest of the cloth called keem-khab, embroidered with large gold leaves. The vest was made like those of all other Mahomedans; but the lower part of it stuck out, as you see painted in Indian prints, and altogether destroyed his figure, and the kummerbund was large and heavy. He wore no sword, nor did I observe any near him. The chowrees, held by the eunuchs, were long, black, and set in golden handles. Being formed of stiff feathers, they were quite unelastic, and could be of no use whatever.



## GYMNASTIC SPORTS\* AT MYSOOR.

Et paribus palmas amborum amicitia armis.  
 Mula cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos  
 Dant sonitus, errantque aures et tempora circum  
 Crebra manus, duro crepitant sub vulnere males.

VIRGIL

Maha Nouri, the great *Nirah*, the feast being celebrated on the 9th day of the increasing moon; it is the supposed anniversary of a great event in the history of the celebrated Pandoos. The feast is kept with a creditable degree of splendour by the present Raja of Mysoor, and athletic contests and various sports are exhibited before him during nine successive days.

Mysoor, it is believed, is the only country in the South of India in which the institution of the *athletæ* (*Jetti*) has been preserved on its ancient footing. \* These persons constitute a distinct cast, trained from their infancy in daily exercises for the express purpose of these exhibitions, and perhaps the whole world does not produce more perfect forms than those which are exhibited at these interesting but cruel sports. The combatants, clad in a single garment of light orange-coloured drawers, extending half-way down the thighs, have their right hand furnished with a weapon, which, for want of a more appropriate term, we shall name a *coestus*, although different from the Roman instrument of that name. It is composed of buffalo horn \* fitted to the hand, and pointed with four knobs, resembling very sharp knuckles, and corresponding to their situation, with a fifth of greater prominence, at the end nearest the little finger, and at right angles with the other four. This instrument, properly placed, would enable a man of ordinary strength, to cleave open the head of his adversary at a blow: but the fingers being introduced through the weapon, it is fastened across them at an equal distance between the first and second lower joints, in a situation, it will be observed,

which does not admit of attempting a severe blow, without the risk of dislocating the first joints of all the fingers,

Thus armed, and adorned with garlands of flowers, the successive pairs of combatants, previously matched by the masters of the feast, are led into the arena: their names and abodes are proclaimed; and after making their prostrations, first to the Raja seated on his ivory throne; in a balcony which overlooks the arena, and then to the lattices behind, in which the ladies of the court are seated, they proceed to the combat, first divesting themselves of the garlands, and strewing the flowers gracefully over the arena.

The combat is a mixture of wrestling and boxing, if the latter may be so named; the head is the exclusive object permitted to be struck. The guards for defence, though skilful, are not numerous: the blows are mere cuts inflicted by the *coestus*, and before the end of the contest, both of the combatants may frequently be observed streaming with blood from the crown of the head down to the sand of the arena.

The wrestling is truly admirable, and the exertions of the combatants to disengage themselves from unfavourable positions, in which the head would be exposed to the *coestus*, are, as mere specimens of activity, not exceeded by any corresponding exhibition on an European stage.

When victory seems to have declared itself, or the contest is too severely maintained, the moderators, in attendance on the Raja in the balcony, make a signal for its cessation, by throwing down turbans and robes, to be presented to the combatants, who,

\* This picturesque and happy description of the *Jetti* of Mysoor is taken from Colonel Withers's *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, a work of much research and genuine information, delivered with accuracy, and how seldom obtainable with vivacity and ease.



before retiring, repeat their prostrations to the Raja, and the lattices.

A wistful look towards the balcony is the usual symptom of acknowledged inferiority, or of being, in the phrase of English pugilists, not game: and the victor frequently goes off the arena in four or five somersets to denote that he retires fresh from the contest. A pair of fresh combatants is introduced with the same forms, and of such pairs about two hundred are exhibited during the nine days of the great festival.

The Jetti of Mysore are divided into five classes, and the ordinary prize of victory is promotion to a higher class. There are distinct rewards for those of the first class, and in their old age they are promoted to be masters of the feast. During three years there was one champion who remained unmatched;\* on the fourth a stripling offered to engage, and was merely permitted to spar with him, and on the fifth year this youth was victorious.

### THE PRINCESS ACTOCKOE.

#### *An Interesting Narrative.*

A princess of New Zealand, one of the daughters of Tippahee, arrived within the month of June, 1809, in Calcutta, accompanied by her husband, an Englishman, of the name of Bruce.

George Bruce, son of John Bruce, foreman and clerk to Mr. Wood, distiller at Limehouse, was born in the parish of Radcliffe-High-Way, in 1779. In 1789, he entered on board the Royal Admiral East Indiaman, captain Bond, as boatswain's boy. Sailed from England for New South Wales, and arrived at Port Jackson, in 1790, where, with the consent of captain Bond, he quitted the ship and remained at New South Wales.

At Port Jackson, Bruce entered into the naval colonial service, and was employed for several years under lieutenants Robins, Flinders, and others, in exploring the coasts, surveying harbours, headlands, locks, &c. During this time, Bruce experienced various adventures, which do not come within the design of this narrative. After being thus employed for several years in vessels of survey, he was turned over to the *Lady Nelson*, captain Simmonds, a vessel fitted up for the express purpose of conveying Tippahee, king of New Zealand, from a visit,

which he made to the government at Port Jackson, to his own country. The king embarked, and the *Nelson* sailed on her destination. During the passage, Tippahee was taken dangerously ill, and Bruce was appointed to attend him; he acquitted himself so highly to the king's satisfaction, that he was honoured with his special favour; and on their arrival, the king requested that he should be allowed to remain with him at New Zealand, to which captain Simmonds consented, and Bruce was received into the family of Tippahee.

Bruce spent his first few months in New Zealand, in exploring the country, and in acquiring a knowledge of the language, manners, and customs of the people. He found the country healthy and pleasant, full of romantic scenery, agreeably diversified by hills and dales, and covered with wood. The people were hospitable, frank, and open; though rude and ignorant, yet worshipping neither images nor idols, nor aught that is the work of human hands;—acknowledging one omnipotent supreme being.

As the king proposed to place the young Englishman at the head of his army, it was a previously necessary



step, that he should be tattooed, as without having undergone that ceremony he could not be regarded as a warrior. The case was urgent, and admitted of no alternative. He, therefore, submitted resolutely to this painful ceremony; and his countenance presents a masterly specimen of the art of tattooing.

Being now tattooed in due form, Bruce was recognized as a warrior of the first rank, naturalized as a New Zealander, received into the bosom of the king's family, and honoured with the hand of the princess Actockoe, the youngest daughter of Tippahee, a maiden of fifteen, or sixteen years of age, whose native beauty has probably been great, but which has been so much improved by the fashionable embellishments of art, that all the softer charms of nature, all the sweetness of original expression, are lost in the bolder impressions of tattooing.

Bruce now became the chief member of the king's family, and was vested with the government of the island. Six or eight months after his marriage, the English ships Inspector, the Ferret, South Sea Whaler, and several other English vessels, touched at New Zealand for supplies, and all of them found the beneficial influence of having a countryman and friend at the head of affairs in that island. They were liberally supplied with fish, vegetables, and other natural products.

Our Englishman and his wife were now contented and happy, in the full enjoyment of domestic comfort, with no wants that were ungratified, blessed with health and perfect independence. Bruce looked forward with satisfaction to the progress of civilization, which he expected to introduce among the people with whom, by a singular destiny, he seemed doomed to remain during his life. While enjoying these hopes, the ship General Wellealey, about twelve or fourteen months ago, touched at a point of New Zealand, where Bruce and his wife then chanced to be. This was at some distance from the king's place of residence. Captain Dalrymple applied to Bruce to assist

him in procuring a cargo of spars and benjamin, and requested specimens of the principal articles of produce of the island, all of which was cheerfully done. Captain Dalrymple then proposed to Bruce to accompany him to North Cape, distant about twenty-five or thirty leagues, where, it was reported that gold dust could be procured, and captain Dalrymple conceived, that Bruce might prove useful to him in the search for gold dust. With great reluctance, and after many introductions, Bruce consented to accompany captain Dalrymple, under the most solemn assurances of being safely brought back and landed at the Bay of Islands. He accordingly embarked with his wife, on board the General Wellealey, presenting at the same time to captain Dalrymple, the dangerous consequences of taking the king's daughter from the island; but their fears were quieted by the solemn and repeated assurances of captain Dalrymple, that he would at every hazard re-land them at the Bay of Islands, the place from which they embarked. Being at length all on board, the Wellealey sailed from the North Cape, where they soon arrived and landed. Finding that they had been entirely misinformed as to the gold dust, the Wellealey made sail in order to return to New Zealand; but the wind becoming foul, and continuing so for forty-eight hours, they were driven from the island. On the 3d day, the wind became more favourable, but captain Dalrymple did not attempt to regain the island, but stood on for India. Bruce now gently remonstrated and reminded him of his promises, to which captain Dalrymple replied, "he had something else to think of, than to detain the ship by returning, with a valuable cargo, to the island; besides, he had another and a better island in view for him."

On reaching the Feejee, or Sandalwood islands, captain Dalrymple asked Bruce if he chose to go on shore and remain there: which he declined, on account of the barbarous and sanguinary disposition of their inhabitants. Captain Dalrymple desired that he would choose for himself, and then took



from him several little presents, which he himself and his officers had given to him at New Zealand,—these were now given to the Natives of the islands in the boats then along side.

Leaving the Feejees islands, they steered towards Sooloo, visiting two or three islands in their passage; but the limits of this narrative do not admit of a particular account of the occurrences at those places, though they are not devoid of interest. After remaining four or five days at Sooloo, they sailed for Malacca, where they arrived in December.

At Malacca, captain Dalrymple and Bruce went on shore. The latter was anxious to see the governor, or commanding officer, to state his grievances; but as it was late in the evening when he landed, he could not see him till the following morning, by which time captain Dalrymple had weighed from Malacca roads, leaving Bruce on shore, and carrying off his wife on board the Wellesley to Penang.

Bruce acquainted the commanding officer at Malacca with his case, and expressed his wish to regain his wife, and to return with her to New Zealand. The commanding officer endeavoured to console him; desired that he would patiently wait at Malacca, for a short time, as some ships might probably touch there, on their passage from Bengal to New South Wales, by which he would procure a passage for himself and his wife, and that in the mean time he would write to Penang, desiring that his wife should be returned to her husband at Malacca. After waiting three or four weeks, accounts were received of captain Dalrymple's arrival at Penang, upon which Bruce obtained the commanding officer's permission, and left Malacca in the Scourge gun brig for Penang, where, upon his arrival, he found that his wife had been bartered away to captain Ross.

On waiting upon the governor of Penang, he was asked what satisfaction he required for the ill treatment he had experienced? Bruce answered, that all he wanted was to have his

wife restored, and to get a passage if possible to New Zealand. Through the interference of the governor, his wife was restored to him. With her he returned to Malacca, in hope of the promised passage to New South Wales; but as there was no appearance of the expected ships for that port, he was now promised a passage for himself and his wife to England, on one of the outward-bound indiamen from China. By getting to England, he hoped from thence to find a passage to New South Wales; but the China ships only anchored in Malacca roads, for a few hours, during the night, so that he had no opportunity of proceeding by any of the ships of that fleet. He then intreated the commanding officer to get him a passage on the Sir Edward Pellew to Penang, where he hoped to overtake the Indiamen. A passage for himself and his wife was accordingly provided on board the Pellew, and on his arrival at Penang he found the Indiamen still there; but he could not be accommodated with a passage to Europe, without the payment of 400 dollars. Not having that sum, and without the means to raise it, he came on, with the Sir Edward Pellew to Bengal, where he and his wife, the affectionate companion of his distress, have been most hospitably received, and where their hardships and long sufferings will be soothed and forgotten in the kindness that awaits them. Opportunities will probably occur in the course of a few months, of a passage to New South Wales, from whence they will find no difficulty in regaining New Zealand.

Unwilling to interrupt the course of the preceding narrative, by any matter not immediately connected with the parties, it has been reserved for this place; a short account of the natural produce, of New Zealand, an account that must be considered valuable, in coming from a man long resident in the country, and who had opportunities of satisfying himself on the points to which he speaks.

Bruce relates that New Zealand abounds with a great variety of useful



timber, among which are the pine and fir; the forests are of great extent, and may be considered as inexhaustible. Flax and hemp, which are both indigenous to that country, grow in the utmost profusion. Immense plains are entirely covered with these plants, some of which is cultivated, but the much greater part is of spontaneous growth. The tree, producing the white benjamin, is also found in many parts of the island.

Mines of different valuable metals, are known to exist in the interior. Specimens of their ores have been obtained; but from the total ignorance of the people in metallurgy, or in any other art of civilized countries, their mines remain unwrought. Iron ores are found in great abundance; and with these the Natives paint both themselves and their canoes.

Cabbages, the common and sweet potatoes, yams, parsnips, turnips, carrots, &c. rank among their garden vegetables. They have a plant somewhat resembling a fern, with a large farinaceous root, which, when roasted, is a pleasant, wholesome food,

and is a most excellent substitute for bread. They have also fruit trees, some of which are indigenous, others exotic. The orange and the peach have both been introduced from the Cape of Good Hope, and are in a very thriving way.

Breeds of swine and goats have been lately brought into New Zealand, and are increasing rapidly. Fish they possess in great variety and profusion, and during all the months in the year. In the summer season they are visited by shoals of mackerel; and, during the winter, their coasts are frequented by immense quantities of herrings. The island is watered by many fine rivers, which abound with fish, some of which are well known in Europe, while others seem peculiar to the countries in the southern ocean. The shores of the rivers, and their lakes, are frequented by wild geese and wild ducks; but it is remarkable that they have no lame web-footed birds. The only quadruped of the island is a kind of fox, and their only reptile a dull, sluggish lizard.

### *Burning of a Hindoo Widow.*

The aggravated circumstances of horror, detailed in the subjoined letter, which attended the ceremony on this occasion, distinguish it from most of the Suttees, which have been hitherto described, and are calculated to excite a very powerful, though not certainly a very pleasing interest.

Sir,—It is a general received belief, that, in the sacrifice of Hindoo widows, the victim is previously rendered almost insensible by stupifying and intoxicating drugs, and that she is, at all times, suffocated by the smoke of a rapidly combustible pile, before the flames reach her body. That this is, at least, not always the case, I have been recently a witness. Being informed that a Suttie was about to take place in the vicinity of my house, on Monday, the 25th of this month, I

repaired to the spot, in company with a friend, instigated by a strong and natural curiosity, to observe narrowly the deportment of a human being about to take a voluntary and public leave of existence, and believing, from what we have read of similar cases, that our feelings would not be shocked by any open exhibition of the actual pains of dissolution. I do not recollect to have seen any account of a Suttie, which did not, upon the whole, tell rather favourably for the humanity of those whom an imperious ordinance of religion calls upon, to preside, or officiate, at such ceremonials. I think it, therefore, a duty which I owe to the cause of truth, to record, at least, one instance on the other side of the question.

The Suttie in question took place



at a spot by the river side, about a quarter of a mile below Barnagore, at eleven in the morning. We arrived about half an hour before that time, and found the widow bathing in the river, surrounded by a troop of friends, chiefly men. It was then low-water, and the deep mud left by the tide prevented our approaching sufficiently near to observe with accuracy the ceremonies that were performing. Our attention was attracted to the pile, which was placed about high-water mark. It was not altogether more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 5 feet long, to the best of our observation; and consisted merely of some long billets of chopped soon-dry wood, fresh and green from the bazar, retained in their places by four stakes driven into the ground at the angles. The whole was little, if at all, longer, or broader, than one of the common cots used by Natives. The deceased was supported in a sitting posture by two men, close to the pile, and some more billets of wood, with four or five bundles of dry brushwood and reeds, lay ready for use.

The whole of the ceremonies observed on the occasion, were such as are usually gone through, and as have been described so often in other books.

The widow was dressed in a robe, or sheet of bright red silk, and had her hair hanging loose and dishevelled, and struck through with many wooden combs: her forehead was painted with yellow ochre, or ointment, and she had no other dress or ornament whatever. From the bye-standers, we learned that her husband was a common washerman, and that it was not expected by any one that she would have resolved to burn herself, especially as she had a child of three years old, and as her relations had offered to maintain them both, if she would consent to live. I shall not take up your time by detailing the many ceremonies that were performed.

The body of the husband was at length placed on the pile, on its right side, and in due time she ascended, and lay down by its side, facing it, and literally locked in its arms. So

was the pile. that the bye-standers were obliged to bend the legs of both very much, to enable the pile to contain them. During all this "dreadful note of preparation," from first to last, the widow preserved the utmost, the most *entire* fortitude and composure, or rather apathy,—and was unmoved even at parting with her child.

In her processions round the pile, she was supported and hurried round through the crowd, by many men who held her by the arms and shoulders, and made the populace give way.

From this we at first concluded her to be intoxicated, but were afterwards convinced of our mistake, by seeing the steadiness of nerve, and perfect composure, with which she sprinkled the corps of her husband, and mounted on the pile entirely unassisted and alone. We stood within six or seven feet of the pile, and could not be mistaken.

The remaining billets of wood were now laid on the bodies, with a scanty handful of dry reeds here and there. But, the point to which I wish especially to draw attention is, that thick strong ropes, thoroughly soaked in water, were previously tied round the bodies of the living and the dead, in many places, to preclude the possibility of escape, and in seeming anticipation of the dreadful scene that followed.

One Bramin only was present at the ceremony, and, as soon as all was prepared, he offered to the widow's child (in the arms of another) a lighted brand. The child drew back in affright, when they seized its hand by force, and applied the fire to the head, and afterwards to the foot of the pile. The shouting and noise of the crowd had been incessant from the beginning, but at this instant it was incredibly loud.

Four strong green bamboos were now laid across the whole pile, which were strongly held by eight men, so as to keep down all attempts of the miserable creature within to rise;—a precaution not useless, if it be allowed to conjecture from what we observed at the foot of the pile,



near to which we stood. A quantity of ghee, not, I should imagine, a pint in all, was scattered on the pile; the scantiness of this and the brush-wood, and the greenness of the billets, caused the pile to burn very slowly, and rendered it necessary to apply fresh fire at one time. I scarcely know how to paint in colours that shall not disgust and shock your reader, the horrible close of the scene. Suffice it to say, that after the fire took effect, the wretched woman within, in her torment, stretched forth her leg, which now protruded from the knee, beyond the scanty pile; and, by the quickness with which she attempted to withdraw it, on its touching a burning brand, it was evident that she was still too sensible to the tortures she must then have been enduring. Owing to the brush-wood being scattered only at the

extremities of the pile, the fire there was fiercest. In a minute or two more, the scorched and mutilated limb was again thrust out, and slowly consumed before our outraged eyes, while the tremulous and convulsive motions which it exhibited to the last, (for many minutes) too plainly shewed, that sensation and life yet existed in the miserable wretch within. A kind of incredulous horror, at what was passing, had till now rivetted us to the spot; but the scene became too shocking, and we quickly retired. I ought to observe, that the utmost indifference, without any symptom of the remotest compassion, prevailed among the whole of the spectators, not excepting the mother and sister of the widow, who were pointed out to us among the crowd.

Sept. 26, 1809.

### *An Extraordinary Instance of Trance.*

SIR.—As instances of what is commonly called a Trance are rare, and seldom well attested, I send you the following account of a case, which has just come under my own observation.

Jussoodanundun Muhapatra, one of the principal land-holders of this district, being required to attend the zillah court, was reported, when called upon, to be asleep, and unable to make his appearance. A man in court hearing this excuse, observed, "Oh! if that be the case, it will be some days before he awakes." The curiosity of Mr. Rees, the judge and magistrate, being excited by the answer, he received to his questions upon the subject, he proposed to me a visit to the man, with a view to inquire into this extraordinary circumstance, and afford any relief that might be required. We accordingly went to the man's house that afternoon.

We found Jussoodanundun upon a bed, in his dormitory, in sound sleep, surrounded by a number of friends and relations. His pulse and breathing were scarcely perceptible, and in this state he remained two days and a half,

and two nights, without motion, without taking any sustenance, or performing any of the animal functions. He was bled, but it was with difficulty that about ten ounces of blood were procured; various external stimuli were employed, and an emetic administered. By these means his pulse was considerably increased in strength, and his breathing became more perceptible, and once the stimulus, applied to the nose, occasioned sneezing, but he still continued in a sound sleep. Having directed a repetition of the emetic, the first producing no effect, we left him, expecting that he would soon be disturbed by its operation; this, however, was not the case, for though he vomited three times, it occasioned no interruption to his slumber.

The next morning the usual symptoms of returning animation, namely, great heat of the legs and feet, was observed; and as his attendants said he would probably awake about twelve o'clock, no further endeavours to rouse him were employed. About twelve, as was predicted, he awoke,



as from a common sleep, with his usual unconsciousness of the lapse of time, having slept three nights and three days and a half.

Jussoodanundun Muhapater is a man nearly fifty years of age, strongly made, and corpulent. He relates, that about the age of one or two and thirty, he first became affected in this extraordinary manner, without being able even to conjecture from what cause it originated. During thirteen years these fits of sleep continued seven, and sometimes eight days, with seldom more than ten or twelve days interval; for the last four years the periods of sleep have decreased to four, and rarely exceed five days. He states that, during these fits, he has never dreamt, or been conscious of the slightest degree of animation.

The common methods of disturbing sleep have constantly, and ineffectually, been resorted to; such as tumbling him about, shouting, &c.; and a gun

has been fired close to his ear, without producing the desired effect.

At the termination of the sleep, he rises wholly unconscious of having passed more than a common night's rest, and the only inconvenience he experiences, in consequence, is a great degree of lassitude the following day.

His general health is good, and he enjoys ordinary rest of nights, during what may be called his interval of watching.

As the shortness of his neck, and corpulency, would lead one to suppose there was a tendency to apoplexy in his case. I was surprised to learn, that, in the commencement of these fits of sleep, and for several years afterwards, his habit and appearance afforded no such indication.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

J. SAVAGE,  
Assist.-Surgeon.

*Mednæpoor,*  
*March 14, 1809.*



# CHARACTERS.

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## MAJOR GENERAL CLOSE.

The whole course of major-general Close's political and military life, during a period of nearly forty years of almost incessant actual service, has been a career of the highest honour which a service could afford, in which no merit, however brilliant, can break through the wretched routine of promotion by seniority, and whose immediate rulers have no honours to bestow. His services, therefore, during the greater portion of this period, have tended more to fix the fame, and the reward of his immediate superiors, than to establish his own. He has been, the medium of transferring to other's distinctions, which, under other circumstances, would have rested with himself.

To detail his military services would be to write a volume. His talents and extraordinary attainments caused him, then but a young lieutenant in the Native army, to be selected so early as 1784, and 1787, for political negotiations, with commissioners from Tip-poo Sultan, for the adjustment of disputed territory; and in both cases the force of talents alone arrested the encroachments of that restless prince, without the necessity of an appeal to arms.

His distinguished services as deputy-adjutant-general, in the war of 1790-2, were fairly appreciated by earl Cornwallis, and are well known.

It is less known that, during the period between the signature of the preliminary and definitive treaties, when the British army was sinking under the influence of endemic disease, was rapidly approaching that state in which it would have been absolutely incapable of renewing hostilities, Major Close requested a private audience of earl Cornwallis, roused

him to the consequences of the procrastination to which he had so long submitted, and by inducing him to fix a precise hour for the alternative of peace or war, saved a British army, and established an advantageous peace.

The appointment of adjutant-general was the reward of these services. In the brilliant campaign of 1799, the commander-in-chief, in concurrence with the universal suffrage of the army, had the magnanimity to avow, in his public dispatches, that his successes were chiefly to be attributed to his adjutant-general. The royal favour could not reach him. The court of directors conferred the only poor distinction in their power—the present of a sword. The governor-general distinguished him by the appointment of political resident with the new government of Mysore.

Those who appreciate diplomatic services by the usual routine of such transactions will form but an imperfect idea of the duties to be performed by colonel Close in the new, and extraordinary, situation in which he was placed. It was not to negotiate with a state, but to form a state; and the genius, which moulded this new mass, has actually rendered Mysore, in proportion to its resources, beyond all comparison the most efficient branch of the British power in India.

Talents so uncommon were called for in a new direction, by a mind which always sought for talent and always found it. The time is approaching, but has not yet arrived, when the most incredulous will be convinced of the policy, and even the necessity, of the measures of that day; but whatever difference of opinion may, for the present, exist regarding their general policy, there can be none respecting



the consummate talents of the resident at Poona. To waive all other references, the noble responsibility spontaneously assumed in his letter to general Wellesley, inculcating the necessity of compelling the Mahratta chiefs to make an immediate option of peace or war, exhibits a combination of keen fore-sight, deliberate prudence, profound discernment, and bold decision, which must command the admiration of every person who shall take the trouble to understand the subject and peruse the letter.

In the situation of resident at Poona, colonel Close remained till the close of lord Wellesley's administration, when he intimated a wish to be permitted to return to his native country. The fact of two successive governor-generals,—namely, Sir G. Barlow and lord Minto, having solicited his continuance in office as a public benefit, and a personal favour, is the shortest and best comment on the value attached to his services.

To the late unhappy events which have convulsed the south of India, those discordant opinions, which agree

in nothing else, concur in ascribing to the high reputation and admirable conduct of colonel Close, the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion, and he has closed his career by a campaign in Candish and Malwa, which has afforded little of brilliant exploit, because his operations were so skilfully combined as to deprive his enemy of all hope, and compel him to disband his army in despair.

Such is the short and imperfect outline of the services of a man who, wherever fortune should have thrown him, would, if not the first, unquestionably have ranked in the very first line of eminent men. In any other portion of the globe, such talents would necessarily have forced their possessor into the first honours of the state.

Hitherto, the rulers of the British state have consigned their possessor to neglect, and as far as depends on them to oblivion.

Englishmen in India appear to be serving other masters, and another country.

### *A Short Memoir of Dr. J. ANDERSON, late Physician-general at MADRAS.*

Dr. James Anderson was born on the 17th of January, 1738, at a village, six miles from Edinburgh, called Long Hermiston. His father, Mr. Andrew Anderson, who practised medicine at that place, was a man of great worth, and much esteemed by all who knew him. The rudiments of Dr. Anderson's education were obtained at a country school, in the neighbourhood of his place of nativity; and his medical instruction he received under the auspices of Dr. Cullen, and the other eminent professors of the University of Edinburgh, where his progress in every branch of science which he studied, was so remarkable as to attract the particular notice and regard of the professors.

He left the University while yet

very young, and went out as surgeon to an East-India ship, in the spring of the year 1759. In 1761, he went again to India in the same capacity; and from thence passed into the land service of the company, in which he commenced his medical career at the siege of Manilla, and was afterwards placed in situations of the greatest trust and responsibility, during the subsequent arduous wars and severe service, which establish the British dominion in the peninsula; in all of which time he was the friend and companion of the renowned characters, who then commanded the company's armies. His anxious kindness to the sick, his unremitting exertions, his general philanthropy, and nobleness of mind, gained him universal esteem: his com-



patients of those days have ever since been solicitous to shew him their high sense of his merits.

Possessing an ardent desire for science, a sound judgment and very retentive memory, he was always thankful for books, as he could seldom find sufficient to occupy his mind; and of this he frequently complained; he thus acquired much general and useful knowledge, which led to the extensive printed correspondence he carried on for so many years.

He was called down from Vellore to Madras in the year 1771, as one of the presidency surgeons, the best situation the government could then give him, where he has ever since resided; always eminent in his profession, kind and attractive in his manners, with generally a great flow of spirits, he was long courted and adored: his remaining old friends can testify to the truth of this.

With a view to health, while resident in the fort, and to obtain further employment for his active mind, he obtained from government, in 1778, the grant of an extensive piece of waste land, not three miles distant from the fort. To improve this land had occupied much of his time, and it latterly constituted his greatest pleasure. His garden, on which no expense has been spared, and which has so generally been the resort for pleasure and instruction, will shew the dignified scale of all his actions; and it may be said that it has greatly contributed, by the example, to the improvement that has been made on the bounds of Madras, since that period. Till he began, there were only a few imported engrafted Mango trees: all the settlement will now acknowledge their obligations for this fine fruit, which is now common: he has collected trees also from all quarters, and ever solicitous to make the gifts of nature extensively beneficial, he was never happier than when he could oblige any one in this way.

On his first voyage to India, having witnessed the greatest distress at sea from scurvy, and having afterwards seen the height of human misery at

Madras from famine, during Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic; these occurrences made strong and lasting impressions on his mind, and led, in a great measure, to the various subjects in his numerous publications, at his own expense, ever since 1786, of which the aim has always been to encourage industry in the country, and place within reach the means of preventing such dreadful evils: his name has thus become universally known, and is never mentioned by the Natives, but with reverence and respect,—they considered him as their father and friend.

These publications will best bespeak the energy and warmth of his heart, and that, in the attainment of what ever benefited his species, no labour or expense would be spared. His letters, regarding the use and culture of the opal, of which he has made extensive plantations, will shew the enthusiasm of his mind in pursuit of such objects: they absorbed, at times, his whole attention, deeming them religious obligations: the benefit already produced will stamp him as a benefactor of mankind.

As his mind was noble, independent, and humane, so was his person and countenance comely and interesting; his keen, expressive, benevolent eye spoke to every feeling heart;—far above every selfish passion, his purse, and his best endeavours, were ever ready to relieve distress,—hospitable in the extreme, his table was almost always crowded; and who that has ever witnessed it can forget the kind welcome and happiness that prevailed, with the pleasant, sportive, instructive argument, of which he was so fond; and his house has ever been the asylum of sickness, of friendship, and of young men on their arrival in the country.

A stranger to deceit himself, he could with difficulty be persuaded of its existence in others; he spoke, therefore, freely his sentiments, on all occasions, without meaning to offend; and, liberal in all his actions, he was ever the patron and encourager of merit.

Happy thus within himself, with a mind extraordinarily well regulated,



seldom allowing his temper to be ruffled, or even old habits to continue when deemed improper, he attained a good old age with a remarkable appearance of health and spirits, when a severe disease occurred, which rapidly terminated his invaluable life.

In his last moments his strong mind and amiable qualities never forsook him; he expressed much gratitude for the anxious solicitude shewn by the settlement for his recovery.

This is but a feeble, imperfect sketch of the life of this rare and great man; the loss of so superior a character is a public misfortune, and will be most severely felt;—it may with truth be said, he has not left his like behind him.—

*Natura ipsa valere, et mentis viribus excitari,  
Et quasi quodam divino spiritu affari.*

CICERO.

Dr. Anderson died at the age of 72; nearly fifty years of which period were spent, most honourably, in the service of the East-India company; and more than half of which as the admired and venerated head of his profession.

Dr. Anderson's mother, to whom he made a liberal annual allowance, died in 1793, at the advanced age of ninety-three years.

The disposition of his property, which was very inconsiderable, in comparison to what he might have possessed, had his attention been turned

to the amassing of wealth, was marked by an amiable peculiarity, highly characteristic of his generous and noble nature. He bequeathed the whole of it to an only daughter, and five nieces; deeming female relations more particularly entitled to his care and protection, and having no male relations in need of pecuniary aid.

He was interred with military honours. The Union flag was hoisted in the fort half-mast high, and minute guns were fired during the mournful procession from his garden-house to the burial ground. His remains were attended to their last home by a detachment of the royal artillery, and his majesty's royal regiment. The coffin was carried by artillery-men, and the pall-bearers were the honourable Chief Justice, Sir B. Sullivan, the three Members of Council, the Commander-in-chief, and Dr. Berry as chief mourner. He was also followed by a concourse of all ranks, Europeans and Natives, anxious, by this public, though mournful testimony, to shew their respect and veneration for departed worth.

A monument is intended to be erected to his memory by the profession, which he benefited and adorned, unless that honour be disputed and anticipated by those to whom his public services and his life were more peculiarly devoted.



# NATURAL HISTORY.

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## THE KUSTOORA, or MUSK DEER.

The Kustoora, or musk deer, is a native of the Kuchar, or Lower Tibet; but is met more commonly in some parts of that extensive tract than in others. They would not appear, however, to be very numerous any where; and though a considerable portion of the Kuchar is subject to the Goorkhahis, the Nepaulians procure the Kustoora principally from the vicinity of Neyat, Dhyboon, and one or two other places. This animal is most usually caught by means of a snare, made of a particular kind of mountain bamboo, of which it is reported, that the whole species is occasionally blasted at once, not a single tree remaining

that does not rapidly decay. The blight, however, never happening till the annual seed has fallen into the ground, the plant is abundantly renewed in due course of production. Very little pure musk is to be obtained at Khatmanda; and there is still less exported from Nepaul; and even the musk, contained in the nafeb, or bag, still attached to the body of the animal, is not always found unadulterated, and its purity can only be relied on when the Kustoora is received directly as a present from some person, of whose lands it has recently been caught.

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## NEPAUL PHEASANT AND PARTRIDGE.

The Chuckoar, Moonal, and Damphia, are natives of the same mountainous region; the two last belong to the genus of pheasants, the Damphia being of the golden, and the Moonal of the argheer, or spotted sort; they are both extremely beautiful birds; and, though the latter sometimes lays eggs in its captive state, it has never been known to hatch them. The Chuckoar is well known to the Europeans in India by the name of Fire-eater; it is a species of partridge, and derives its latter name from its reputed power of swallowing fire: the fact, according to the people of Nepaul, is, that, in the season of love, this bird is remarkably fond of red, or cayenne-

pepper; after eating two or three capsules of which, it will bite at a red hot coal, if offered to it. The Chuckoar is caught by means of a decoy of its own species, surrounded by nets or springes, into which the wild ones, who are very fierce and quarrelsome, are betrayed by their eagerness to attack the captive birds.

The Khalidge is met with in the thickets which overrun the gorges of the mountains near Noakote, it resembles the common pheasant in its appearance; but much cannot be said in commendation of its flavour; they are far from abounding in this quarter.



## THE COW AND SHAWL-GOAT.

The Chowri and Changra of Tibet, are both met with in the neighbourhood of Nepaul, though they never descend below the Kuchar. The Chowri, known best in Hindoostan by the name of Soori-ghai, is the cow, the beautiful tail of which forms one of the exports from Nepaul and Tibet; the Natives of the latter eating the flesh of it without reserve, while those of Nepaul, though they affect to class it among the deer kind, on account of its having no dew-lap, do not consider it lawful food. The Changra is the shawl-goat, which is rather scarce, even in Tibet, since it is not without the greatest difficulty that a perfect male of this species can be procured, owing to the jealous vigilance employed by the Tibetians, to prevent their

being conveyed into foreign countries. This fact agrees, in some measure, with those accounts which state the Cashmerians to be supplied either with the Changra itself, or its fleece, from Tibet, since it is pretty certain that there are no shawl stuffs, of any consequence, manufactured by the Tibetians, whose solicitude, therefore, respecting this animal, it would not be easy to account for any other way, than by supposing it to constitute a material and beneficial article of their commerce. Both the Chowri and Changra are said to be wonderfully sagacious in discovering the safest track through the deepest snows, and, on this account, are sometimes employed as guides, by persons travelling in the depth of winter.

## SHEEP OF TIBET.

The sheep of Tibet are not less useful, as beasts of burthen, than the Changra as guides; the Bhootias transporting on them all the salt with which they supply Nepaul. This animal, the fleece of which seems to be tolerably fine, is about the size of the largest English sheep, and carries with ease, over the craggy mountains of the Kuchar and of Nepaul, a load of twenty seers, or nearly, forty-two pounds avoirdupoise. There are two or three species bred in Nepaul, and its adjacent dependencies, the smallest of which (called Khagia) affords excellent wool: neither the woollen manufactures, however, of Tibet, nor of Nepaul, would appear to have attained even to mediocrity; and it is

certain, that the product of their looms is as inconsiderable in quantity, as it is insignificant in quality. The joos, or flannel procured from the former, were it really a fabric of Tibet, would, perhaps, be admitted as an exception to the latter part of this observation; but the fact is, that it is made at Siling, a place situated on the western borders of China. With respect to Nepaul, whatever its raw materials may be, still less exception can be made; since, though a kind of coarse warm serge is made here, that is in some esteem in Hindoostan, yet it is very little superior to the Sooi of Serinugur, which being considerably cheaper, is in much more universal use.



# USEFUL PROJECTS.

MEMORANDUM\* *respecting the COMMERCE of NEPAUL, delivered to Sir J. SHORE, Bart. the Governor-general of India, 1793.*

There is good reason to believe, that, could a free and secure communication be opened between Bengal and Tibet, the woollen staples of Great Britain might be disposed of to the inhabitants of the latter country to a very considerable amount.

Both the Tibets are extremely elevated regions, and, therefore, excessively cold. It is to the upper Tibet, however, that we must principally look on this occasion; that being an infinitely more extensive and populous country than the Kuchâr, or Lower Tibet, which separates Nepaul, and the mountainous tracts, stretching to the eastward of that valley, form the upper, or Tibet proper.

The cold is so extreme in Tibet, that the inhabitants, for want of woollens of a proper kind, are said to be obliged to encumber themselves to such a degree, with the clothing, ordinarily in use among them, as ab-

solutely renders it difficult for them to move under the load.

\*They manufacture, it is true, some coarse woollen stuffs of the rug kind; but these would not appear to be either well suited, in point of warmth, to the severity of the climate, or to be made in any great quantity.

Be this as it may, I understand that our woollens, both fine and ordinary, are bought up in that country, whenever the Beoparies carry them thither, with great avidity. The two-coloured cloths (particularly those having red on one side, and blue or yellow on the other) are preferred by the superior classes, to whom, it is probable, warm flannels, of the finer sort, would also be highly acceptable. For the poorer descriptions, perhaps, nothing would answer so well as our blanket-ing.

This is a traffic, however, which hitherto has never been engaged in, ex-

\* Colonel Kirkpatrick, the writer of this Memoir, was sent by Lord Cornwallis, as an envoy to Nepaul; ostensibly for the purpose of mediating in the differences then subsisting between that government and the court of Peking, but really, and principally, with the view of ascertaining means for the establishment of a commercial intercourse, through the medium of the interjacent country of Nepaul, between the frontier provinces of Bengal and the Upper Tibet. If the mission had produced no other fruit than this valuable Project, it could not be said to have failed; but it has produced materials of more general importance and utility, for the history of an untroubled country, pregnant with new and interesting objects, and of the policy and manners of a people hitherto neglected, because unknown. In a residence of a few weeks' duration have been gathered, such is the mastery of genius, what a less ardent and comprehensive mind might not have grasped within the period of an ordinary life. This hoard of historical, natural, and political knowledge, was collected by the British envoy, incidentally, as it were, to his office, which was to conciliate, a task sufficiently burthensome of itself, the narrow-minded jealousy of a capricious court, and the prejudices of an obstinate, unyielding race; and to lay the foundation, in which he happily succeeded, of a commercial union between contiguous countries, formed, but hitherto not fitted, for intercourse. The labours of Colonel Kirkpatrick have prepared the way for the success of the future diplomatist, who may hereafter be destined to tread over the same ground, though it is scarcely to be expected with equal steps.

From the volume, descriptive of this mission, which is given to the public under the modest title of "An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul," this paper is selected, with some other Miscellaneous and curious articles; for which the editor offers his general acknowledgments.



cepting on a very inconsiderable scale; and even on such a scale but very rarely.

The reason of this is to be particularly sought for in the jealousy of the states, between us and Tibet, and in their ignorance of the true principles and advantages of a free commerce. Something, perhaps, ought also to be referred to the distrustful character of the Chinese, who of late years have assumed pretty openly the entire government of Tibet. It would seem, at least, to have been owing to that court, that the attempts of Mr. Hastings to open a free commercial intercourse with Tibet were defeated.

But besides this obstacle to a direct communication between Bengal and that part of Upper Tibet, of which Lehassah (or Lassa) is the capital, there has always existed another (no less serious), in the unfavourable circumstances which are opposed to commercial enterprise in this quarter by the country of the Deeb Rajah, which separates Tibet from Bengal. These consist partly in the rugged nature of that country; but possibly more in the wretched policy of its sovereign, by whom, I have been assured, such heavy imposts have been usually laid on the trade as almost amount to a prohibition of it. But to whatever cause the fact is to be attributed, it is pretty certain, I believe, that adventurers from Bengal prefer the circuitous route to Tibet by Nepal, to the nearer one by the country called by us Boutan.

It may, nevertheless, still be practicable to engage the Deeb Rajah sooner or later to enter into a commercial treaty with our government, on a basis of reciprocal advantage.

A convention of this kind, however, would not make it the less proper for us to endeavour to find out other channels for the conveyance of the staples, which have been mentioned, to Tibet. For though Lehassah, and those parts lying directly to the northward, and to the eastward of that city, might, perhaps, be most readily supplied with our commodities by the way of Boutan, yet, if we wish

to push our commercial speculations into the western parts of Tibet (which would seem to promise us as good a market as the eastern), we must for this purpose turn our eye towards Nepal; from whence too it might possibly appear, that the eastern trade could be carried on with great advantage.

Let us suppose Hatmandu to be the centre from whence our staples are to be distributed throughout Tibet. The merchandize would proceed as high as Segouly, situated on the Boori Gunduck, by water. Hence it would pass to Hettowra, on carriages or bullocks, in four or five days.—From Hettowra it would be transported by hill-porters, in three or four days, to Hatmandu. These porters are capable of carrying bales, weighing from eighteen to twenty-four charnies, or from forty-five to sixty seer, Bengal bazar weight; and, consequently, from ten to fifteen pieces of yard-wide broad cloth. They receive for the trip, from Hettowra to Hatmandu, from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  rupee, according to the season of the year, and the weight of their load.

At Hhatmandu, the merchants, or caravans, will disperse. Those having goods intended for the Lehassah, or eastern market, would convey them, by porters, to Listee, the Nepal frontier town on that side, and only three days distance from Kooti, a considerable town of Tibet. This journey may be performed with ease in eight days.

The Nepal mart, or entrepot, for supplying Diggercheh, or Teeshoo Lumboo, and the adjacent parts, would be Dhoalka, which is situated below the pass of Phullak, whence Tibet may be entered with greater ease than by Kooti. Dhoalka is not above five easy days journey from Hatmandu.

The merchandize intended for Middle Tibet, or that part of Tibet lying directly to the northward of Nepal, would be transported to Russoon, the frontier town of Nepal in that quarter. This would take seven or eight days.



The articles designed for the supply of the north-west parts of Tibet, would have to proceed to Joomlah, or rather to its capital. Chinachin is pretty near a month's journey, for a caravan, from Hatmandu, to the north-west of which it lies. This is the frontier station of Nepal in the Taklakhar quarter. Taklakhar is a town of Tibet, of considerable note. It is about twelve journeys from Chinachin, but much nearer to the borders of the Joomlah district. Chinachin might also be approached by the way of Almora; but as, to take their route, merchants would have to advance far up into Rohilkund, it would not answer, probably, so well for the staples in question, as the Hatmandu road; though, doubtless, it would seem to be the properest channel for the exports of the vizier's country, and, perhaps, of Benares. We are here, however, considering only of the best routes for the British staples.

It may be thought, there would be no necessity for our merchants limiting their enterprises, or speculations, to the Nepal borders; but, though there should really be no serious obstacles to their pushing their expeditions into the interior parts of Tibet, yet, I am inclined to believe, that they would find it equally advantageous to dispose of their commodities severally at Lisseo, Dhoalka, Russoo, and Chinachin, to the Tibet traders, who, if not restrained by their Chinese masters, would, most probably, be very ready to repair thither for the purpose of dealing with them. It is true that they would not obtain at these marts so high a price for their goods, as they would yield in the interior parts; but, on the other hand, it is to be considered, that their risk would be less, the return quicker, and their security (being under the protection of the Nepal government) greater.

Our merchants would, at these places, receive from the Tibet traders, in exchange for their woollens, &c. gold dust, gold ingots, borax, and musk principally. There are, probably,

some other articles as musk, amony, &c. which might be advantageously imported hither for the European market. Musket, however, is the produce chiefly of the Lower Tibet, and southern hills, and is, therefore, almost entirely in the hand of the Nepaulians.

It might not be amiss, in the infancy of the trade, to abolish all duties on woollens, of British manufacture, exported from Bengal to Nepal, whether for the use of that country or the consumption of Tibet.

Admitting all the preceding remarks and suggestions to be well founded, it remains to consider how any commercial scheme, built upon them, is to be carried into effect.

If, on the one hand, the Nepal government were sufficiently intelligent to discern, and sufficiently energetic to promote its own best interests; and the Chinese officers, on the other, raised no obstacles in the way of the Tibet speculators, there would be no difficulty in the matter. There are, perhaps, a few members of the former (and at their head, I believe, is Behadur Shah himself,) who are not ignorant of the advantages which their country would derive from its becoming the channel-thoroughfare of such a commerce, as might be carried on between these provinces and Tibet; but the majority, being of a description which holds trade in a very cheap light, the superior understanding of one or two individuals has not been able to counteract the effects of that obstinate jealousy, with which those people are so well known to have regarded all sorts of intercourse with us, till within the last two or three years. It is not necessary, in this place, to inquire how far we have, during this period, succeeded in our endeavours to remove this distrust. It will be sufficient to observe, what certainly is not to be denied, that, though we, no doubt, have accomplished a good deal, yet we have not inspired them with the degree of confidence necessary to actuate them, before we can reasonably expect to derive all those commercial advantages to which a so-



lid and cordial connection with the Nepaul government seems capable of leading.

By a due and watchful attention, however, to this point, it is highly probable that we shall, sooner or later, attain our object. Perhaps, indeed, no better opportunity for the purpose could possibly offer at any time, than that which presents itself at this moment,

In a letter, delivered to lord Cornwallis by Deena-nath Opadiah, on the eve of his lordship's departure from Bengal, the rajah of Nepaul refers to his vakeel, and to me, for an explanation of his wishes on a certain point, towards the accomplishment of which he solicits his lordship's good offices. The object alluded to, is the obtaining of the pergunnahs of Roodurpoor, Kashipoor, and Kewulpoor, from the vizier, in farm. These pergunnahs constitute the Turrye, or low-lands of Kamaoon, which last belongs to the rajah of Nepaul, and the possession of them, on any terms, is a point that the Nepaul government has very much at heart; the grain they produce being of the utmost consequence to the maintenance of the troops, which the rajah is obliged to keep on foot in the Kemaon quarter. The possession of these districts would also open to them an easier communication with their westernmost frontier than they have at present.

If our government should see no objection to their being gratified in this particular, it is not improbable that they would not only accept it under any stipulations that might be judged necessary, with a political view, to the prevention of future encroachments, or other disagreeable consequences of neighbourhood; but also consent, in return, to the establishment of a commercial intercourse with Tibet, on the plan slightly delineated above; and to the residency of a British minister in Nepaul, for the purpose of watching over the interests of the merchants, of promoting the extension of the trade, and of improving the friendship and good understanding, at present

subsisting between the two governments.

In the different conversations which I have had with the vakeel, on the subject of his court's wishes relative to Kashipoor, &c. and to which application time did not allow lord Cornwallis to give any answer; I have not scrupled to declare, pretty plainly, that I did not see how so delicate a request could be urged, either with propriety or any probability of success, till the mutual confidence, and good understanding, of the two governments should be so firmly and unequivocally established, as totally to remove any sort of reserve. When, his master, I observed, should have manifested the sincerity of his desire to improve his connection with the company, by co-operating, cordially, with the government, in the measures necessary to the effectual introduction of a free commercial intercourse between the two countries, there was nothing which he could reasonably solicit, or the company properly comply with, which he might not hope to obtain.

The vakeel appearing to be convinced by the reasoning, and to be desirous of ascertaining what I conceived remained to be done, for accomplishing the object I had insisted on, I presented him with a paper, of which the following is a translation, and which he promised to transmit immediately to Behadur Shah, seconded by such explanations and arguments as should occur to him on the subject.

In the event of the Nepaul government's manifesting a disposition to enter upon a formal discussion of these propositions, the necessary negotiation may be conducted, either at the presidency, or by the agency of the person whom government may select for the station of resident in Tibet, and who might be deputed to Hatanadu, in the first instance, for the express purpose of settling the new treaty of commerce.

Should the business assume this desirable aspect, it may be necessary to request lord Macartney's exertions



## USEFUL PROJECTS.

towards facilitating the successful operation of the new treaty, which would very materially depend on the conduct which the Chinese government in Tibet should pursue upon the occasion.

Upon the final adjustment of this affair to the satisfaction of our go-

vernment, there are two or three points of inferior importance, in which it would perhaps be right to gratify the rajah of Nepal, but which it is not necessary to state in this place, as I have mentioned them on other occasions to the governor-general.

## COMMERCIAL DEPOSIT.\*

*\* A Plan for admitting the People at large to a participation in the benefits to accrue from the trade of the Country.*

1st. All praise and glory be to the most high God, who, breathing life into a handful of clay, which was before inanimate, gave it the form of man : and who has raised some chosen individuals, (of the species) to rank and power, riches and rule, in order that they might administer to the feeble, the helpless, and the destitute, and promote the welfare of their people.

In pursuance of this duty, we now decree as follows :

2nd. That whosoever shall deposit with you any sum from five to five hundred Immaumies, for the purpose of being employed in traffic (on his account) such person shall be entitled to receive (from you) at the end of the year, together with the principal amount of the said deposit, a profit or increase of half an Immaumy on every Immaumy so deposited or advanced.

3rd. That whosoever shall make a similar deposit of from five hundred to five thousand Immaumies, such person shall, in like manner, be entitled to receive, at the end of a year, together with the principal amount of his advance, a profit thereon of a quarter Immaumy on every Immaumy so deposited.

4th. That every sum exceeding five thousand Immaumies which shall be so deposited, the person making such deposit shall be entitled, at the end of a year, to receive, together with his principal, a profit or increase, to be calculated at the rate of twelve Immaumies on every hundred Immaumies of such principal.

5th. That this regulation shall remain in force from generation to generation.

6th. That whenever any person, making a deposit, of the nature above

\* This singular plan, originating with *Tippu Sultan*, would seem to hold out a liberal encouragement to capitalists of all denominations, who have not the means, from the policy of the government, for employing their money directly in trade. The temptation of 50 per cent. held out by the project, may be expected to have an irresistible effect on the holders of small sums, and to render the subscriptions to the deposit very common. This lure would seem almost indispensable, in order to induce the Mahomedan subject to dispart of his money in this way ; it being contrary to the genius of Mussulmans of every description, to embark in trade ; and diametrically to the spirit of their institutions themselves, to lend out money even at interest, the sword being regarded as the only creditable means of support and advancement of fortune. But though frequent example might tend in time to weaken the prejudices of education and habit, the project would have still to encounter a considerable obstacle in the natural aversion of man to disclose and commit their wealth to the power and possession of a tickle and precarious source of an arbitrary sovereign.



described, shall think proper to apply for the restoration of any part of such deposit, together with the portion of profit which may be due thereon, the same shall be immediately paid to him, without hesitation or dispute, and a receipt for the amount be taken from him.

7. That in the event of the death of any person making a deposit of the nature aforesaid, the heirs and successors of such person shall, on producing certificates (bearing the seal of

the Sircar,) which were granted by the Mulicūt Tōjān department to the deceased, at the time of his making the deposit in question, and on due proof being obtained of their being the rightful claimants, be entitled to receive the amount of the same (principal and profit, without demur or delay.

Then follow some subsidiary regulations, respecting the mode in which the accounts of these transactions were to be kept.

## ARTS, MANUFACTURES AND COMMERCE.

### BENGAL CANVAS.

GENTLEMEN,

Before leaving this port, I think it proper to testify in writing to the superior excellence of some canvas, bearing your stamp, which I accidentally procured in America.

I had a fore-top-mast stay-sail made of it, for the ship *Magdalen*, under my command, which was bent and used during the greater part of the passage out from New York, and in some heavy blows; for durability and firmness of texture, it far exceeds any other we had on board, either of European, or this country manufacture; nor have I ever met with canvas in Europe, or America, that is preferable to it, in my opinion, for beauty and strength.

I have taken some more on trial for the passage home, believing it can be depended on in any situation, and that it will answer my expectations and your recommendations; all of which I shall be happy, at a future time, to acknowledge.

You are at liberty to make the proper use of this letter; if, at any time you

should think it necessary—say, by showing or making it public.

I am, GENTLEMEN, &c.

JAMES WATKINSON.

*Messrs. Kemp and Roberts,*  
*Calcutta, January 20, 1809.*

### INDIGO.

In the present state of English commerce, when the enemy is but too successful in closing the continental ports against us, it is particularly useful to show the advantages and resources which may be derived from our colonies, with a view to encourage efforts towards furnishing articles which may be substituted for those usually derived from foreign and even hostile countries: supplies from whence are alike expensive and precarious. In the year 1806, Britain was almost wholly dependent upon France and Spain for Indigo; \* the imports of this article from the East Indies, at that period, being only 57,000*l.* in value. By subsequent encouragement, the supply from thence has annually

\* It appears from an account published at Paris, in 1770, that in St. Domingo alone about two million *lb.* of indigo annually paid export duty.



increased to such an extent, that in 1809 the quantity was in weight 4,740,920 lbs. and its value 1,105,078*l*. Thus the country is rendered independent of foreign power for a material so necessary to our manufactures.

The following botanical description of three indigo-ferous plants, newly discovered in India, by Dr. W. Roxburgh, of Calcutta, with some incidental account of the manufacture of indigo, and the theory of that production, will be found instructive to some, and interesting to other readers of the Asiatic Annual Register.

• I. *NERIUM*. Linn. *gen. pl. ed. Schreb.* N. 420.

Gen. char. Contorted. corol, funnel-shaped, mouth of the tube with a lacerated crown.

*Follicles*, two pendulous, long, slender, united at apex; seed crowned with a coma.

*Nerium tinctorium*. Roxb.

*Thil-anhaloo*, of the telingas.

*Nerium indicum, siliquis angustis*, &c. Burm. Zeyl. p. 167. t. 77.

*Trunk*, arboreous, erect, short, in full grown old trees from one and a half to two feet in diameter, and from twenty to thirty feet high; but when of that size it is generally full of rotten cavities.

*Branches*, numerous, irregularly disposed, and bent in various directions.

*Branchlets*, opposite, round, smooth, and green.

*Bark*, of the old wood, scabrous, of the young, pretty smooth, and ash-coloured.

*Wood*, white, close-grained, beautiful, approaching the colour and appearance of ivory; the natives employ it for a variety of useful and ornamental purposes; it might answer for furniture in Europe; but it is apt to acquire a bluish tinge towards the centre. They (the Telingas) say, that fault may be corrected by lighting a fire round the tree, and burning off the bark when first felled.

*Leaves*, numerous, opposite, short-petioled, oblong; pointed, pretty smooth, entire, pale green, when full grown from six to ten inches long, and from three to four inches long.

*Stipules*, none.

*Flowers*, about an inch and a half in diameter, when fully expanded perfectly white, fragrant, disposed on lax, globular panicles at the extremities of the branchlets.

*Bractes*, a small oval obo, below each subdivision of the panicle.

*Callyx*, one-leaved; cup-shaped. Border, divided into five equal semi-orbicular permanent segments.

*Corol*, one petalled. Tube, short, somewhat gibbous. Border large, divided into five oblique linear-oblong spreading segments.

*Nectary*, many ramous, white filaments crown the mouth of the tube of the corol.

*Filaments*, five, very short, rigid, inserted on the mouth of the tube, just within the nectary.

*Anthers*, arrow-shaped, rigid, united to one another, laterally forming a fine conical cover for the stigma; their lower parts are inwardly covered with fine white hairs.

*Germ*, two, seemingly united. Style, the length of the tube of the corol. Stigma, double, covered with transparent gluten, by which it adheres to the inside of the anthers.

*Pericarp*, two long, slender, pendulous follicles, united at both ends; singly they are from twelve to twenty inches long, and about as thick as a common pencil, consisting of one valve, which opens length-wise on the inside.

*Seeds*, numerous, long, slender, crowned with a downy tuft, or coma, like those of the thistle,

• This is an elegant middle-sized tree, agreeing perfectly with the genus *nerium* of Linnean sexual system, and from the quality of its leaves may very properly be called *nerium tinctorium*, which may be rendered in English, dyer's rose-bay; it appears to be a new species, coming nearest to *nerium anti-dysentericum*, Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. p. 1236, the tree which yields the Connessi-bark of our materia medica; codaga pala of the hortus malabaricus; pala-cadija of the telingas. They are natives of the lower region of those mountains, which bound the



rajah-mundry cirar directly north from Coringa, and are so much alike, the nectary excepted, that without minute knowledge one may be mistaken for the other; and it is probable the bark of this new *Nerium* may have been gathered and sold for the connessi; to which may be attributed the diarepate that has fallen upon that bark in Europe; for with the natives maintains its name as a specific in most bowel complaints.

The variety which yields the best indigo, grows on the South or sunny side of many hills and mountains in other parts of the Circars, and in the Carnatic, over an extent of above one thousand miles in length, and of uncertain breadth. Near inhabited places it is so often cut for fuel, that in such situations it is almost ever found in the state of a small shrub or large bush: it is only in unfrequented parts that it becomes a tree of any size. The tender branches and young leaves contain a mild milky juice, which flows out on being wounded. But to obtain a large supply of the best leaves for making indigo, it is necessary to keep the trees low, with many shoots from the stump, after the manner of mulberry plantations for feeding silk-worms. In March usually the leaves begin to make their appearance, and soon after them the flowers. By the end of April those that begin to be first unfolded will have attained their full size; this is the proper time to begin gathering for indigo. About the same time it ceases flowering, and many of the seed-vessels are formed; but the seeds are not ripe till January or February. The leaves drop off during the cooler season. The tint the leaves acquired in drying for Dr Roxburgh's horus siccus, some of them happening to be bruised, first induced him to suppose them possessed of colouring matter, which experiments and enquiry have since confirmed.

*II Indigofera, coerulea*; Roxb.

*Carnatic*, of the Telingas.

An erect shrubby plant, found growing on dry, barren, and uncultivated ground, to the height of from one to three feet: when reared in ga-

den soil, considerably larger even 8 or 6. It flowers during the wet and cold seasons; and the seeds are ripe in about three months.

*Stem*, erect, woody, as thick as a man's thumb, or more; perennial branches, many, nearly erect, scattered, straited from the insertions of the eaves, three small ridges running down from each, entirely covered with infinite numbers of short, depressed white hairs, which render the plant quite hoary; these are easily rubbed off, leaving the branches, &c. smooth and green.

*Leaves*, alternate, somewhat bifarious, numerous, approximate, pinnate, with an odd one; about four inches long. *Leaflets*, short-petioled, opposite; from three to five pair, pale green, fleshy; the lower smallest; all are obovate, slightly emarginate, with a minute bristle; above pretty smooth, but pale coloured; many short, oppressed, white hairs cover the underside, which makes it still a fairer green than the upperside; (but nothing like down on any part of the plant) they are from one to two inches long, and about three-quarters thereof in breadth.

*Petioles*, covered with the same small, oppressed, white hairs channelled.

*Stipules*, subulate, small.

*Racemes*, axillary, solitary, sessile, erect, shorter than the leaves, many flowered.

*Flowers*, numerous, small, yellow, and red mixed,

*Calyx*, five-toothed; divisions, short, acute, equal.

*Banner and Keel*, hairy, greenish, yellow; margins of the former involute.

*Wings*, pale rose colour, linear oblong. Processes of the keel remarkably large.

*Legumes* numerous, reflex, falcate, round, short, covered with the same hairs, the branches, &c. are contracted between the seeds.

*Seeds*, generally three, smooth, like those of indigo tinctoria.

From the leaves of this plant has been extracted a most beautiful light indigo, by committing them,



fresh, to cold water, and scalding them over a moderate fire, to about 160° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The liquor will then have attained a deep greenish yellow colour. It is then strained off clear, and while hot, gently agitated in a broad shallow open vessel for twenty or thirty minutes, during which time it changes its colour, gradually becoming darker and more turbid; when sufficiently agitated, it a little of it be viewed in a bright silver spoon, or any other vessel that reflects the light, a muddiness, or minute grains, may be easily seen; which are rendered large and copious, by the addition of a little lime water; in which state they readily fall to the bottom. The super-incumbent liquor is then poured off, and will be of a clear brandy colour, more or less according as the operation has been successfully conducted; for the more this liquor is tinged with green, the less perfectly has the colouring matter been separated, and the produce proportionally deficient in quantity and quality. How to effect the most perfect precipitation is the grand desideratum for the manufacturer, and well deserves the chemist's attention.

### III. *Asclepias tinctoria*. Roxb.

*Taroom-akkar*, of Sumatra. Marsden.

*Root*, ramous, &c. as in most other plants of a similar habit.

*Stem*, short, crooked, and much swelled at the joints; in old plants as thick as a man's wrist.

*Bark*, dirty olive colour, with small lighter-coloured scabrous specks.

*Branches*, twining when long, and leaning or scandent when short; their bark smoother than on the stem; young shoots round, and somewhat villous. When wounded, a clear pale, yellowish green liquid exudes, which soon thickens into the consistence of jelly; but in dry weather quickly evaporates, leaving scarcely a trace of its existence behind. When the tender shoots or leaves are bruised, such parts become livid; a sign of the presence of indigo.

*Leaves*, opposite, petioled, narrow-ovate, obtuse or pointed, slightly villous; from four to 9

inches long, and from 2° to 6 broad. There are many small subulent glands on the upper side, close to the insertion of the petiole; these while young yield a waxy substance.

*Petioles*, round, from one to two inches long.

*Stipules*, none. *Thyrses*, solitary, axillary, or between the leaves, peduncled; as they become old interrupted, from their increasing length.

*Flowers*, numerous, pedicelled, very small, yellow.

*Bractes*, minute. *Lvs.* five-leaved.

*Corol*, funnel form. *Tube*, gibbous, rather longer than the nectary and organs of fructification; mouth shut, with long silver-coloured hairs, which form a conic dome, round the apex of the common stigma.

*Border*, flat, and cut into five oblique segments.

*Nectary*, sheathing the fructification as in the other species of this extensive genus.

*Anthers*, five pair, and connected by as many short, fine, but firm filaments to the five small, sharp, hard, black angles of the common stigma; their form is obliquely oval, like the body of a chemical retort, while the filaments represent its neck.

*Germes*, two superior. *Styles*, two, short. *Stigmas*, proper, two, they are lodged in the base of the common stigma (*corpus truncatum*) of Linné which is of a succulent spongy nature.

*Pericarp*, none have yet been seen ripe by Dr. Roxburgh: the plants being raised from slips or cuttings, which accounts for the seed not ripening, but he has little doubt of their being follicles.

This stately, useful perennial creeper was introduced from Sumatra, into the East India company's botanic garden, at Calcutta, previous to the year 1793, and it is presumed, by the late colonel R. Kyd, from thence it has been distributed in Hindostan, St. Helena, Europe, and America. At Calcutta and at Samukota it blossoms during the rains, but does not ripen its seeds at either place.

Indigo has been extracted from it by nearly the same process employed with No. II.



The leaves of No. I. were first sent to England in the year 1790, accompanied by the following letter addressed to Mr. E. Hay, secretary to the government

" Sir,—Enclosed is an extract of a letter, dated 8th of June, 1790, from Dr. Roxburgh, at Samulcutta, accompanying a specimen of Indigo obtained from the leaves of a tree, native of the lower regions of the mountainous tract forming the Raiah-mundri frontier. This, in the estimation of Messrs. Harris and Haven, promises to become a valuable acquisition, and its value farther enhanced by the consideration of its rising in a sandy or sterile soil. That from being perennial (like the Sumatran species) and attaining the stature of a tree, affording a permanent stock and resource against the devastations and failure to which the cultivation of the ordinary annual species are from their nature exposed in disastrous seasons. From Dr. R.'s description of this tree, it appears to be of the genus, *Nerium*, and will probably be found on our south-west frontier.

" Of the seeds received, part have been sent to the collectors of Bhaagulpur and Gio, and some hundred plants are now raising in the company's garden; so that we shall be enabled to avail ourselves of this additional resource by a general distribution, to the several indigo planters within the provinces, of which public notice may be given, to take place during the present season; by the month of August we shall also be enabled to obtain a comparative estimate of its productive qualities, with the other species now in use

" Should the avocations of administration permit an official examination of the situation and soil of the hilly tract on which the residence of the collectorship of Hidjelli is situated, as described in the diary of the tour through part of that tract in the year 1780, submitted on the occasion of an imperfect attempt to examine its maritime productions, it will be perceived that that uncommonly situated region is peculiarly adapted to the

cultivation of this species of indigo. But I learn from the collector, that the greatest part of this province, (although in extent between 20 and 20 cosa) is productive of little or no revenue to the self-called possessor, the Ranni of ———; but I am wandering from the only subject which can entitle me to occupy the attention of the board—the report of a new species of indigo brought under notice by the discernment and researches of Dr. Roxburgh, and I crave pardon for a digression from the subject into which I have been involuntarily led. I have the honor to be, &c."

In consequence, a paper was printed in Calcutta, by authority, containing a clear and satisfactory account of the method of making indigo from the plant, indigo-fera tinctoria, as practised at Singtoda, near Malda.

On St Helena and the West Indian islands, there is great abundance of soil and situation favourable to the culture of this tree, viz. hills, and the inferior regions of mountains, where there is little else than rocks, stones, and the most barren soil; such being the habitation where it is mostly found in Hindostan. It has been ascertained that the natives of Vizagapatam and Ganjam, and also of other districts in Carnataka, have been long acquainted with the quality of its leaves. Dr. P. Russel wrote to Dr. Roxburgh from England that among the papers of the late Dr. G. Campbell, who was a surgeon on the Madras establishment, and died of wounds received in the battle between colonel Baillie's detachment and Haider Aali, in 1780, there was found mention of the tree, and that the natives made indigo from its leaves.

In India, as has been already observed, the leaves begin to be fit for manufacturing in the month of April; but they have been found to yield a better colour in May and June, which is the hottest time of the year. (In the shade the thermometer during the heat of the day, is generally about 100° and often rises to 115°, if exposed to the sun. On the rocky soil where the *Nerium* grows, it ranges from 140° to 150°; an astonishing heat for vegeta-



tion 1). About the end of August the growth of the plant begins to draw towards a close for the season; the leaves, acquiring a yellowish rusty colour, soon fall off, without being succeeded by others, or in a trifling degree till next season, so that with the plants in a wild state the length of the season for making indigo therefrom in India, can only be reckoned at five months in the year. The leaves raised from seed in a garden did not yield colour till several years old, and then but in small degree, and of a quantity inferior to the old wild plants in their natural soil. It is the same with the young plantations in Bengal. If the leaves are culled from the middle part of the shoots, the indigo is better than when they are taken promiscuously. Nothing like indigo could ever be extracted from the tender shoots of the *Nerium*, when deprived of their leaves; as is not the case with the common indigo plant. The leaves being collected, for instance on the preceding day, are put into coppers, full, but not pressed down, and then the vessels are filled with cold, hard clear water, to within two or three inches of the brim, which space must be left to allow for the bulk enlarging by heat, fully as much as in the common indigo vat by fermentation. The fire is then lighted, which must be maintained rather briskly till the liquor acquires a deep green colour when viewed in the vessel; but if taken up and poured out, it will appear of a pale bright greenish yellow; the leaves will begin to assume the same colour, and the heat of the liquor will be from 150 to 160 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale. The mass must be constantly stirred, or the bottom will be over-scalded before the surface be ready; the motion, moreover, serves to expel the fixed air, which forwards the operation. The fire must be withdrawn or suffered to die away; and all the liquor must be drawn off through a hair-cloth into the agitation vat, where it must, while hot, be agitated in the common way, for half an hour, when it must be mixed with from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  of strong marine water, prepared in a contiguous cistern, which is

to produce granulation and precipitation. The supernatant liquor is then let off, and the rest of the process conducted like that of the common fermented indigo.

If the process has been properly conducted, the liquor will run of a Madeira wine colour, and the produce of indigo, when dry, will average about 1lb. from every 250lbs. of the green leaves; but this proportion will vary according to weather and season. The operation on a large scale is susceptible of being performed three times a day, as the scalding requires only about three hours, and the agitation, &c. not more: so that by the time the former is completed, the fecula of the preceding brewing is nearly ready for removal from the agitation vat into a small cistern for mixture and precipitation. The liquor is finally withdrawn by scuppers, and the fecula put into bags to drain.

M. de Cosigny, in his treatise on indigo, recommends washing the moist fecula with warm water, in which a small quantity of *Nitric acid* has been mixed. Marine acid may answer the same purpose, but as it is weaker, a larger quantity must be used. Nitrous acid has not been found to answer so well, and it rendered this indigo porous.

Any quantity of *Nerium indigo* can be produced in the districts already mentioned, where 280 works, each making 4000lbs in the season, would give a million for the whole, which may fairly be valued at two rupees, or five shillings per lb. The preceding calculation is by no means exaggerated, and to the extent of the *Nerium* district on the coast of Coromandel, may be added the Malabar coast; information having been received that Dr. H. Scott, of Bombay, had discovered the same plant upon the island of Salset.

These foregoing observations lead to recommending to our colonial manufacturers not only to turn their attention to *Nerium*, the preparation of which may be carried on alternately with that of common indigo, the seasons for each being different, but moreover to adopt the scalding process, generally in preference to that of fermentation.



Besides the superior quality of the indigo so obtained, that process presents, amongst others, the following comparative advantages :—

1. The produce is larger. 2. The health of the labourer is not endangered by the effluvia of putrid miasma. 3. The heat, expelling most of the fixed air, renders a small degree of agitation, and little of the precipitant necessary. 4. The operation is susceptible of frequent repetition. 5. The indigo dries quickly without acquiring a bad smell. 6. Indigo so prepared, has not the flinty appearance common to fermented indigo; but in softness and levity is equal, or even superior, to Spanish Flora.

The useful publication\* from whence this account of Nerium has

been abridged, contains also the description of a new species of *Asclepias*, from the leaves of which the Burmah people are said to extract a green dye; being a large twining, shrubby plant, brought from Pegu to the botanic garden at Calcutta, in 1795, by Dr. Buchanan, which Dr. Roxburgh names *Asclepias tingens*. Observing, however, that his experiments to obtain the colour above-mentioned failed of success, possibly from want of sufficient information. Some other communications from that scientific person, contained in the same book, and relating to medical productions of India, are very valuable, and well deserve republication in this Register; but the requisite space being wanting, they are reluctantly omitted.

## HYDROGRAPHY.

### SCARBOROUGH SHOAL.

A very intelligent nautical gentleman gives the following account of this shoal, explored in April, 1806, by Don Francisco Reguelme, captain and brigadier in the Spanish navy, then in command of the *Lucia* frigate, and three gun boats, sent on the service by admiral Don Ignacio de Alava, which stationed at Manilla.

#### *Situation of the Shoal.*

North point of the Shoal,	15	18	40
South ditto, ditto,	15	04	00
East } to westward of }	3	06	40
West } the meridian of }	3	16	15
Manilla,			

distance from the nearest land of Luconia, which is Point Lapon 129 miles.

The situation may be depended upon, having been determined by several astronomical observations.

The extent of the shoal from north to south is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles,—from east to west  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles; is surrounded with rocks, few of which are above water, and is so steep, that soundings cannot be got, when almost touching them. The other three shoals, laid down in all the charts along the coast of Luconia, called north and south Marroona, (or the double-headed shot) Marangole, and the Mirabole, do not exist. There is only, along shore, the Baguatan, or Iba Shoal, on which one Portuguese, two Spanish vessels, and, lately, the *Greyhound*, were lost.

\* Transactions of the Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce vol. xxviii.



## UNKNOWN REEF.

The ship *Hebe*, captain Leigh, which sailed from Calcutta, on the 24th of March, 1808, was wrecked on the 15th of June last, on an unknown reef, in Bass's Strait, off Port Dalrymple, Van Dieman's Island, the commander, and all the crew, except one *Lascar*, were saved.

The following is the bearing of the Shoal, as detailed by captain Leigh to lieutenant-governor Patterson.

"The reef on which the *Hebe* struck, and was the occasion of her loss, bears from the flag-staff, on Point Clarence, west three-fourths north, by compass, about five miles distant, and may extend farther to sea; the *Hebe*, it is supposed, went over the middle of it; it is very dangerous, never being dry, though at low water spring tides, the water is discoloured over it. The *Hebe* was on it at the top of high water, drawing thirteen feet, and had not less than two fathoms and a half, the swell being rather high; it has no connection with the Western Reef, but bears from it about north by west true, suppose two miles distant; the outer breakers on the Western Reef, bear from the flag-staff west per compass: Mr. Flinders's bearing being the same.

## CUMBERIAN'S SHOAL.

JULY 26, 1809.—Returning by the eastern passage from China, at noon, observed, in latitude 21. 46. north

longitude, per chronometer 121. 25. east, with a light easterly breeze, stood to the southward; and at five P. M. saw an extensive reef of breakers, from the poop, running in a W. N. W. and E. S. E. direction, as near as we could judge same time, Tobago Xmas bore N. by E. to N. by W. the small island, off ditto, N. by E. the breakers E. by N. to E. S. E. latitude 21. 34. N. and longitude, by sights taken at the time, 121. 30. E. our distance, from the nearest part, about four miles. We could plainly perceive rocks among the breakers: stood to the southward until two A. M. when we tacked and stood N. E. at half past three A. M. Tobago Xmas N. by W. to N. by W.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W.; the small island just shut on with the S. E. end of the large one: the two northern breakers S. 25 E. to S. 32 E.; the eastern extremes of the breakers then in sight from the poop, W. N. W. distance five miles, longitude, by sights at the time, 121. 46. E. latitude, by account, 21. 23. N.

This shoal appears a narrow strip, running in an eastern and western direction, its west end 121. 34 east, longitude 21. 34 north latitude, east end 121. 41.; the longitude is deduced from that of the northern Basee allowed in 121. 58.; latitude, from the observations of the succeeding and preceding moons, taken by four observers each time, and allowance made for the current experienced between both.

## PARACELS.

*Extract of a letter from a gentleman on board the Discovery.*

In March last we left Macao, with an intention of ascertaining the St. Esprit Bank, cruising about for it several days, particularly in those ports laid down by Hornburgh, &c. without effect, it began to blow a fresh gale from the north-east which induced Mr. B. to push for the Paracels so as to be there in the fair months: it being of more consequence to have them surveyed; and, if possible, to ascertain

every shoal this season. On the 16th of March, in the evening, we made the Amphitrite Islands, forming the northern-most of the Paracels, they are very low with a cocoa-nut tree on the centre of the western-most one. They are formed of white sand and coral, the surface of which is covered with low brush-wood; they bear a great resemblance to some of the islands of the Red Sea, particularly



the Asakows, all of them are surrounded with steep banks of coral, and most of the anchorage is hard sand and rocks; there are few islands which afford good water sufficient for small vessels; the principal ones are the Lincoln, and one called Woody Island, which lies to the eastward of the Amphitrites, at eight miles distance, and is covered with a high jungle; there the fishermen have pitched a few huts for a temporary residence, while they remain here, about half the year, gathering Beech-de-mar, which is a black thick ugly worm; this the Chinese use as a great luxury for making their soups.

In approaching the Amphitrites we descried a large junk, apparently wrecked on a spit of rocks running off the eastern-most of these islands, on which were several Chinese running along the beech waving flags, and beckoning to us, as we supposed; to render them assistance. We stood within half a mile of the island, trying to gain soundings, but could not at the depth of ninety fathoms; it soon after coming on to blow a double-reefed topsail breeze, which obliged us to work off for the night, before we could have any communication with the people.

The next day it continuing to blow fresh, we bore away, and stood to leeward of the islands, gained soundings of forty fathoms a few miles to leeward of them. When near the wreck, we anchored in fifteen fathoms, and sent boats on shore; the poor half-starved wretches were fighting to get to the boats, and it required some trouble, at first, to prevent their overloading them. On the 20th they were all shipped on board the vessel, 360 in the Discovery, and 300 in the Antelope. We gave up our birth to them, and they were crammed into every hole and corner,—the Junk was one of the largest that sails out of China, having upwards of 600 men on board. About the 25th, left the island in a junk, fourteen of whom survived, and arrived in a very weak state at Turon,—several of them, according to

their own information, died; but we could not find any vestiges of them; they had been driven ashore in a northerly gale, two or three days before we relieved them; and their only substance was a few dried fruit, but not a drop of fresh water.

On account of these circumstances Mr. R. postponed the survey till we landed them at Turon, a port on the Cochín China coast, at the distance of 120 miles from the Amphitrites. We were six days getting there; at this place we laid in a large stock of vegetables for the crew, watered the vessels, and again proceeded to finish the survey. After examining the Felidor shoal, and others we fell in with, which you will see by Rup's charts of the islands, and will convey a better idea to you than the confined period of time will allow us to describe.

At Woody Island Mr. R. hired a fisherman as pilot; this man has been among these islands, on and off, for twenty-five years, and is well acquainted with the situation of the whole; he informed us of several shipwrecks, and the means of saving the people.—He mentioned, and accurately described, the Comet and Intrepid to Mr. Ross, and, informed us of his having seen these vessels touching at the Amphitrites for water, which some of the boats lying there supplied them with. He told Mr. Ross that the vessels were manned with Europeans and Natives; that the last port they left was Malacca, and that it was their intention of again returning to that port.

After leaving the Amphitrites they, according to our supposition, were lost, off some of the Coral Banks, nearly even with the water's edge in blowing whether, and every soul perished. Towards the latter end of May, after examining the Lincoln southward, and Triton Bank, we proceeded to the coast, as the southerly monsoon began to set in, too fresh for us to work, with safety, down to Sapara, so far out to leeward; on the coast, we experienced very strong tides against us and light airs; at last



were under the necessity of putting back to Turon, and water the vessels. In June, we again left this port and worked down the coast: on the 21st, we fell in with a gentleman, who was to procure us boats, and use his interest with the king of Cochin China, in forwarding our prospects on the survey: he fitted our boats at Saigon for the shoaling parties and expeditions, but, as we could not work down so far against the monsoon, they could

not be of any service to us; the next day we put into a harbour, called Mestrang, and procured a little refreshment for the people. On the 25th, we left this place for Macao M—, proceeded up the coast, to join the king, as most of his Native factories had rebelled, and were assisted, by a very large fleet of Ladrans. On the 4th of July we anchored in the Typa.



# POETRY.

## ODE.\*

ON THE FALL OF THE KING AND KINGDOM OF BABYLON; translated from Bishop Lowth's *Prælectiones Academicæ*. Præl. 28, by Mr. G. Dyer.

And does yon haughty empire prostrate  
how?  
Does the world's queen in vulgar ruins  
lie?  
Must she disrob'd her lordly state forego?  
Who liv'd in glory, now inglorious die?

II.  
See headlong from his throne the TYRANT  
hurl'd!  
Shatter'd his strength, and crush'd his  
iron rod;  
Vasptying once who taught the states to  
groan,  
Now droops himself, the just-avenger God.

III.  
Kne'd of her burden, how around the earth  
Exulta, and sings thro' all her peaceful  
plains!  
Well suit the sprightly song, the boundless  
mirth,  
Where peace returns, where sacred free-  
dom reigns.

IV.  
Where Libanus uplifts his stately brow,  
Secure the cedar smiles, and vaunting  
cries,  
Beneath thy stroke the woods no longer bow;  
The spoiler's hand in earth enfeebled lies.

V.  
At thine approach I hear a solemn sound,  
For NADES trembles thro' each silent  
tomb;†  
Dead tyrants quit their thrones, and all  
around  
Flock in black troops, and triumph at  
thy doom.

VI.  
Art thou too, brother, come, each tyrant  
cries,  
Spoil'd of thy strength, and humbled in  
thy pride?  
With hollow ghastly looks, and sightless  
eyes.  
Brother in guilt, and now by death allied.

\* It would, perhaps, be difficult to find in the whole range of eastern poetry a finer composition than this ode. It is equally removed from all littleness and all bombast; and thus it has been characterized by critics on ancient poetry, particularly by Bishop Lowth, in the work whence this is taken, and by Sir William Jones, in his *Comment. Poeses Asiaticæ*.

† The reader may notice the same character of classical imitation in this passage, as in Milton's,—

———— thick and gloomy shadows damp,  
Oft seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres.

MASK AT LUDLOW CASTLE.

Bishop Lowth and Mason have here followed too nearly the idiom and doctrine of the Greek and Latin poets. The idiom and doctrine of Isaiah scarcely admit of "excivit umbra," as Lowth translates it; or of "shadowy heroes," and "sitting shadows light and vain," as Mason renders it: *See his Ode*. The original requires the translation to be "all the great ones," or "mighty dead," and all the leaders of the earth, or something of the like kind; but the fabulous manes of the Greek and Latin poets correspond not with the character of this Ode. The above passage must be illustrated from the mode of sepulture practised among the rich and noble Jews; which has been well explained by Bishop Lowth in reference to this very ode. Præl. VII.

Bishop Lowth himself, in his English prose version on this ode has adopted more accurate and appropriate language. See Lowth on Isaiah, chap. xiv. and a new translation of Isaiah by a layman, where Bishop Lowth's translation is often corrected and improved.



## VII.

Where now the crowd, that once compos'd  
thy train,  
The trumpets' clangour, and the softer  
lyre?  
Night, deep as hades, darkens all the plain,  
And silence reigns around, and horrors  
dire.

## VIII.

Yet not alone thou treadst those dreary  
climes:  
How round thy course the busy vergin  
stray!  
How do they rint on thy mangled limbs!  
Thy carrying they? thyself the hapless  
prey!

## IX.

Son of the morn, pride of the lucid train;  
No more shall rise again thy splendid star!  
How art thou fall'n whose unrelenting  
chain  
Dragg'd vassal nations trembling at thy  
car!

## X.

Once thou could'st boast, I'll scale the lofty  
skies.  
And from the mountain of God's pre-  
sence frown.  
Ev'n where the axon in awful distance lies,  
There will I fix secure my stately throne.

## XI.

Beneath my feet the stars shall soon be prest;  
I'll rule a God, amidst the frozen pole;  
Touch'd by my hand th' obedient earth  
shall rest;  
Or it: gay course in peaceful order roll.

## XII.

Where now thy mighty works, proud  
boaster, where?  
Death's iron hand has clos'd thy wretched  
eyes;  
Death's iron hand has thrust thee down, and  
there  
In the low pit the prostrate tyrant lies.

## XIII.

Haply some future traveller here may stray,  
And view thy carcase on the pathless  
shore,  
In speechless gaze; but when, on near survey,  
Thy well-known features he shall ponder  
o'er;

## XIV.

Straight he will say; is this th' heroic man?  
Stumbers the woud'ring world's dread  
spoiler here?  
Terror and rout mov'd foremost in his van;  
And carriage with destruction clos'd his  
van.

## XV.

The necks of kings, that never knew to  
yield,  
Bow'd to his yoke, and wore his rig'rous  
chain;  
And while rude slaughter ravag'd o'er the  
field,  
How did he trample over nations slain!

## XVI.

Princes and tyrants, and the powerful trains  
That lead their battles not inglorious;  
Some pitying honours grace their last  
remains,  
And with their aires in peaceful state they  
lie!

## XVII.

Yet were to thee the last sad rites unpaid;  
The meager boon of common earth denied;  
Thrust from the chambers of the mighty  
dead,  
Low lies thy head, to vulgar dust allied.

## XVIII.

By thee depress'd, thy wretched country  
sigh'd;  
By thee depress'd, thy nearer blood com-  
plain'd;  
While all around the captive nations cried,  
"Dire was the day when first the tyrant  
reign'd."

## XIX.

Nor yet to thee shall vengeance  
Thy guiltless sons shall bear the fathers  
share;  
One common ruin shall o'erwhelm thy kind,  
Last future triumphs, raise thy sinking  
name.

## XX.

Thou haughty city, hear th' Almighty swear:  
From (time's) unsullied roll thou soon  
shalt die;  
Thy kindred too, thine infamy shall share,  
Inglorious live, and soon forgotten lie.

## XXI.

Where Babylon now lifts her towering pride,  
There beasts shall howl, and lonesome  
birds complain;  
Her head in ruin whelm'd she soon shall hide,  
Shall soon appear one stagnant marshy  
plain.

## XXII.

Hear Israel's God the dread decree relate,  
And sacred shall Jehovah's counsel be;  
His thought is order and his word is fate,  
And stand an everlasting boundary.

## XXIII.

Soon on my mount I lift mine arm on high,  
Headlong will hurl th' Assyrian tyrant  
down;  
Eas'd of their yoke, no more the states  
shall sigh;  
Eas'd of their yoke, no more my people  
groan.



## XXIV.

Jehovah speaks; and what superior power  
His word, once utter'd, knows to render  
vain?

He lifts his arm:—What mortal may restore  
The monarch's strength, and God's right  
hand restrain?

When the young bridled lion couches low,  
What daring beast shall rouse the slum-  
b'ring king?  
Soon would his breast with wild repentment  
glow,  
And the wild forest with deep howlings ring.  
Who, blest thee, himself shall blessings see;  
But ruin seize the wretch, who ruin wishes  
thee!

## BĀLAAM'S PROPHECY.

NUMBERS.---CHAP. XXIV.

*Imitated from Bishop Lowth de Sacra  
Poesi Hebræorum Prælect. xx. By  
Mr. G. Dyer.*

Happy, thrice happy, Jacob, heaven's de-  
light!

Around thy tents what various beauties  
shine!

Rich vales, fair-opening on the ravish'd sight,  
And gardens, cheer'd by living brooks,  
are thine.

Along thy silver streams and peaceful vales,  
See beauteous trees in lovely order rise!

Here the soft balsam sweetens vernal gales!  
There the proud cedar meets the bending  
skies!

For thee each blossom drops with balmy  
dews;

For thee rich streams the nursing fruits  
befriend;

Thy king has bless'd thy plains, and curs'd  
thy foes,  
And still will curse thy foes, thy plains  
extend.

On Nile's proud banks thy God his power  
display'd,

And brought thee conqueror from thy  
humbled foe;

Erect with manly zeal, and heavenly aid,  
With generous pride how did thy bosom  
glow!

Thus have I seen across some distant hill,  
With flying feet the mountain oryx glide;

Wanton and free he mov'd at large, and still  
His towering horns he wav'd with con-  
scious pride.

Soon shall thy foes their barb'rous schemes  
deplore;

Soon their vile corners round thy tents be  
spread;

Shatter'd their spears shall lie, and wound  
no more;

No more infect thy tents, and fill thy  
plains with dead.

*Burning of an Hindoo Woman.*

*Mr. Robert Southey's Curse of Kalam.*

[Woe! woe! Nealliny

The young Nealliny!

They strip her ornaments away,

Bracelet and tanklet, ring, and chain,  
and zone;

Around her neck they leave

The marriage knot alone,—

That marriage band, which when

You waning moon was young,

Around her virgin neck

With bridal joy was hung.

Then with white flowers, the coronal of  
death,

Her jetty locks they crown.

O sight of misery!

You cannot hear her cries—all other  
sound,

In that wild dissonance is drown'd;—

But in her face you see

The supplication and the agony,—

See in her swelling throat the desperate  
strength,

That with vain effort struggles yet for  
life; [strife,

Her arms contracted now in fruitless

Now wildly at full length

Towards the crowd in vain for pity  
spread,—

They force her on, they bind her to the  
dead.

Then all around retire;

Circling the pile, the ministering Bramins  
stand,

Each lifting in his hand a torch on fire.

Alone the father of the dead advanced,

And lit the funeral pyre.

At once on every side

The circling torches drop:

At once on every side

The fragrant oil is pour'd;

At once on every side

The rapid flames rush up.

Then hand in hand the victim band

Roll in the dance around the funeral  
pyre;

Their garments flying folds

Float inward to the fire.



In drunken whirl they wheel around;  
One drops;—another plunges in;  
And still with overwhelming din,  
The tambours and the trumpets sound;  
And clap of hand and shout, and cries,  
From all the multitude arise:  
While round and round, in giddy wheel,  
Intoxicate they roll and reel,  
Till one by one whirl'd in they fall,  
And the devouring flames have swal-  
low'd all.

Faithful defender, and the eye of right,  
Of steeds the ruler, and of life the light:  
With sounding whip four fiery steeds you  
guide,  
When in the car of day you glorious ride.  
Propitious on these mystic labours shine,  
And bless thy suppliants with a life di-  
vine.

30

## TO THE SUN.

FROM

## THE HYMNS OF PROCLUS.

*Translated by Mr. Thomas Taylor.*

HEAR golden Titan, whose eternal eye,  
With broad survey illumines all the sky:  
Self-born, unwearied in diffusing light,  
And to all eyes the mirror of delight:  
Lord of the seasons, with thy fiery car,      5  
And leaping coursers, beaming light from far:  
With thy right hand\* the source of morning  
light.

And with thy left the father of the night.  
Agile and vig'rous, venerable Sun,  
Fiery and bright around the heav'ns you  
run;      10

Foe to the wicked, but the good man's guide,  
O'er all his steps propitious you preside:  
With various sounding golden lyre, 'tis thine  
To fill the world with harmony divine.

Father of ages, guide of prosperous deeds,      15  
The world's commander, borne by lucid  
steeds,

Immortal Jove, all-searching, bearing light,  
Source of existence, pure and fiery bright:  
Bearer of fruit, Almighty lord of years,  
Agile and warm, whom every power re-  
veres;      20

Great eye of nature and the starry skies,  
Doom'd with immortal flames to set and rise:  
Dispensing justice, lover of the stream,  
The world's great despot, and o'er all  
supreme.

\* Ver. 7.] *With thy right hand, &c.* Proclus in lib. vi. Theol. Plat. p. 360, says, that those who are skilled in divine concerns, attribute two hands to the sun; denominating one the right hand, the other the left.

† Ver. 17.] *Immortal Jove.* According to the Orphic and Platonic philosophers, the sun is the same in the sensible, as Apollo in the intellectual world.

The worship of the sun, was the ground of the fire worship so prevalent in the East, concerning which, see Mr. Bryant's *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*; and Mr. Maurice's *Ode to Myrrha*, in his *Indian antiquities*. The emperor Julian also, who was a disciple of the same philosophy, has an address to the sovereign sun.

‡ These lines are taken from Carlyle's specimens, who thus accounts for the occasion of them: "The Sultan having conceived a passion for the princess of the blood royal, gave such public marks of the preference he entertained for her, that the ladies of the harem took alarm, and resolved to rid themselves of the object of their jealousy, by means of poison. Said Addaulet obtained intelligence of their design, and determined to prevent it by transporting the princess to a castle at some distance from Aleppo—while she remained in solitude the following verses were addressed to her."

§ *India* is considered as the most elegant of the Persian poets, and has been compared, not very imply, perhaps, to Horace. By some he has been considered licentious, while others

## SAIF ADDAULET, —

*Sultan of Aleppo,*

TO

## HIS FAVOURITE MISTRESS.†

I saw their jealous eye-balls roll,  
I saw them mark each glance of mine,  
I saw thy terrors, and my soul  
Shar'd ev'ry pang that tortur'd thine.

In vain to wean my constant heart,  
Or quench my glowing flame, they strove;  
Each deep-laid scheme, each envious art,  
But wak'd my fears for her I love.

'Twas this compell'd the stern decree  
That forc'd thee to those distant towers,  
And left me nought but love for thee,  
'To cheag my solitary hours.

Yet let not Ahla sink deprest,  
Nor asperation's pangs deplore;  
We meet not—'tis to meet more blest;  
We part—'tis to part no more.

## ON LOVE OF PLEASURE.

*Translated from Hafiz.*

By MR. G. DYER.

Sweet are the meads; the social friend is  
sweet;

May then the rose's season, lovely May,  
Propitious prove! for I would still be gay  
With wine's true lovers, and, as virtuous,  
great



Morning's sweet breath; and, tho' the rose so  
 fleet  
 Hastens to death, and tho' the nightingale  
 Is hush'd, still other warblers shall  
 prevail,  
 And other flow'rs shall wag on near my feet.  
 Yes! all a love-lorn wanderer's path shall  
 cheer:

For from the lily's upright head I learn  
 To rise with honest joy, duteous to hear  
 Pleasure's high call: burn Hafez, Hafez  
 burn,  
 With love of pleasure; but let worldlings  
 know.  
 Their pleasures are not thine, nor can the  
 world bestow.

have defended him on the ground of that double sense, of which the Eastern poetry is often susceptible. Sir William Jones notices more particularly Hafez's poetry as capable of this occult meaning. (See Jones Poes. Asiat. Comment; Part 2d, cap. x.) and many writers interpret the Song of Solomon according to a twofold sense, one literal, the other allegorical.

A full account of Hafez's poetry may be seen in Sir W. Jones's Poes. Asiat. Comment. Mr. Scott Waring, in his tour to Sheeraz, speaks of it as follows:—

"The poetry of Hafez is quite singular; it bears little affinity to the productions of his predecessors. The Ghazals of Sadee, are forced and constrained; those of Hafez simple and unaffected. There is a wildness, and often a sublimity in Hafez, which is not to be met with in any other Persian poet. The suddenness of his transitions from the theme of love and wine, to reflections upon the instability of all human enjoyments, are extremely beautiful, and in this particular greatly resemble many of the odes of Horace."



## ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

VOYAGES and TRAVELS to INDIA, CEYLON, the RED SEA, ABYSSINIA, and EGYPT, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806. By GEORGE, VISCOUNT VALENTIA.

THOUGH, perhaps, these splendid volumes of voyages and travels may not answer some people's expectations, in various matters of literature and taste, and may appear to others defective, if perused merely for amusement, yet they possess considerable importance. They traverse a great extent of sea and country, part of which has been little explored before. If they do not abound with the literary discoveries, or literary embellishments, of which some may think the subject admits, we need only suppose, and without meaning any degradation, that Lord Valentia is not a Sir William Jones; and candidly admit, that what would seem in place as learned dissertations in Asiatic researches, might appear as an incumbrance in a nobleman's journal. Still they present us with much useful, practical observation: and though in some matters of mere form and etiquette, there is often too much parade and egotism, still the manners and costume of a country should not be overlooked by a traveller, and a little trifling may be endured in a noble lord. The first volume is confined to India: we shall present our readers with a summary of its contents.

The first chapter describes Lord Valentia's arrival at Madeira, and gives an account of the island, its plants, trade, &c. The author passes the line, arrives at St. Helena's, and describes his tour up the country; the Isle of St. Paul, Nicobar Islands, and his arrival in the Hoogly River. Being strongly impressed with a conviction of the importance of the Cape of Good Hope, as a settlement to Great Britain; as indeed every one must, he expresses himself accordingly, with

some force, on the subject. We shall make a short extract from this part, relating to the treatment of the Hottentots, and to the importance of the Cape, as a naval station, to this country.

"Of the Hottentots the inhabitants are almost equally afraid. This inoffensive race, who formerly were only mentioned as sunk in sloth, drunkenness, and bestiality, have been brought forward, since the British possessed the colony, in a new and very different point of view. A large number of them have been embodied, and taught European tactics; in consequence of which it has been discovered that they are intelligent, active, faithful, and brave; and that their former vices were owing to the Dutch, who, taking advantage of the inclination which all uncivilized nations have for spirits, had destroyed their strength by encouraging intoxication, and then degraded their minds by the most abject slavery. The cruelties exercised by the boors on these defenceless beings exceed all credibility. Brigadier General Vandeleur assured me, that he had himself pushed aside the musquet of a boor, when in the act of levelling it at a Hottentot; at which the monster was extremely indignant, and, after much reproach, finished by asking him, whether he meant also to prevent his shooting his slaves? It is astonishing that the Hottentots have so long submitted to the tyranny of their masters; and one cannot be surprised that the latter now feel alarmed, when a large body of the former are well disciplined, and have arms in their hands. Yet, from all I have learned of the gentleness of



the Hottentot character, I believe that their fears are groundless, and that they will receive no injury unless they become the aggressors. If, indeed, the British should attack the Cape again, I have no doubt that the Hottentot corps would be rejected to join a nation, to whom they are indebted for their liberation. The designs of the extraordinary man who rules over France, and who seems to place no bounds to his ambition but the empire of the world, in my opinion, render the Cape of particular importance. Whether it may be his object first to attack the British power in India, or to secure the Spanish possessions in South America, the Cape will become an important position for the attainment of either. He can there, during peace, collect, by small degrees, a force that may at the commencement, or even before a declaration of war, fall with an irresistible force on his unsuspecting prey. The salubrity of the air will season his soldiers, and enable them to bear the heat of a tropical climate; and until they shall be wanted, they may be maintained at a much smaller expense than in any other part of the world."

While Lord Valentia's work was going through the press, in 1808, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the Cape of Good Hope was again in possession of Great Britain; and he subjoins some very appropriate remarks; among other things he observes, "that the insatiable ambition of Buonaparte, and his rooted antipathy to this country have, at length, closed the whole continent against us, and necessarily obliged us to seek, in other places, what we used to procure from it. Of these the most important are grain and wine. The Cape would fully supply both, if the necessary measures were adopted by the government. A finer country for the production of grain does not exist, and a small part only is yet in cultivation."

In chapter the Second, we arrive at Calcutta, and lord Valentia, after a fete given by the governor-general, visits Barrackpore, lord Wellesley's country-seat. He leaves Calcutta, passes

by Hoogly, Buckampore, Jungapore, Bhaughulpore, Monghyr, Patna, and arrives at the sacred city of Benares; visits the princes and the rajah, and gives an account of Benares; leaves Benares, and arrives at Juanpore; and after passing through the nawab vizier's territories he arrives, at Lucknow.

In chapter the Third, we find our noble author residing at Lucknow, paying visits to princes, and receiving visits from them, and so on. In his account of his visit to the nawab vizier, he is more than ordinarily prolix, and, some may think, ridiculously minute.

"His excellency much amused me by the account he gave of the manner in which my arrival was announced to him, by the messenger whom he placed purposely on the road: 'Lord Sahib ka bh'anja, Company ki nawaba teshrif laia;'—literally translated, 'the Lord (Wellesley) sister's son, and the grandson of Mrs. Company is arrived.' These titles originated from a belief of the Natives, that the India Company is an old woman, and that the governor-generals are her children. As I did not hold that office, and yet was received with great, nay almost equal, honours, they probably conceived I stood in that degree of relationship."

Chapter the Fourth speaks of lord Valentia's departure from Onde, and his visit to the ruins of Canongi; his arrival at Putty Ghur, and his reception by the nawab of Furruckabad; his visit to general Lake, while on his march to the frontier; his return to Putty Ghur; his journey to Cawnpore; and his voyage down the Hoogly, the most western branch of the river Ganges, to Calcutta.

Chapter the Fifth contains observations on the town of Calcutta; the new government house; population; increased salubrity; state of society, and manner of living, together with some severe strictures on gaming, said to be prevalent at Calcutta; and reasonings against half-cast children, the increase of whom he considers a great evil: he also gives an account of the



supreme court, and of the church establishment, more particularly in reference to its influence on what falls to the department of missionaries;—on the conduct of the latter he is very severe, which is directed, he says, by too much severity against the religious prejudices of the Hindoos, and excites disaffection to our government. He proposes to oppose the finery of one religion by allurements to be drawn from another fine religion. “The splendour of episcopal worship,” he says, “should be maintained in the highest degree our church allows. On the natives of India, accustomed to ceremonial pomp, and greatly swayed by external appearances, it would impress that respect for our religion, of which, I am sorry to say, they are chiefly, by our neglect of it at present, destitute.”

The following is his account of the college at Fort William; a dark picture, we confess, unaccompanied with one agreeable tint of relief, with regard to the present state of things.

“Without entering into the narrow spirit of mercantile calculation, he (lord Wellesley) did not so much consider what the company might feel disposed to afford, as what it ought to afford; and though he studiously endeavoured to avoid incurring all unnecessary expense in the accomplishment of his design, he was nevertheless desirous of placing it on a footing suitable to the dignity of the empire, and calculated to meet the exigencies of the occasion.

In establishing the college at Fort William, the marquis Wellesley appears to have had two grand objects in view, to watch over, and improve the characters of the junior civil servants, and to afford them that peculiar species of education, which could alone qualify them for discharging the complicated duties of their station. To effect either of these purposes, it became absolutely necessary that some kind of control should be acquired over the young men, which could not be more unexceptionably and effectually obtained, than by subjecting them to the confinement of a public insti-

tution, and placing them under the guidance and authority of a provost, and such other officers as it might be judged expedient to appoint. Without some powerful restrictions of this nature, it would have proved totally impracticable to keep a number of inconsiderate young men within the due bounds of restraint.

“The inadequacy of a more limited scheme has been unfortunately experienced, from the small portion of lord Wellesley’s plan still suffered to exist, which, though certainly useful in facilitating the acquirement of the native languages, is lamentably defective in all those essential purposes it was originally intended to answer,—especially with regard to its most important object, of preserving the young men from the many temptations and dangers, by which they must necessarily be assailed, on their arrival in such a country as India, with no greater degree of experience than usually falls to the lot of school-boys, and in full possession of a splendid income, in the expenditure of which they are absolutely uncontrolled.

“At the present time there are few of these young men who do not keep their horses, commonly their carriages, and, in many instances, their race-horses, which, together with extravagant parties and entertainments frequent among them, generally involves them in difficulties and embarrassments at a very early period of their lives. The enormous expenses attendant upon these, and similar irregularities, are much too considerable to be defrayed even by the princely allowance which the writers enjoy from the moment of their arrival in India. To support this profuse manner of living, they are compelled to borrow large sums, at an exorbitant interest, of the dewan, who is frequently a native of rank, and acts as a species of upper servant. These men, deeply versed in all the mazes of oriental subtilty, gradually insinuate themselves into the favour of their masters; and by encouraging their follies, and artfully supplying the means of dissipation, insensibly plunge them in almost inextricable difficulties, and



eventually succeed in getting into their own hands the sole management of the writer's affairs.

"While the young man remains in an inferior situation, the debt to the dewan continues to increase, from additional advances, and the rapid accumulation of interest; and when the higher appointments at length become open, it takes years to clear off the embarrassments incurred by early extravagance.

"It is fortunate, if, in the eagerness to free himself from his incumbrances, he be not induced to connive at the misconduct of the dewan, and even to participate in the illegal profits, with which the latter is ever ready to allure him; and, though a large majority of those who arrive at the higher stations, pass through them with unsullied integrity, perfectly satisfied with the liberal allowances attached to their situation, and requiring no other inducement than their own sense of right, to keep them from every thing approaching to dishonour; yet it is nevertheless certain, that some are still found unable to resist the temptation. Whenever this deviation from the paths of rectitude has unfortunately occurred, it has uniformly originated in the misconduct of the young writer on his arrival in the country, and his consequent dependence upon his dewan.

"The most effectual mode of remedying this evil, is to place the young man in a situation where his conduct, and expenses, would be subject to the inspection, and control, of respectable persons, selected with judgment for the important office. Under such circumstances, the employment of a dewan ought to be prohibited, and disobedience rendered liable to immediate detection and punishment. Had lord Wellesley's plan of a college been acceded to, this desirable end would have been attained, and the young men, subject to the restrictions and discipline of such an institution, would no longer have met with those facilities in raising money, with which their present situation so often presents them. They must, in consequence,

have been obliged to confine their expenditure to the liberal allowance of the East India company, till called to the higher appointments; when, unincumbered in their affairs, and uncorrupted in their minds, they might rapidly, and honestly, have acquired, at an early period of their lives, that opulence which would ensure them affluence and comfort in their native country. This important object would also have been promoted by the early age at which the writers, when subject to collegiate restrictions, might have been sent to India; they might have gone at the tender age of fifteen, or even fourteen: and this would have enabled them to return in the prime of life, with constitutions unimpaired, and habits uncontaminated by the luxuries of Asia.

"In a political point of view, the advantages resulting from the proposed regulations would have been equally important, and must considerably have assisted the grand object of the judicious policy of England, to prevent colonization in all her Eastern settlements; since nothing could have a stronger tendency to hinder the Europeans from establishing themselves in India, than the prospect thus held out to them of speedy return to their native climate, while the scenes of youthful days were fresh in their remembrance, and the ties of friendship, and of kindred, neither broken nor forgotten."

There may be much justice in some of lord Valentia's strictures on the then state of the college, and college discipline, at Fort William, though we cannot but regard them as greatly overcharged; but it seems an unpardonable omission in his lordship, to have said nothing on the state of literature there, and the extraordinary progress which has been made in the acquisition of the Eastern languages of late years, so happily noticed, in the annual discourses of lord Minto to the college of Fort William, on distributing the prizes and honorary rewards. But we shall let lord Valentia proceed. "The great facility with which a knowledge of



of oriental literature, and the customs and laws of the Natives might be acquired in India, compared with the acquisition of similar attainments in England, is too obvious to need discussion; and, considering it was the intention of lord Wellesley, that all the presidencies of our Eastern empire should be equally benefited by his establishment, the consequent charges ought not to have created an objection. These had been, in a great measure, already defrayed, and the funds, which he proposed to appropriate for that express purpose, were fully competent to answer every future demand; yet it appears, by the official documents of the court of directors, that the dread of incurring expense formed the chief and almost sole reason for abolishing an institution, which, it was admitted, would, under other circumstances, have been thought deserving of the most serious consideration.

His lordship then censures, without mercy, the college lately established at Hertford, in the following terms:—

"Since the above was written, a college has been established at Hertford, on a plan somewhat similar to that of Calcutta, which must be considered as an acknowledgment, that the principle of marquis Wellesley was correct; and it is a little singular that, although the exhausted state of the company's finances was declared to be the immediate occasion of the rejection of his lordship's plan, much heavier expenses have been incurred by the present scheme, than would have attended the completion of the former, without having in any respect answered the important objects, which originally suggested the expediency of its adoption. This failure is by no means to be attributed to the gentlemen appointed to superintend the college, many of whom are men of great talents and knowledge; and it is only to be regretted, that their exertions are not employed at the place where alone they can be of essential service—at Calcutta.

In England their efforts are com-

pletely thrown away, as the students, during a few months residence in India, would gain a greater insight into the necessary branches of Eastern literature, than the study of many years in this country could afford; and with respect to the customary acquirements of classical education, the pupils had equal opportunities of previously attaining them at any of our public schools.

"The school attached to the college is almost too insignificant to deserve mention. Where can masters be procured qualified to teach the different languages of the East? Will the menial servants of gentlemen returned from India be appointed? Can such men be supposed competent to so important an undertaking? If not, where then are masters to be procured? The whole appears to have been a mere pretext for the extension of patronage, unless, indeed, it was intended as a seminary for missionaries; a purpose, it has been publicly recommended to answer, in a prize dissertation, by the reverend Hugh Pearson, which, I am sorry to say, has been ushered into the world under the sanction of the university of Oxford.

"Upon the whole, when we compare the respective systems of marquis Wellesley and the court of directors; when we consider how much, in all probability, would have been effected by the adoption of the one, and how very little the establishment of the other is likely to produce, even though attended with greater burdens, it is impossible for an unprejudiced mind to avoid a suspicion, that no small proportion of jealousy of his lordship's administration, was combined with the dread of incurring expense on the part of the directors.

After various disappointments, and changes of plan, lord Valentia takes his passage (Chapter the Sixth) in the Olive, going with rice for Columbo, in the island of Ceylon, of which he gives an account, not very minute, nor so interesting as might have been expected. He describes vegetation as infinitely more luxuriant here than in



Bengal, and as forming a rich field for the study of Botany, apparently his lordship's favourite study. He has been guilty of a strange omission, in this part, in not noticing the pearl fishery.

The prominent parts of this chapter are the "Description of the Political State of Ceylon, with respect to Europeans;—of the Negotiations with the chief Adigar, for the purpose of dethroning the king of Candy;—of the massacre of the English;—of the casts of the Gingalese Malabars;—of the defects and abuses in various departments under the Dutch government: but what characterize it most of all, are the high eulogiums passed on the administration of Mr. North.

Lord Valentia, having received a letter from the governor of Bombay, (Chapter the Seventh) informing him, that, in consequence of letters from lord Wellesley, one of the company's cruisers would be there early in February, to convey him to the Red Sea, makes his way to Negumbo, sails thence to Mansar, thence to Ramisseram, in order to proceed to Madras. In his way he visits Panbaw, Ramnad, arrives at Tanjore, and gives an history of the rajah's family, of his elevation to the throne, and a description of his palace. As his lordship is the first English nobleman, according to his account, that ever visited Tanjore, a great deal of etiquette passes between him and the rajah, Serfagee, of whom a minute history is given.

Our author observes here, that the Hindoo religion preserves no where so much power and splendour as on the coast of Coromandel (on which Tanjore lies.) As the Musselman conquests were never permanent here, their places of worship continue in their original state, and their vast endowments were untouched. In almost every village there is a pagoda: and the description of one of these pagodas forms the principal feature of this chapter; for, of the seven pagodas accurately described in the Asiatic Researches, he thinks it unnecessary to treat. But the celebrated pagoda

within the small fort here is the finest specimen of the pyramidal temple in India, of which a drawing has been made by Mr. Daniell (lord Valentia adds) with some little embellishments. Indeed, this pagoda is said to be one of the finest specimens of the arts, in general, in India; and the rajah accordingly had a drawing made for our traveller, by a country draftsman of great merit.

In other parts of this volume, lord Valentia has spoken severely on the conduct of the missionaries; but here, from contemplating those sacred buildings of the Hindoos, he is led to make a very favourable report of the gentlemen of the Danish mission, whose schools were not only allowed by the rajah, but one, formerly under the protection of his old tutor, was continued at his highness's own expense. Our author afterwards visits, and describes, Pondicherry, and other places in succession on the Coromandel coast, in his way to Madras. He observes, in closing, relative to this capital of the Carnatic, "that it would probably have been difficult to find a worse place for a capital, than that chosen for it, on the extreme point of a coast where the current is most rapid, and where a tremendous surf breaks, even in the finest weather; yet, however inconvenient it may be, particularly now that the whole peninsula belongs to us, the expense of removal would be so great, that no alteration will probably take place. It has been asserted, that a pier might be carried out sufficiently strong to resist the force of the north-east monsoon; and a person was sent by the India company to examine into the state of the beach, and make a report: he considered it practicable, but that the expense would probably be very great. The directors offered only to take a few shares; and it was not the interest of private individuals to hazard large sums on an uncertain speculation."

Chapter Eighth. Lord Valentia leaves Madras, and proceeds to Conjevuntur, Wallajapetiah, and thence to Vellore. He is accompanied by Major Martin, who had the care of Tippoo's family.



to visit the palace, or pagoda, that is now converted into a magazine; he describes this building, among the carvings of which he notices, more particularly, the different adventures of Krishna with the Gopis, and the remarkable tradition of his treading on the serpent's head.

This fort, being one of the strongest in India, was chosen for the prison of Tippoo Sultan's family. The architecture of it bears some resemblance to our old baronical castles in England: and the description here given of it is principally in reference to it as the residence of the family of Tippoo.

Lord Valentia being in a hurry to visit Mangalore, does not pay a personal visit to Tippoo's sons, but from Major Marriot, he received every information that he was desirous of obtaining. They occupied the ancient palace of the fort, to which, *previously* to their arrival, large additions were made. The public apartments common to them all were handsome, but each also has an inward apartment, appropriated to himself. They are treated with attention and respect, and no indulgence is denied them that is consistent with the safe custody of their persons.

Tippoo had in all twelve sons and eight daughters; and Fully Hyder, the eldest, but illegitimate son, had 12 or 14 children. He and his three eldest brothers have 50,000 rupees a piece per annum, which we are told was a larger sum than he received in his father's life-time. The other sons have 25,000 rupees per annum, which they are to receive when they come to age. Of the daughters of the Sultan Lord V. remarks,—"I pity most the young females, many of whom were betrothed before the death of their father, but have not yet been permitted to go to their husbands. It may be dangerous to extend the alliance of a family, which has always been looked up to as the head of the Mussulman religion in the east. In the year 1806, these young tigers, (as Lord V. calls the sons of Tippoo,) broke loose, and there can be no doubt that they were impetuous, more particularly

Moss-Ud-Dee, in that conspiracy which ended in a dreadful massacre. The male part, therefore, of Tippoo's family has been since removed to Calcutta."

From Vellore, Lord V. passes to the Gaut, Nakeray, Britamungalum, Ootundapetta Colar, Bangalore, and arrives at Seringapatam, in which, Tippoo Sultan resided; and in which he was at last conquered and slain. His lordship next portrays the character of the sultan, and contrasts it with that of his father's predecessor.

The description of Seringapatam, of the personal conduct, character, and defeat of Tippoo, together with the circumstances that have attended the change of government, is not so particular, nor so much calculated to gratify curiosity; as might have been expected on subjects so truly interesting to the people of this country, and India, and so fresh in their memories. The description of Seringapatam is chiefly interesting in a military point of view. With respect to Tippoo, Lord V. remarks, "It is still unknown who gave the fatal wound to the Sultan: the invaluable string of pearls, which he wore round his neck, was the prize of the soldier, but it has never been produced or traced. He had been many years collecting this; always taking off an inferior pearl, when he could purchase one of more value."

There is little too of literary or political information; but the following short account, as it is a fair sample of the medical knowledge of the Mussulmans, we shall lay before our readers. "Many of my friends joined me at an early dinner in the palace, among others Dr White, of the medical staff, of whom I made some enquiries respecting the medical practice of the natives. He assured me, that their ignorance was extreme; that they used some of the mineral remedies, particularly calomel; but that they administered it in such strong doses as frequently to prove more destructive than the disease it was meant to eradicate. An usual emetic is composed by suspending a small copper coin in acid, till the solution has taken place sufficiently to



operate; but their severity is sometimes punished by death, from the strength of the dose. Starvation is another prescription for all diseases. Purneah's daughter perished by it not long before my arrival. The fever was conquered, but the patient was so weak that she sunk under it. A medicine is considered as increasing in its value, according to the number of ingredients it contains, which frequently amount to fifty, when it is infallible. In Canara, I am told, the Toddy-drawers are the physicians; they cannot be worse than their brethren of Mysore. Dr. White assured me, that he had seen the volatile used in above 100 instances for the cure of the bite of poisonous serpents, and always with success.

There are several appendixes to this work; one contains an account of the population of Benares in 1801; another is a letter from Syed Ally Khan, Sheemo ud Dowlah, Amir ul Ruik, Zulficar Jung Behatar, to Zumeem Shah. Another contains an account of stones that fell from the sky on the 20th of December, 1799, related by Cauzy Syed Hussein Ally; a 5th, a short account of the origin and purposes of the religious buildings in Hindostan, called Imams Baurah. 6th, the history of a singular personage, called the saint of Muckepere. 7th, a treaty offered to the Candian court, by General Mardowall. 8th, articles of convention entered into between his highness Prince Mooton Samny, and his excellency Frederic North, governor of the British settlements in the island of Ceylon. 9th, some account of the Cingalese casts, part of which, as being curious, we shall lay before our readers.

"The epoch in which we now are is called the Mahabade Calpaya, previous to which there had been consumed by fire, a thousand millions of millions of sacbrals, or worlds. Two only remained, the world of Brachma, in the highest region, and the world of winds in the lowest. All living creatures having been destroyed with the sacbrals that were consumed, they were regenerated in the uppermost region, and

became Brachmas, without any distinction of cast. Some of their Brachmas returned to the sacbrals they had formerly inhabited, of their being reproduced; but from avarice degenerated to such a degree that they began to steal. Upon this quarrels arose among them, and there being no chief to decide their disputes, their wise men reflected that the world would not be in a proper state without some kind of government. Upon this they met and selected from among them a person renowned for wisdom, whom they appointed to be their king, saying to him, "thou art our king; we will give to thee one-tenth part of the substance we may acquire; be thou a judge and a ruler over us." This king was called Maha Samata, a compound word, which signifies a great assembly, to indicate that he had been chosen by the consent of many people. This king, after his election, proceeded to divide his subjects into the following casts, namely,—

Rajah wansaya, the king's cast, which from that time became the chief rulers of the earth.

Brahmana wansaya, the cast of Brahmans, skilled in science.

Waujia wansaya, the merchants' cast.

Gowi wansaya, the cast of Gowis, to cultivate the ground.

This last is the cast known in Ceylon by the name of Vellal, which however is not a Cingalese word. These Gowis, or Vellals, are of the highest cast on the island, there being none of the three superior casts, except the King of Candy, who is of the first."

The above are the four superior casts; and there are a great variety of casts, settled for the purpose of being servants to these; such as, dunduwadnyo, wood carpenters; wissano, weavers; radudha, washermen; apbayttage, barbers; bannali, sailors; and a variety of others, down to dasayo, slaves, and chandalayo, servants, who strip the skins from the beasts, to make thongs for the king, and veddo, a cast, who live wild in the woods, and kill wild beasts. There is another division of casts made by



Vidjia Rajah, the first King of Lakdiva, or Ceylon, which is set forth in a book written by himself, called Nitijah. This division is more condescending still, taken in. Pedaynadon, persons, who make offerings to devils; andi, beggars, by cast; horn, thieves. The different pretensions of these classes, even of the lowest order, are very seriously urged and supported. Thus the class of cinnamon peelers now disputes rank with the fishermen; for the importance of peeling cinnamon has, from its value to Europeans, lately given them an ascendancy, which excites the jealousy of other casts, less useful, and therefore less dignified.

Thus far in regard to India, to which, however, Lord Valentia returns in the next volume.

The whole work is written as a journal: a form, it must be acknowledged, well adapted for convenience, and favourable to method, but, at the same time, less accommodated to research, and too rapid and extemporaneous for philosophical arrangements. Journalists, impressed with surprise at objects which strike them for the first time, and which, perhaps, are of little moment, are too apt to feel as discoverers, and, struck with what may be new indeed to them, they become too serious over what has been fully explained before, or what may have been deemed too insignificant for cool investigation, or serious enlargement. Hence they are in danger of becoming triflers. It certainly becomes a traveller to keep a journal. It serves important purposes, for assisting the recollection, for ready-hand remark, and may be a ground-work for future enquiry. But what is seen on a visit, or upon a journey, should be diligently repeated, and critically examined in the study.

Similar observations may be made on these attentions, which distinguished strangers are accustomed to shew to travellers, and on which his lordship dwells too often and too long. The difference, too, of rank, place, and climate, is soon very little felt. Reason of voyages and travels, if men of education, look for something solid; if

men of pleasure, for something agreeable. Asiatic and European manners, in this respect, work to the same point, and we may saunter over verandahs, and palanquins and bearers, and muscades, if seen too often, as much as over balconies, and close earriages, sofas, sedan chairs, and running footmen. Elephants will be no more, ~~disappearing~~ appearing too often, than mountain mules. Diamonds and pearls, and attah, may be made intrusive, so as to raise our spirits and enliven our fancies no more than an every-day posy, or a cup of tea; and an Asiatic salam may possess nothing more significant in India, than a regular every-day compliment in an English drawing room.

It is not intended to say here, that lord Valentia's publication is altogether a trifling production. His volumes, we have already admitted, take a course which is interesting; they bring us into company capable of giving us information, and convey much useful observation. It may, however, be added, without any discredit to the work, that it contains much that could have been spared; that what is good is often obscured by what is indifferent; and that if some matters of etiquette and private concern had appeared with less ostentation, or not at all, the more solid parts would have had, both for instruction and amusement, a better effect. It is probable that many readers of this work, whether concerned in the government of India or not, may widely differ from lord Valentia in some things of a political and economical nature; and in what relates to establishments, missionaries, half-cast children, and other matters, in which the government of India may feel itself concerned; but nearly the whole peninsula being now in the hands of the English government, it is become an affair of stupendous concern, where the affairs of different kingdoms, whose interests clash with each other, and with that of this country, are to be managed; in which politics are often made a mere concern of commerce, and religion an affair of policy; where the distinctions of virtue and vice are often intermixed, confounded, and lost.



Lord V.'s account exhibits the present face of India, and that more particularly in a commercial and economical point of view. Ancient India makes no subject in these volumes. The Greek writers, more particularly Arrian, maintained that some whom they received into the calendar of their gods, first taught in India the elements of philosophy, and the useful arts of life. India, therefore, had been considered as the cradle of the arts and sciences: and though some writers have considered the claims of ancient India to any extraordinary acquisitions, nugatory, and that natural science furnished them with little more than instruments of imposture in the arts of astrology and divination, others have thought them founded on reality and truth. They have traced to the ancient Brahmins something more than the knowledge of astrology. They have found among them geometry, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, and botany. From their pumps and canals, that conveyed water to their rice-grounds, they have investigated their hydraulics; and in their chemical processes they have found many useful manufactures: they have asserted the very high antiquity of sculpture, and of engraving on gems in India. These matters are the subject of investigation by Mr. Maurice, in the last volume of his *Indian Antiquities*.—It is not necessary to enter into these inquiries now, nor to ascertain how far this doctrine may be true, nor was it to be expected that lord Valentia should have gone into elaborate disquisitions on these subjects; but some occasional illustrations would have been ornamental.

The ancient religion of the Indians (a subject of the most curious nature, and on which Brucker has treated rather largely) was much simpler, and more philosophical, than some are aware of, resembling much the scattered principles, to be found in those fragments, called the Chaldean Oracles, which are subjoined by Le Clerc, to his Latin translation of Stanley's *Oriental Philosophy*; what is, too, its mythology, possesses much of poetical

as well as theological contrivance, in many respects analogous to the Grecian mythology; and the device of Chreeshna, and his treading on the serpent's head, with other matters of a similar device, just alluded to by lord Valentia, bears a strong resemblance to what occurs in the Jewish and Christian writings. Things of this kind, connected, too, as they are with the present state of the Brahmins, their religion, and many remains of antiquity among them, required something more to be said of them, than merely as matters seen, and cursory observation.

Even in matters of more recent occurrence, and greater notoriety, lord Valentia may be thought, by some, not quite satisfactory. Thus, in what relates to Tippoo Sultaun. Seringapatam was reduced in 1799, and the public archives of the then existing government past into the hands of the captors. Tippoo's Select Letters to various public Functionaries (a very valuable work) have been very lately published, after due arrangements and translation, by Mr Kirkpatrick, colonel in the service of the honourable East India company; to these, therefore, he might have had access. But many of the public archives alluded to, which unfold the origin and conduct of the war, together with many public and private transactions, were published long since, (soon after Tippoo's overthrow) by authority of the supreme government in India, and subsequently by this government; and even prior to that, a report of a general nature was drawn up and published by marquis Wellesley. Many things of a curious nature, too, relating to Tippoo, have been long since in the library of the India House, and more particularly Tippoo's own library, of which a printed catalogue has been published: these things, so connected with the history, and illustrative of his character and conduct, should have been somewhat investigated; as matters of literary curiosity, merely, they would have given an air of variety to the work, and afforded both



and instruction to lord Valentia's readers.

With respect to geographical niceties, we hope that lord Valentia has studied correctness himself, having been very severe upon others. In the earlier part of this work (vol. i.) he makes a few cursory remarks, which should certainly be attended to, relative to charts. He says, the manner in which charts are published in England, is a disgrace to a mercantile country. He corrects an error relative to Cape Palmas, which, he says, is in longitude eight degrees west; and that a chart, said to be formed on the authority of five captains in the Liverpool trade, is greatly erroneous, and that many lives may be lost by the deception. He notices a similar mistake in regard to the island of Annabon. We understand a letter has been communicated by the publisher of the chart, alluded to by his lordship, partly accounting for a few mistakes, and partly conveying assurances that they will be rectified in some future chart; remonstrating, at the same time, against lord Valentia's manner of conveying the censures.

It will be but justice, too, in case of another edition of these voyages and travels, to the editors of the chart alluded to, page 4 of the first volume, to retract entirely the censure, or to announce, that the aforesaid chart, drawn by the geographer to his Catholic majesty, has been long superseded by a new chart of the Azores, Canaries, &c. and was so before the publication of lord Valentia's volumes.

It should, in general, be observed, that the geography of India has been traced, with great credit to himself, by major Rennell, and by other moderns; but this seems no reason why a work of this kind, in the production of which the publisher's study seems to have been, to have spared no expense, should be unaccompanied with a chart of his voyage to India, and a map of Hindostan, as well as of the Red Sea.

As to what may be called the politics of India, it is not necessary for us to say, that we should be little dis-

posed to approve or commend many transactions, that may appear highly commendable to lord Valentia; and there are those who may feel happy that they are not called upon to defend some transactions in that peninsula. Our author, however, does not get much into particular politics, and, on many occasions, he discovers a mind capable of thinking, and disposed to think, for itself. His observations relative to the moderation which should be shewn towards the religion of the Hindoos, are no less humane than prudent, and his occasional censure on East India directors and others, more anxious after a rapid acquisition of wealth, than the promotion of the principles of sound policy and humanity, are just, and, though not strong enough, are too well grounded. An allusion has been already made to the embellishments of this work, and it should be added, that the gentleman who made the drawings, Mr. Salt, is a man of letters, and, besides what he has done as the draftsman, appears with much respectability in his journal. The engravers are men eminent in their profession; and from the fifty-four grand plates, published separate from the volumes, it seems as if the noble author aimed to give such a display of the arts as might bring them into competition with Mr. Daniels.

Having proceeded thus far in our observation, we feel ourselves almost compelled to go further. For though we have dwelt so long on the work, we are far from thinking, that the first volume, relating to India, is the most valuable. The peninsula of Hindostan has been explored in every direction, and by people of every description. But the ensuing volumes bring us into some regions, which have more of novelty, and which have been explored before, by no European, but Mr. Bruce, for this last century; they also bring us more back to ancient times, and may, perhaps, lead eventually to a commercial transaction, that may prove beneficial to this country. And while our inquiries are literary, and our transactions with foreign nations merely commercial, and while



that commerce continues to be honourable, adventurers will be attended with the best wishes of the friends to science and humanity. For these reasons we shall present our readers with a few particulars relating to the two last volumes; though having already been more than ordinarily diffuse, we must, in what remains, be proportionably brief.

It was just now hinted, that these last volumes bring us more back to ancient times; by which was meant, that they bring us to those coasts that have been little explored by the moderns, and which were better known to the ancients; we more particularly mean the eastern coast of Africa. Much has been said by ancient writers on this subject; and the commerce carried on upon the coast by the Egyptians and Romans was very considerable. But the occasion and object of this part of Lord Valentia's volumes will be best explained by himself.

"It had always appeared to me an extraordinary circumstance, that, if the western coast of the Red Sea were really as dangerous as the moderns represented it, the ancients should invariably have navigated it in preference to the Eastern coast, nor could any suspicion that a western passage existed be removed, by the silence of the British officers, after a long continuance of our fleet in that sea. The evils, which they have experienced from the want of water, fresh provisions, and fuel, pointed out, indeed, most strongly the importance of ascertaining whether these articles were not attainable at Mazsowah, Dhalac, or the adjacent islands, where, in former times, the Egyptian and Roman merchants were induced to fix their residence for the purpose of carrying on the trade with Abyssinia, and the interior of Africa. At Dhalac, Mr. Bruce has asserted, that 300 tanks, which had been erected by the munificence of the Ptolemies, were still in a preservation to afford, with care, a supply of water, more than sufficient for any fleet, which we could ever have occasion to send into that sea.

"The commercial advantages which

might attend opening a communication with Abyssinia appeared also worthy of attention, and a more favourable time for making the attempt could never be expected, than immediately after the British naval power had been so fully displayed on the shores of Arabia and Egypt; and when the trade of the interior of Africa had been interrupted in its usual channel through the latter country, first by the conquest of the French, and afterwards by the civil war between the Porte and the Beys, which had caused a perfect separation between the upper and lower countries.

"I confess, also, I felt it as a national reflection, that a coast, which had afforded a profitable and extensive trade in gold, ivory, and pearls, to the sovereigns of Egypt, should be a perfect blank in our charts; and that while new islands, and even continents, were discovered by the facilities of our seamen, we should have become so ignorant of the Eastern shore of Africa, as not to be able to ascertain many of the harbours and islands, described by an ancient navigator in the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*.

"During my stay at Calcutta, I had the honour of frequently conversing with the marquis Wellesley on the subject of the Red Sea, and of stating to him my ideas and feelings; in which I had the happiness of finding that he fully concurred. At length I proposed to his excellency, that he should order one of the Bombay cruizers to be prepared for a voyage to the Red Sea; and I offered my gratuitous services to endeavour to remove our disgraceful ignorance, by embarking in her for investigating the Eastern shores of Africa, and making the necessary enquiries into the present state of Abyssinia, and the neighbouring countries. His excellency approved of the plan, and it was determined, in order to obviate any difficulties which might arise, from the commanding officer differing from me in opinion, with respect to the eligibility of going to particular places, he should be placed under my orders. The necessary instructions were immediately



transmitted to Bombay, and I hastened my departure to Columbo, as it was desirable to reach the Red Sea as early in the year as possible."

Such are the motives assigned by lord Valentia for his journey to the Red Sea. Accordingly he sets sail from Mungalore, March 13, 1804, and, passing through the Straights of Babelmandab, arrives at Mocha. He departs thence for the African coast; visits several islands, one of which he calls after his own name, Valentia; and, after visiting Dhalic, departs for Massowah. Mr. Salt first, and afterward lord Valentia, returns to Mocha, and going thence they meet at Bombay.

In Chapter the Second, among several particulars relative to different places in India, we have some political observations on the Mahratta empire, and in chapter the fourth an interesting account of a visit to the pagodas of Salsette and Elephanta.

The account of Bombay, the third presidency in India, is entertaining; and the following extract, though it might, perhaps, have been made more in order before, (vol. ii. p. 185) is now introduced, as it throws a light on the course of literary inquiry at Bombay, and may even furnish lord Valentia with an argument in vindication of his silence on ancient mythology. "A society," his lordship tells us, "has been established at Bombay, on a plan somewhat similar to the Bengal Asiatic Society. But it intends to limit itself to the present state of manners among the inhabitants, rather than to hunch into ancient mythology, or the history of the country. Much, I think, may be expected from the active superintendence of Sir James Mackintosh, whose talents would throw a lustre on any society, and whose discourse, on the first day of their meeting, would have been heard with satisfaction, by the father of Asiatic literature, by Sir William Jones himself. Sir James is ably supported by Mr. Duncan, who, I believe, is learned as any European in the wild fancies of the Hindu mythology, and was the writer

of those papers on the singular Hindoo customs at Benares, and the two Sakera, that resided there, which were communicated by Sir John Shore to the Asiatic Society; but without stating from whom he had received the intelligence. To these are added the names of many other gentlemen, whose long residence in India, and known acquirements, may fairly justify an expectation in the public, that, without rivaling their prototype in Calcutta, they may communicate much interesting information respecting that part of India, which has come under their immediate observation." "The greater proportion of the inhabitants of Bombay are Persians, a most amiable people, the authenticity of whose sacred Code was too hastily attacked by Sir W. Jones; but himself, we are told, was convinced of his error before his death.

In Chapter the Fifth lord Valentia arrives again at Mocha. The principal feature in this chapter is the account of Mr. Salt's tour to Dhalac, from which it is completely proved. Lord Valentia says, that the account given by Mr. Bruce is false, and that it is extremely probable he never landed on the island.

In Chapter the Seventh, he makes observations on Mr. Bruce's supposed voyage from Cassir to Macowar; and his adventures at and near Macowar he calls complete Romances. After leaving Macowar, our author visits his island Valentia, and visits Mocha, from which he had departed. The account of the Arabs resident in towns, and Bediween Arabs, is interesting; as, also, his description of Mocha, and, in a commercial point of view, likely to prove useful.

In Chapter the Ninth his draftsman, and friend, Mr. Salt, goes to Abyssinia, and returns. Some of the most curious parts of the third volume consists of Mr. Salt's narrative relative to Abyssinia.

The account of Axum, so long the seat of royalty in Abyssinia, is, in various ways pleasing, and in several particulars novel: it is evidently prepared with much care; and the Ethiopic and Greek inscriptions will be very acceptable to the lovers of antiquity.



Mr. Salt also notices a few inaccuracies of Mr. Bruce, but, in general, in more cautious terms than lord Valentia; and it may be thought by some, that the censures are made with too few allowances, and accompanied with too hasty conclusions. Strange as it may seem, different travellers, who have visited the same places, often give different accounts. They may not have enjoyed the same opportunities, been struck with the same objects, or they may have seen them only in part. The position of objects may be different at one time from what they may be at others; or the objects themselves may be altogether removed or effaced.

Thus some ancient travellers describe the pyramids of Egypt as having numerous hieroglyphics on them; Mr. Greaves, a writer of great authority says, there are none; Mr. Scott Waring, speaking of Bushire, in Persia, observes, th. "out of three witnesses, two assert the town is walled, and the third that it is defenceless; one that it abounds with fine gardens, which is denied by another evidence. Mr. Jones confirms the latter assertion, but maintains the neck of land never overflowed. Much depends on the time, when several witnesses visited Bushire. Walls built of mud are soon destroyed, and soon rebuilt. Bushire is only an island when the tides run very high; but, in such contradictory accounts, much also depends on the sense of words. One person may call a place, surrounded with ever so little water, an island; and another maintain the reverse, because a ship could not sail round it." See his *Tour to Sheeraz*.

These sensible and candid concessions might be extended still further.

Thus a place may be dirty and filthy at one time, and under the direction of one set of people; that may be fitted up with great elegance at another time, under people of another description. People, in taking observations, may make mistakes in latitudes or longitudes, as lord Valentia has noticed in the cases alluded to above, and in the case of Sir Home Popham; all of whom, however, were, during the time, at the place where the observations were taken. It is impossible to trace the source of all the mistakes which are made, where yet there may be no intention to mislead. It would be extremely difficult to conceive why a particular island has been left out in a very celebrated chart, unless the odd circumstance was known that occasioned the omission; and, perhaps, some who peruse lord Valentia's chart of the Red Sea may not immediately perceive why Massowah, which makes so conspicuous a figure in his book, and is to be read on the chart containing the Island of Valentia, is not to be read on the chart of the Red Sea.

Perhaps,—for this work evidently convicts Mr. Bruce of a few inaccuracies,—he may have been hurried by the zeal of a first discoverer, which may mislead from the strict line of punctuality; and, in aiming to make his picture, in all parts, complete, he may have taken a few things upon trust; and what he could not see himself, he may have taken from the report of others: and yet a few inaccuracies of this kind, or from whatever other source they proceed, may not affect that credit which he now holds with the public.

## ASIATIC RESEARCHES, VOL. 10.

[Our account of the valuable work before us must, from the swollen size of our volume, be necessarily general and concise.]

### ESSAY I.

REMARKS ON THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE DISTRICT OF *Shirvan*,  
By WILLIAM CAREY.

THERE is a great variety in the mode of agriculture in this district as explained in the essay, arising in part, from the nature of the soil,



and in part from the character of the inhabitants. In the southern part the ground rises in gentle acclivities, which are divided from each other by vallies running between them. Each valley is watered by one or two little streams, as the Tanguam, the Purnabava, and several others, which empty themselves, either into the Mahananda or the Ganges. These vallies, at the distance of 50 miles from the Ganges, are scarcely higher than the surface of the waters. When, therefore, the periodical rains come on, the extent of these, for fifty miles, resembles one vast lake, from the overflowing of the waters, and becomes navigable for vessels of a very considerable size. The higher lands, in the southern parts of the district, are principally inhabited by Mussulmans, and the vallies by Hindus. The mode of cultivation, and the productions of the higher parts, differ so widely from those in the vallies, that a person, very competent for managing the one, can seldom manage the other to any advantage.

The people of the district of Dinagpur are in general poor, and their farming very simple. Their mode of watering their fields in dry seasons is worthy of remark. For this purpose an instrument, called a *tant*, is used. "A tant, Mr. C. observes, is a trough of light wood, from twelve to sixteen feet long, somewhat curved, to admit a greater depth in the middle; the bottom is five or six inches wide, the height of the sides, in the middle part, is six or eight inches, gradually decreasing towards the ends, one of which is excavated to a point, to prevent the water from running back, and being lost. When this instrument is used, it is slung to three bamboos, placed erect, and crossing each other in the centre. A long and heavy bamboo, loaded at the further end with a large ball of earth, is then fastened to the end, which is to be plunged into the water, and thrown over the three erect bamboos, resting on the top of them. A person standing on the stage, even with, or somewhat below, the surface of the water of a pond, river, &c. then plunges the end of the tant

into the water with his foot, by which means it is filled. The weight at the end of the long bamboo assists him in raising it out of the water, and throwing its contents into a small reservoir, or pit, from which it is conveyed into the fields, by channels cut for that purpose."

Mr Carey here says, "Is not this the watering with the foot mentioned in scripture, Deut. xi. v. 10. and may there not be an allusion to the facility with which this water is directed at the will of the husbandman, in Prov. xxi. v. 1.?"

The account of their different instruments, and of the mode of cultivating the different sorts of rice, indigo, &c. is curious. In general, orchards, and the growths of timber, are said to have been neglected. A plate, descriptive of the different instruments, accompanies this essay.

*AN ESSAY ON THE SACRED ISLES OF THE WEST, WITH OTHER ESSAYS CONNECTED WITH THAT WORK.* By Capt. F. WILFORD.

#### ESSAY. V.

*Origin and decline of the Christian Religion in India.*

It seems, by this account, that long before the appearance of Christ, there was an expectation of the appearance of some extraordinary prince and Saviour in India, and that it is frequently mentioned in the Puranas, more particularly where the gods, complaining of the oppressions of the giants, Vishnu comforts the earth, his consort, and the gods, by assuring them, that a Saviour would come, and redress their grievances, by putting an end to the tyranny of the daityas, or demons:—Further, that they have had prophecies among them, similar to what is recorded of the Sibylline oracles;—and that what Vishnu says to the earth, when complaining of his oppressions, strongly resembles the well-known passage in the fourth eclogue of Virgil. But the Hindus supposed the prophecies relating to this Saviour were fulfilled in Crishna, who was prior to Christ. The avatars, however, are the principal supports of their religion, and that of Crishna is considered as the first in dignity;



the others being introduced merely to bring on the great system of regeneration.

There are also some singular legends among them, relative to the birth and death of Christ. With respect to St. Thomas, who preached according to many writers, the gospel in India, Mr. Wilford observes, "that the mission of St. Thomas to India, with the surprizing progress of the Christian religion, are facts, in my humble opinion, sufficiently authenticated. Jerome, who died in the year 420, speaks of the mission of St. Thomas to India, as a fact universally acknowledged in his time; and even that the Mahomedans acknowledge the early establishment of the Christians in that country: and that Ferishta, in his general history of Hindostan, says, 'Formerly, before the rise of the religion of Islam, a company of Jews and Christians came by sea into the country, (Malabar) and settled as merchants, or pishcaras. They continued to live there till the rise of the Mussulman religion.'" In connection with this subject, Mr. Wilford shews, that during the first centuries of the Christian era, the Hindus were very fond of travelling; that their kings sent frequent embassies to the Roman and Grecian emperors; and that some went as far as Spain; that others visited Alexandria and Egypt; and that (Mr. W. follows here what is said by the prophet Isaiah) their diviners and soothsayers went to Syria and Palestine 700 years before the Christian era. In reference also to the same subject, he aims to settle some important points in the chronology of India, concerning which so much has been written.

Mr. Wilford observes, further, that though the cross is not an object of worship among the Baudd'has, that it is yet a favourite emblem and device among them. It is exactly (he says) the cross of the Manichæans, with leaves and flowers springing from it, and placed upon a mount Cavalry, as among the Roman Catholics. What is said on this subject is striking, and there are annexed to the essay drawings of two singular crosses, from a

book entitled the *Cahetra-samasa*, given to captain W. by a Baudd'has.

#### ESSAY VI.

*Of the two TRICUTADRI, or mountains with three peaks, one in the North West, and the other in the South Eastern quarters of the old Continent.*

These tricutadri answer to the Trikoryphas and Tinakrias of the Greeks. Polyænus calls mount Meru, or Meros, Tricoryphees. And Meru is considered, according to Mr. W. as the worldly temple of the supreme being, in an embodied state, and of the tri-murtte, or sacred triad of which so much has been said, which resides on its summits, either on a single or three-fold temple, or rather in both; for it is all one, according to Mr. W. as they are one and three: three with respect to men involved in the gloom of worldly illusion; but one to men who have emerged out of it; and their three-fold temple, and mountain with its three gorges, become one equally.

This earthly temple is generally considered as 'the earthly residence of the supreme being, and represented as a triad, under the form of a pyramid, and resemblances have been found in it, by some writers, to the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.

With respect to the sacred islands, Mr. W. says, they were well known to the ancients, under the names of Chryse, Argyrea, and Taprabana; he ascertains their modern names to be Juncote, on Lanca-puri, Sumatra, or Ceylon, and a curious map is inserted of latitudes and longitudes.

Much erudition is exhibited in this production; to illustrate a subject of all others the most interesting to the human mind.

#### ESSAY VII.

*Of the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations. By J. LEYDEN, M. D.*

Dr. Leyden is considered as great prodigy in his way of acquiring languages, as the late Sir William Jackson Lord Minto, in one of his addresses;



the college of Fort William, on the delivery of the prizes, compared this facility to inspiration. This essay, therefore, cannot fail of being greatly interesting to those who attend to Asiatic literature.

The following extract will shew what may be expected from this work.

"The inhabitants of the regions, which lie between India and China, and the greater parts of the islanders of the Eastern sea, though divided into numerous tribes, and equally distinct in their languages and manners, may yet be, with propriety, characterized by the term Indo-Chinese. Situated between India and China, each of which proudly styles itself the most ancient among the nations of the earth, they have contented themselves with more modest claims to antiquity, and professed to borrow from one or other of their neighbours the principal features of their religion, laws, and manners. The different periods, however, at which these were adopted in different countries, the various degrees of civilization, and the pre-existing habits on which they were engrafted, have produced a diversity of national characteristics, by which they are not only distinguished from the Indian and Chinese nations, but also from one another, notwithstanding their common mixed origin.

"The intercourse of Europeans with the Indo-Chinese nations, though for the first two centuries after the arrival of the Portuguese in the east, scarcely inferior to what was carried on with India or China, was not of such a kind as to furnish us with a very accurate or extensive knowledge of their laws, manners, or literature; and for more than a century it has been rather declining than increasing. Neither, since the late rapid acquisitions of Indian languages and literature, have we obtained any important accretions to our information in this quarter; though both political and literary reasons seem to require them.

"The materials of this imperfect sketch were chiefly collected in the course of a voyage, which the state of

my health caused me to take to the Eastern isles, in 1805, during which I resided some time at Penang, and visited Achi, and some other places, on the coast of Sumatra, and the Malayan peninsula. Cultivating an intercourse with a variety of individuals, of different Eastern tribes, I availed myself of the facilities which the situation presented, to correct the vague ideas, which I had previously entertained, concerning their languages, literature, and the filiation of their tribes. Though my information was chiefly collected from native sources, yet it sometimes happened, that these were not exactly such as I would have preferred, had better been attainable; and sometimes, too, from the indifferent state of my health, and other causes, I was not able to avail myself of those sources of information, to the extent I could have wished. Feeling myself equally embarrassed by the extent of my subject, the difficulty of the research, and, perhaps, I may add, in some instances, by the novelty of the investigation, I should have hesitated to lay before the Asiatic Society these imperfect results, had I had any immediate prospect of pursuing the discussion. I do not, however, despair of being able, at no very distant period, to offer some more minute and correct views of several of the subjects treated here in a cursory manner; and, at all events, I trust this attempt to introduce order and arrangement into a subject at once so extensive and intricate, and to disentangle it from a degree of confusion, which seemed almost inextricable, may not be altogether without its use, but may, where even I have failed, serve to point out the proper method of investigation."

It would be difficult to follow Dr. Leyden in all his grammatical and critical remarks; but we may present our readers, as the account is deserving of note, with the names and numbers of the several languages, described in this singular essay. They are fourteen in number, and in the following order:—under the 1st head, the Malayu language, he points out several histories, romances, and dramatic pieces, toge-



thier with the measure of the verse, and the style of the composition. II. Jawa, or Javanese language, which is admitted, by the Malays themselves, to be that of a more ancient nation than themselves. III. The Bugis. This is accounted the original language of the island Célèbes, and the Javanese is of Java. IV. The Bema language. This is used by the state of Bema, which comprehends the eastern part of Sam-bawa, and the western part of the island, and which Dr. L. says, was childishly called Flores, by the early Portuguese navigators, and by succeeding voyagers and geographers.

V. The Batta language, which is considered as the most ancient language of Sumatra, and used by the Batta tribes, who principally inhabit the centre of the island. VI. The Tagala, Ta-Gala, or rather Gala language is described among the Philippines to be what the Malay is in the Malay islands. It is described by a Spanish missionary, well acquainted with its character, in the following high terms. "The Tagala possesses the combined advantages of the four principal languages of the world; it is mysterious as the Hebrew; it has articles for the nouns, like the Greek; it is elegant and copious like the Latin; and equal to the Italian, as the language of compliment and business."

Among these islanders there are some, differing much both in features and language, of whom it is not so easy to speak, such as the Pampangos, on the north of Manilla; the Bisayas, dispersed over the Philippines; and the painted race, called by the Spaniards, Pintados, and others. In the VIIIth place, Dr. L. mentions the Rukheng. He observes of these, that they are the first of that singular class of Indo-Chinese languages, which may be properly termed monosyllabic, from the mass of their radical words consisting of monosyllables, like the spoken dialects of China. This has not been cultivated by any Europeans, captain Tower's remarks, and a small list of its words, in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, being the only observations made on it by any European.

The VIIIth language is that of Barma. This is the language of a very powerful nation, the Barmas, who always write Barma, though, by affecting an indistinct pronunciation, they often call themselves Byamma, Bowma, and Myamma, which are corruptions of the written name.

IX. The Moh language is used still by the original inhabitants of Pegu, who still denominate themselves Mon, though the Barmas call themselves Taleing, and the Siamese call them Mingmon. Neither has this language been cultivated by any European; and the only specimen that Dr. L. has been able to find is in the Asiatic Researches, vol. 5. It seems to be original. According to our author, these people attained civilization earlier than the Barmas, and though now in a low state, they were formerly a great people. The Xth, the Thny language. This is that used by the Siamese, and this is their national name, as used in their own language. XI. Next we come to the Khohmen language, used by a people of that name residing on the river Meken, or river of Khafhu-chât or Camboja.

XII. The Law language is used by an inland nation of that name, but which the Portuguese pronounce Lao, and Laos, in their plural, as these people consist of different races.

XIII. The Anam language, being that of Cochinchina and Tonkin. This has been better understood than several others; at least, it has been more cultivated by the Catholic missionaries, though Dr. L. thinks they should be called Multiplicis Idiomatis Propagatores. XIV. The last language is the Pali. This is the sacred language, the same as the Sanscrit among the Hindoos, or Arabic among the followers of Islam. The Pali, the Prakrit, and Zend, constitute the most ancient dialects derived from this sacred language, the Sanscrit. The great mass of words in these dialects are derived from Sanscrit systematically, according to certain laws, such as changing letters, contraction, and permutation; and their connection has been pointed out by Sir William Jones. With respect to that, which is the subject of the



present article, the Pali, it is employed as the language of religion, commerce, and science, among the greater part of the maritime countries, which lie between India and China, though it has not been critically attended to by Europeans; and such as have attended to it at all, Koempfer, La Loubere, Car-

panius, Paulinus, Dr. F. Buchanan, and la Croze, have treated of it very imperfectly and incorrectly.

The extent of this connection of the Pali, and those other derived languages from the Sanscrit, may be judged of from the following specimen:—

	<i>Sanscrit.</i>	<i>Prakrit.</i>	<i>Bali.</i>	<i>Zend.</i>
Man	Perusha.	Puruso.	Burusha.	Peorosocho.
Woman	Stri.	Thi.	Ithi	Stree.
Daughter	Putri.	Pui.	Butre.	Pothre.

Dr. Leyden pursues this way of making a comparative estimate to a considerable extent; and, after producing a specimen of Bali from the Hatamnan, which he says he has there restored to the Sanscrit without changing a single word, he observes as follows: "This specimen may serve, in some degree, to illustrate the relation which the Bali bears to its parent Sanscrit. The passage is chosen at random, but considerable portions of Bali have been subjected to the same, or to a similar process, with a similar result; and I am satisfied that it applies equally to Prakrit and Zend, though words of an origin foreign to Sanscrit, may occasionally occur in all the three dialects."

We have dwelt the longer on this article, on account of the Pali being the sacred language, and so intimately related to the Sanscrit, of which notice will be taken in a subsequent article; and because we wish to shew the plan which Dr. L. pursues in the other languages, which we have passed over somewhat superficially.

In concluding, Dr. L. observes, "After having thus briefly stated the

origin of both the Bali language, and written character, I should, in conformity to the plan which has been followed in this rapid sketch, proceed to the illustration of its characteristic structure, and grammatical peculiarities, with the relation which it bears to Prakrit and Zend: but these, with a view of Bali literature, and its influence, as a learned language, on the vernacular Indo-Chinese tongues, I reserve for the subject of another essay. The politeness and literary zeal of Mr. Colebrooke, have furnished me with ample facilities of investigating the Prakrit, in all its varieties of dialects; but the paucity of my original materials in Bali, and the total want of MSS. in Zend, have hitherto prevented me from giving the subject so full an investigation as its importance requires; but if the necessary materials can be procured, I hope to be soon able to submit to the Asiatic Society the result of my enquiries. Of the Bali language, different Koshas and Vyakaranas are known to exist, and several of them are to be procured in Ceylon, as the Bali Subdamala, Balavatara, Nigando, and Nigunda Sana."

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*An Account of trigonometrical Operations on crossing the Peninsula of India, and connecting Fort St. George with Mangalore.* By Captain WILLIAM LAMTON. Communicated by the honourable WILLIAM PATRICK, Governor of Fort St. George.

Captain L. in this essay, confines himself to the triangular operations in measuring the two seas, and the me-

thod by which the difference of longitude has been determined in his progress from east to west, and in a con-



cise form he previously states the manner in which he carried on those extensive observations over the great mountains, forming the eastern and western Ghauts, and through the whole extent from Fort St. George to Mangalore. It is accompanied with a plan of the triangles, and a table of latitudes and longitudes.

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*V. An Account of the Male Plant, which furnishes the Medicine, generally called Columbo, or Columbd-root. By Doctor ANDREW BERRY, Member of the Medical Board of Fort St. George.*

The Colomba, is the Kalumb of the Africans: This short essay is accompanied with a plate, and an explanation of the figures.

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*VIII. An Account of Astronomical Observations taken at the honourable Company's Observatory, near Fort St. George in the East Indies, in the years 1806 and 1807. To which are added some remarks on the Declination of certain Stars and of the Sun, when near the Zenith of that place. By Captain JOHN WARREN, of H. M.'s 33d regiment of foot.*

Mr. Warren observes, in reference to his observations from major Lambton's Sector, and his view to establish permanently the latitude of the Madras observatory, that those laborious and dry inquiries could afford but little entertainment to the general readers, and that the present paper can

only claim the advantage of recording good observations, taken in great numbers, and computed with scrupulous attention; and perhaps of affording data to astronomy in other climates, for further investigation into the effects of refraction.

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*IX. Translations of two Letters of Nadhir Shah, with Introductory Observations in a Letter to the President. By Brigadier-general JOHN MALCOLM.*

These original letters of Nadhir Shah are extracted from a collection of letters, and state papers of Nadhir Shah, published after his decease by his favourite secretary, Merza Mehedi, a

collection, held in great estimation in Persia, both on account of the light it throws on the history of that country, and for the excellency of the style.

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*VI. On Sanscrit and Pracrit Poetry. By HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, Esq.*

The design of this essay is not to enumerate the poetical compositions current among the Hindus, nor to exalt their poetry by maxims of criticism, in Europe. but to exhibit

the laws of versification, and to give notices of some of the most eminent poems in which those laws have been exemplified. The learned author explains the aim of this essay in the following



following manner. "An inquiry into the prosody of the ancient and learned language of India will not be deemed an unnecessary introduction to the extracts from the Indian poems, which may be occasionally inserted in the supplementary volumes of Asiatic Researches, and our Transactions record more than one instance of the aid, which was derived from a knowledge of Sanscrit prosody, in decyphering passages rendered obscure by the obscurity of the character, or by the inaccuracy of the transcripts. It will be found similarly useful by every person, who studies that language; since MSS. are in general grossly incorrect, and a familiarity with the metre will frequently assist the reader in restoring the text where it has been corrupted. Even to those who are unacquainted with the language, a concise explanation of the Indian system of prosody may be curious. I am prompted by these considerations to undertake the explanation of that system, promising a few remarks on the original works in which it is taught, and adding notices of the poems from which examples are selected.

The rules of prosody are contained in sutras, or brief aphorisms, the reputed author of which is Pingalanaga, a fabulous being, represented by mythologists in the shape of a serpent; and the same, who, under the title of Patanjali, is the supposed author of the Mahabhashya, or great commentary on grammar, and also of the text of the Gozas' Astra; and to whom likewise the text or the commentary of the Jyotish annexed to the Vedas appears to be attributed. The aphorisms of Pingalacharya, as he is sometimes called, on the prosody of Sanscrit (exclusive of the rules in Pracrit likewise ascribed to him) are collected into eight books; the first of which allots names, or rather literal marks, to feet, consisting of one, two, or three syllables. The 2d book teaches the manner in which passages of the Vedas are measured. The 3d contains the variations in the division of the couplet and stanza. The 4th treats of profane poetry, and the 5th of verses, in which the num-

ber of syllables, or their quantity, is not uniform. The 5th, 6th, and 7th, exhibit metres of that sort which has been called monoschematic, or uniform, because the same feet recur invariably in the same places. The 8th and last book serves as an appendix to the whole, and contains rules for computing all the possible combinations of long and short syllables in verses of any length."

There are more ancient writers on this prosody, whose works, however, have perished: so that Pingala's Text is now considered as the standard book on this subject. There are various commentators on Pingala, particularly Helayudha Bhatta, author of a gloss, entitled *Mrita Sanjivini*; there is also a commentary, in verse, by Narayana Bhatta Tara, remarkable for the admission of double senses, of which the Indian, Persian, and some have said the Hebrew, poetry, is sometimes susceptible.

The Agnipurana is considered a complete system of prosody, apparently founded on Pingala's Aphorisms, and which occasionally serves to correct, or supply the text in many places. Mr. Colebrooke also tells us, that "original treatises have also been composed by different authors, and particularly by the poet Calidasa." He adds, that in a short treatise entitled *Shruta Bodha*, Calidasa teaches the laws of versification in the metres, to which they relate, and has thus united the example to the precept. The same mode has also been practised by many others, and particularly by Pingala's commentator, Narayana Bhatta, and by authors of the *Vrita Rtnacsra*, and *Vrita derpana*. Calidasa's *Shruta Bodha*, however, exhibits only the most common sorts of metre, and is founded on Pingala's Pracrit rules of prosody.

Sanscrit is well known to be the sacred language of the Hindoos. And Hemachandra, who wrote a grammar of the Pracrit, says "the Pracrit is so called, because it is derived from the Sanscrit. The Pracrit, to be understood in this essay, is the language usually employed by dramatic writers, and not, in a more regular sense of the



term, any regular provincial dialect corrupted from the Sanscrit.

The illustrations of this subject are made in a way of great research and nice observation. The extract from

what Mr. C. calls an unrivalled drama, Malati-mad-hava is very interesting, and the synoptical tables of Indian prosody, are elaborate and curious.

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*Remarks upon the Authority of Mussulman Law.* By J. H. HARRINGTON, Esq.

It is well known, that the Koran is the foundation of Mohammedan law; and that it is supposed to have been given by divine revelation, through an angel sent to Mohimmed, who appointed it to be published at different times, for the purpose of instructing his disciples, and of confuting his opponents; but besides these, the sayings of Mahommed; the public and private

memorials of his wives, and memorials; the concurrent testimonies of the companions of Mohammed; the various opinions of ancient legislators and jurists, and precedents established into authorities, and confirmed by experience,—these are all the basis of Musselman law, and therefore make a part of this interesting essay.

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PRESENT STATE OF TURKEY.

*The present state of Turkey; or a description of the political, civil, and religious, constitution, government, and laws of the Ottoman Empire; the finances, military and naval establishments, the state of learning, and of the liberal and mechanical arts; the manners and domestic economy of the Turks, and other subjects of the Grand Signor, &c. together with the geographical, political, and civil state of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. From observations made during a residence of fifteen years in Constantinople and the Turkish provinces.* By THOMAS THORNTON, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo, Second Edition. (London, 1809). With the following epigraph:

"Nec a frastuante et vehementer occupato elegantium orationis, quam ne meditata quidem et citius præviare possem, sequum est requirere. Me quidem consolabitur nullius mendacii sibi convicius amicus, quod est in hujusmodi narrationibus præcipue spectandum."

BUSBAGUII, Epist. i.

On readers like ourselves, by obligation, the sight of such an advertising title-page as we have just transcribed, particularly when prefixed to a thick quarto, as was the case with the first edition of this work, has a sort of benumbing effect: nor did we quite escape that torpor-like influence, till we had formed a closer acquaintance with the contents, under its present more improved, as well as more-usable form. We are glad thus early to announce our perfect recovery from those first impressions, and to

by acknowledging the author to have fulfilled his engagements in an exemplary manner, and, if he has not actually added to our stock of knowledge on the subject of Turkey in the aggregate, he has well applied his labour, in extracting and methodizing the information scattered among a multitude of obsolete works, which form a labyrinth from whence the luminous historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire complains of the difficulty of extrication. Gibbon expressly acknowledges his ignorance whether the Turks have any



older than Mohammed II.; nor could he reach beyond a meager chronicle (*Annales Turci ad annum, 1550.*) translated by John Gaudier, and published by Leunclavius, with copious pandects, or commentaries. The history of the growth and decay of the Ottoman Empire (A. D. 1300-1683) was translated into English from the Latin of Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia, (London, 1714.) That author was guilty of some blunders in oriental history, but he was conversant with the language, and officially familiar with the Turkish institutions. He partly drew his materials from the synopsis of Saadi Effendi of Larissa, dedicated, in 1696, to Sultan Mustafa. A General History of the Turks to the year 1603, by Knolls, has been praised by no man in authority, in one of the Rambles, as a work unhappy only in the choice of subject. Yet it is to be doubted, whether a verbose compilation of speeches and discourses, in 13 hundred folio pages, can either amuse or instruct an enlightened age, which requires, from historical writers, some tincture of philosophy and criticism. After these books, with the exception of some minor and obscure publications, long since consigned to those aromatic repositories,

in vicium vendem em thus et olores,  
Et iuper, et q. n. quid chartis amittitur incipit.  
HORAT. Ep. ad lib. ii. cap. i.

there commences a chasm in literature, as to the Ottoman Annals, till we come down to the splendid *Tableau de l'empire Ottoman*, a part only of which was published towards the close of the last century, by Mouradgea d'Ohsson, an Armenian, in the diplomatic service of Sweden; but which, we believe, the author did not live to complete: Gibbon treats it somewhat cavalierly, as more splendid than useful. This was accompanied, or followed, by the amusing *Memoirs of De Tott*, by the local descriptions of the jaded Volney, and, *and longæ prætermissæ intervallo*, by the Anglo-Russian pamphlet, entitled a *Survey of the Turkish Empire*, by a *late* *Kaiser*, from whom our pre-

sent author, in filling up the chasm to which we have alluded, takes frequent opportunities of inflicting well-merited castigation.

Mr Thornton, after a candid exposition of his motives and qualifications in the preface, commences, by an introductory chapter of enquiry into the causes of the rise, aggrandizement, and debility of the Ottoman power, quite necessary to a thorough comprehension of the subject, both fairly entered into and well written, although the author apologises for his temerity, in venturing, *audacissimè æquis*, as he modestly implies, to succeed Voltaire and Gibbon in so difficult a path.

This chapter, which treats of the origin and monarchy of the Turks in Asia, the emigration of the (Othmanide, [more properly Osmánides;]) and thence conducts the reader from Osman, son of Ertogrul, founder of the dynasty, down to the reign of the late emperor, Sultan Selim III. diminishes the put of the subject, somewhat too abruptly and prematurely, by the following paragraph:

"The Ottomans endeavoured to keep aloof from the storm which was produced by the French revolution, and convulsed the governments of Europe, but the invasion of Egypt compelled them to depart from their system of neutrality. The French retained possession of that country during three years; and it was restored to the dominion of the Porte only by the victories of the English. The circumstances which led to these memorable events are intimately blended with the general history of Europe; and the interest of the narrative could not be preserved without a review of the changes which had taken place among the continental states, during a period of almost universal hostility. The plan of the present work forbids me to enter upon the subject, and further obliges me to pass over without notice the expeditions which were afterwards undertaken by the English themselves against Constantinople and Alexandria."

The first Chapter of the work itself



professes to give a general view of the manners, arts, and government of the Turks, under the several heads of—National character—Conduct compared with that of the Romans, and of the Arabs—Foreign learning and arts adopted and inflated—The Ottoman Sultans patrons of learning—Extent and imperfection of Turkish knowledge, language, literature, in printing, husbandry, manufactures, architecture, sculpture, painting, chronology, geography, astrology, medicine, surgery, navigation, and commerce—Roads and travelling—Couriers—Abuse of power, and evils of despotism—Practicability of improvement. On this last head, the author observes, that

“De Tott found in the Turks an aptitude and an eagerness for mathematical knowledge; and if domestic tranquillity and external peace allowed an extensive and well-directed study of the mathematics, they would, in a few years, be little inferior to any nation in Europe. No branch of science is of such universal application and such general utility, and no study so effectually roots out prejudices, and inculcates method. On the mathematics depends the first great science, without which all others are useless, the science of national defence: from the mathematics flow all public and private works, all that distinguishes civilization from barbarism, and by them men are prepared for all situations in life. Without them even learning bewilders itself in the mazes of subtlety, and philosophy wastes itself in conjectures.”

Chapter II. leads us to the constitution of the Ottoman empire, analysed as follows:—Muteke, or religious code of laws—Canoun-nameh, or imperial institutes—Authority and prerogatives of the Sultan—Laws of succession—Princes of the blood—The sultan's vicegerents—Classes of the

Ulema—Order of legal dignities—Subordination of the priesthood—Privileges and powers of the Ulema—Grand Vezir—Divan, or council of state—Sublime-Porte, or Ottoman cabinet—Government of provinces, and revenues of their governors, the Pashas—Their modes of life, and precariousness of their offices—Reflections on the sultan's direct interference in government, in administering justice, and in conducting war—Subjection of the people—Political, civil, and religious distinctions—Means of redress against tyranny and oppression.

Of these we shall select the explanation of the Sublime Porte, as being a term in very common use, and as commonly in erroneous use.

“The palace of the grand vizir, by a metaphor familiar to most of the Eastern languages, is called the porte, or king's gate,\* and hence the Ottoman court assumes the name of the Sublime Porte in all public transactions. It has been said, that this appellation is derived from the gate of the seraglio, *bab-humâiun* †, and Dr. Dallaway in some degree confirms it by asserting, that the Sublime Porte resembles a bastion.‡ But, though it be true, that, in the east, the gate of a palace is the principal and most magnificent part of the building, and under its vestibule the princes and nobles, like the chief of a horde of Arabs at the door of his tent, exercise hospitality and administer justice; yet the inconvenience of such a situation for transacting the business of a great empire must soon have suggested the necessity of a separate establishment for the vizir. The name of the porte was, however, continued to that part of the city to which the public business was transferred, on account of the sameness of its political uses, and from its continuing to serve as the door of communication between the sultan and his subjects. The

\* “*Der, mot persan, qui signifie porté, désigne dans tout l'Orient le cour d'un prince souverain.*” (Tab. Gén. t. ii. p. 99.) See also a conjecture on the hundred gates of Thebes, in a note in Volney's Ruins.

† See Constantinople, ancient and modern, p. 20. The comparison makes a mistake, for there is no part of fortification which the imperial gate less resembles than a bastion.

‡ Mr. Bacon, though he had passed through Constantinople, appears ignorant of the name of the palace called the porte. He says “all the business of government



Sublime Porte, however, so little resembles a bastion, that it even follows the person of the sovereign; and Soliman the first, in conformity with this opinion, when at the head of his army in Persia, ordered an officer convicted of treachery to be sent to him for punishment, directing that he should be brought in irons to the porte."

We think the philological reader, as well as the orientalist, may not be displeased at our amplifying the author's account of the personal prerogatives, &c. of the Ottoman sultans, by the following explanation of one of his titles, so very familiar in its use amongst us, as to be almost official; namely, "the *Grand Signor*." Titles frequently remain, when the occasions of making them are forgotten. For that of the "Great Turk," we must go back to the time of Mohammed II. the first Ottoman emperor, on whom the Christians bestowed that title, owing to the vast extent of his dominions, compared with those of the sultan of Iconium, or Cappadocia, his contemporary, who was comparatively styled the "Little Turk." After the taking of Constantinople, (29th of May, 1453,) the former deprived the latter of his dominions; but, though the propriety of the distinction was by this incident lost, the title itself was preserved: Its use in England, under an Italian disguise, is one of those absurd anomalies for which we do not pretend here to account any more than for its counterpart, the French word *porte*, to describe in English the figurative "gate," or official residence, of the Turkish ministry. Such is the perennial quality of corruption in languages.

Chapter III. enters upon the administration of civil and criminal law; which is investigated in the various branches of—Justices and magistrates—Mekhemeh, or tribunal of the Kad-

hi—Practice of the courts of law—Administration of civil law—False witnesses, and inaccuracy of investigation—Avances, or vexatious prosecution—Proceedings in criminal cases—Torture.

Mr. Thornton's account of the infiction of the last-mentioned process, (p. 212,) besides giving a specific case corroborating an anecdote in De Tott's memoirs, will serve to convey a correct idea of the measured and unassuming style of these volumes, even in treating of subjects, on which some authors are too apt to appeal rather to the passions than to the judgment of their reader.

"Torture is secretly, but not unfrequently, practised. The motive for inflicting it is generally to extort the confession of concealed property; and the scene of these inhuman proceedings is a building within the walls of the seraglio, called the oven, because it was formerly used as such by the *be-tangis*. The rich *rayahs* are frequently employed as bankers to the vizir and other great officers of state, a charge hazardous at best, and sometimes fatal; for though the advantages of it are great, and the influence which it procures is flattering to vain or ambitious men, yet they are exposed to the prying eyes of a suspicious court, and are usually involved in the ruin of their employer. The minister, knowing the uncertainty of his continuance in office, and apprehensive, that his riches will be swallowed up in his disgrace, secretly lodges money with some confidential person, from whom, through caution, he takes no written acknowledgment. This he keeps in reserve against the evil hour, or, should his life terminate with his office, directs the disposal of it to those for whom no provision can legally be made. On the deposition of a public

audience the porte, or gate. Besides the vizir, all the other great public officers of the empire resident at Constantinople, inhabit the seraglio, or at least have their offices there. (History of the Turkish empire, p. 26, 27). Mr. Griffiths, who was engaged in making observations on the same subject and occurrences, and at the same time, as Mr. Ellis (see Travels, p. 168), differs however, in this instance, so far from him in the ex- his suggestion as to situate the porte, or gate, for the port or harbour. (Page 174, line 18)."



minister, therefore, his bankers, and others suspected of intimacy with him, are applied to for the delivery of all which they possess in his name. If the sum fall short of expectation, they are tortured, till they either confess, that they have more, or till they supply the sum required from their own capitals: but, if they are rich, even this confession does not always save their lives. I was acquainted with an Armenian, who had been confined and tortured into the renunciation of all his hereditary and acquired property\*. His partner, more resolute, had resisted, even to death, all the horrible means employed to force him into a confession; and by this means he left his family in affluence. I have listened with horror to the relation of their sufferings, which were aggravated by the constant presence of the executioner, who would insultingly complain of the fatigue of his morning's duty, and exact from them the most menial services, and at every repast dip into the same dish with them his hand reeking with their blood."

Chapter IV. very properly follows up the preceding commentary on civil process, by an investigation of the military force of the Ottomans thus classed — Military divisions of the empire—Feodal system of the Ottomans—Ziamets, and Timars—Janizaries—Adjem-oghians, Cappi-kooli, or other bodies of infantry receiving pay from the government, viz. Topgi, Jebbedji, sakka; and Spahee (or sepoy) cavalry—Serrat-kooli, or troops receiving pay from the Pashas—Order of equipment, tents, and camp-equipment—Method of supplying the army with provisions—Order of march and battle—Attack and defence—Laws of war, and treatment of captives—Turkish navy.

The existing circumstances under which the Ottoman empire at present is placed, at actual war with a powerful neighbour, and menaced with still more formidable attacks under the influence of what has acquired the name

of the "continental system," would induce us, if space permitted to make a considerable extract from this military chapter: but as it is, we must content ourselves with the following very brief but descriptive sketch of a Turkish camp.

"General Koehler, who afterwards commanded the British detachment which joined the grand vizir's army in the expedition against the French in Egypt, mentioned to me, that he had made inquiry of a renegade from our own country, named Inghiliz Mustafa, respecting the order observed in the arrangement of a Turkish camp, and that Mustafa answered only by scattering about on the tables quantity of the small pieces of Turkish money called *paras*. But Mustafa, from a long residence among the Turks, had adopted so much, of the figurative inaccuracy of Oriental language, that he willingly sacrificed a considerable portion of truth to the attainment of a jest, or a conceit. As such his reply must be allowed to possess some merit, particularly as it does not ill describe that general state of confusion which has been observed of late years to exist in the camps of the Ottomans; but we shall err if we adopt as a certain truth, what should be considered only as a sally of the imagination."

Chapter V. is on the finances of the empire and revenues of the sultan, viz. System of finance under the feudal government — Divisions of the Turkish public treasury—Sources of revenue; land tax, property tax, customs, poll tax, monopoly, mines, escheats and forfeitures, coinage and tribute — Expenditure — The fixed and casual revenues of the sultan—Doweries and pensions—Nizam-i-jedid, or new financial regimen of Selim III. comprehending system of excise.

Chapter VI. is on the progress and decline of the Ottoman power—an ample field, as the following syllabus will suffice to show. — Progress and power of the Turkish dominions — Alarm of Christendom — Continuation

\* This was Coufli, banker to Raghib Pasha, whose sufferings are mentioned by the



of the invention of gunpowder—Turkish government over tributary subjects, and over Muscaltians—Partition of lands to the conquerors—Sources of revenue—inefficiency of the military system—Considerations on the probable destinies of the Turks; on the justice or policy of expelling them from Europe—On the emancipation of the Greeks—The modern compared with the antient Athenians and Spartans—Causes of the superiority of the antients, and of the decline of national character among the modern Greeks—Apprehensions of the Turks from the power of Russia—History of the first war with the czar of Muscovy—Consequences of the conquest of Turkey to Russia, to the other states of Europe, and to the Ottoman subjects—Russian church and government—Examination of the arguments for dispossessing the Turks—Remoteness of melioration—The religion, morals, manners, and customs, form the subject of Chapter VII. in which are described—The physical constitution, and general habits, moral and religious education, popular belief and practice of the Turks, priests, dervishes and émirs—Pilgrimage to Mecca—Predestination—Invocation of saints—Faith in the efficacy of amulets, relics, and enchantments; and belief in omens and dreams—Prejudice against pictures—Punishment of apostasy—Morality and proselytism—Modes of proposing Islamism to unbelievers—Public charities, hospitality and alms—Tenderness toward brute animals—Turkish character: austerity, irritability, intemperance in the occasional use of wine and opium, covetousness, ambition, hypocrisy, and behavior to strangers—Virtues of the

middle class—Clothing and baths—Luxuries and amusement; conversation, story-telling, ombres chinoises, dancers, gladiators and wrestlers—General health—The plague—Burial, mourning, and mortuary monuments.

We do not recollect the iconoclasm and prejudices of the Orientals to have been so well defined in any modern author as in the following passage.

"The Persians paint whole pictures, and commonly insert them in their historical writings. But the Turks, in general, consider it unlawful to paint, though not to describe in words, any other parts of the human body than the hands and feet of Mahomet, the body of the prophet being always concealed by the wings of legions of angels; and they firmly believe, that angels can enter no house where there are portraits of men\*. The Mussulman, in the performance of the namaz, is ordered to throw off any parts of his dress which are made of stuff on which are represented the figures of men or other animals, and to turn his face, during his devotions, from the sight of portraits or pictures, unless they describe only the heads of irrational animals, or pieces of inanimate nature; but foreign coin, though bearing the impression of human figures, does not invalidate their prayers, and may be carried about them even during their journey to the holy city of Mecca. The standards of many of the companies of janizaries, the ships of war, and even the coffee-houses and shops of tradesmen, are decorated with rude and grotesque representations of birds and quadrupeds, and the barge of the sultan supports a golden eagle on its prow.† We have the authority of

\* "The Mahometan religion," says Mr. Eton, "has no medium of communication with the arts, and is fundamentally gloomy." (p. 194, 196). If Mr Eton means the arts of painting and statuary, he is right; for they are banished from the mosque as rigorously as from the synagogues of the Jews, or the churches of several denominations of Christians. But, as the subjects, on which these arts are generally exercised in the churches of the Christians who admit the use of them, are torture and death it may be apprehended, that they throw somewhat of gloom, even upon our holy religion. Architecture and the ornamental arts are considered as much so to Islamism as to christianity. But such is the connection between the arts that all become vitiated in practice from the partial exclusion of any one of them."

† "Mais encore est-ce l'usage constant et général des ombres chinoises, et le débit constant, quoique toujours clandestin, de figures d'hommes et de femmes dessinées sur du papier. Les obscénités qu'elles représentent sont tellement du goût de la nation, que ceux qui parviennent avoir le plus de réputation pour les productions du pinceau, ne se font pas scrupule de réunir leurs portraits de ces dessins scandaleux." (Tab. Gén. t. iv. p. 304.)



Prince Cantemir\* and the chevalier d'Ohsson for the existence of a regular series of the portraits of all the Ottoman sovereigns in the seraglio; and I have seen a pocket-book belonging to the present sultan, containing engraved portraits of the most distinguished characters of our own time. It was sent to Sir Sidney Smith, that he might communicate some historical anecdotes of Admiral Lord Nelson; and I remarked among the prints the likenesses of Lewis the Sixteenth, Catherine the Second, and Marshal Suwarow."

We are, moreover, tempted to give another passage from this chapter on the use and abuse of opium, &c. because the pretended anecdote of a corrosive-sublimate eater has been in some degree accredited, and that very recently by more than one literary journal in England.

"Those who intoxicate themselves with opium are stigmatized with the appellation of *teriki*. The lavish use of that drug seems successively to exhilarate, to lull, to depress, and to accelerate both corporal and mental decay. To some it is by habit rendered so necessary, that the fast of the month *ramazan*, during which they are deprived of it in the day time, becomes a serious penance. I have been assured by a Turk, but I do not warrant his assertion, that, in order to alleviate their sufferings, they swallow, besides their usual pill at the morning *exstin*, a certain number of pills wrapt up in several folds of paper, which will, as they suppose, resist the powers of the stomach for different lengths of time, and

be dissolved in due rotation, so as to correspond with their usual allowance. Dr. Pouqueville cites a still more remarkable fact, which, although he omitted to confirm it by his own inquiries, he says, cannot reasonably be questioned since every body agrees in asserting its truth. MM. Ruffin and Dantan (both dragomans attached to the service of the French legation, and both worthy members of the corps to which they belong), assured him, that in the year 1800 there existed in Constantinople a Turk, known to the whole town under the name of *Sulcyman yeyen*, or *Soliman the taker of corrosive sublimate*. 'This man,' says Dr. Pouqueville, 'was a rare instance of longevity. He was nearly an hundred years old when I was in Constantinople. In his early youth he had habituated himself to take opium, till at last, though he augmented his dose, it failed in producing its effect. He had heard of corrosive sublimate, and substituted the daily use of it to that of opium: his dose exceeded a drachm, and he had regularly taken it for upwards of thirty years.' I am less acquainted than Dr. Pouqueville with the effects commonly produced by corrosive sublimate; but without indulging in scepticism as to the marvellous part of the story, I cannot persuade myself (unless it be an acknowledged quality of corrosive sublimate to exhilarate in the manner of opium), that even a Turk could persist for thirty years in the daily custom of swallowing such a fiery and poisonous draught\*."

The manners and customs of the

\* "Voyage en Morée, &c. t. ii. p. 125.

c\* I ought not, however, to omit pointing out some inconsistencies in the story, which are so glaring that it is wonderful how they could have escaped Dr. Pouqueville's notice. 'The first essay of this taker of corrosive sublimate was made in the shop of a Jewish apothecary. Soliman called for a drachm of the mineral, diluted it in a glass of water, and drank it off; to the astonishment and terror of the apothecary, who was alarmed lest he should be accused of poisoning a Turk: he shut up his shop, and was filled with anxiety when he reflected on the consequences which he expected must necessarily ensue. But the next day, great was his surprise at the re-appearance of Soliman, who came to his shop for a repetition of his dose. Now the shutting up of his shop must be understood as the act of absconding, for if it mean, that he merely closed his window-shutters to open them again the next morning, this circumstance indicated no apprehension of danger, neither can it be considered as a precautionary measure, and should not have been mentioned. But how can we reconcile the circumstance of the apothecary's flight with that of his personal attendance in the shop on the very next morning? This absurd story gives me no opportunity, not only of showing, that Dr. Pouqueville has listened with too much credulity to the tale of dragomans, but also that he has listened with too much complacency to



## ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

men having been treated of in the seventh, the domestic economy of the women is reserved for the eighth chapter; a separation which (as the author premises in his preface to the second edition) has been already pronounced to be injudicious by certain critics, because the subject of both is nearly the same. He has, however, persisted in this subdivision of his subject, and accordingly, in compliance with the notorious opinion of the east, been induced to consider the *harem* as wholly distinct from the male establishment of a Turkish family.

Travellers do not appear to have justly estimated the situation of females in the Levant. They are mostly considered as of small importance in the state: they are represented as in a slavish subserviency to the passions of the other sex; and because the grandees keep beautiful concubines secluded from the vulgar gaze, due distinction does not appear to have been made between them and well-born women. But attention to the Oriental languages and customs will give us reason to believe, that such indiscriminate observations are partial, superficial, and inconclusive.

Moldavia and Wallachia occupy Chapter IX. in which is a valuable contribution of statistical and political knowledge. And the whole is wound up by an appendix, containing the physical history of Byzantium—Climate, situation and soil of Byzantium—Extent of the city and its ports—Chalcedon—The Bosphorus—The Buxine—The Propontic—The Hellespont—The island Leuce—Curus Achille—Anti-

ent Greek establishments, on the eastern shores of the Euxine Sea.

Hitherto our task has been one justifying succession of approbation; and as we know full well there is but one way of pleasing an author,—i. e. unqualified praise, we would willingly stop here, if duty did not enjoin us declaring, that the work is not altogether free from overights, which, if venial, are not few; and is disgraced by the absence of much material information. The limits of this publication forbid us to enter into more details, as they have already barred us from much amusing quotation; but we will just mention, that the author has not accurately described the official situation of a renowned British commander in Turkey, notwithstanding he very justifiably prides himself on a personal and friendly acquaintance with that officer (Sir Sidney Smith) in the preface, page 8. Nor has he duly availed himself of that access to give us more ample knowledge of his admirable defence of the Ottoman bulwark in Syria, St. John d'Acree, or to aid us in developing the real causes of the failure of that commander's undoubted *chef-d'œuvre*, the convention of *El-Arish*. Nor, we must repeat, are we satisfied with his inconclusive reasons for declining to do his duty, as an historian, by the reign of Selim III. which reasons are given in our first extract.

Mr. Tweddell's countrymen and relatives, as well as his academical associates at Cambridge, we believe, looked for a more ample account of his classical peregrinations, and, above all, his literary remains, than the meager and

the suggestions of vanity, in over-rating his own acquirements. Dr. Pouqueville takes occasion (t. ii, p. 218) in relating another story (which in my conscience I believe to be no less false than this of *Soliman*), to insinuate, that he speaks the Turkish language with so much fluency as to astonish even the natives. But in the story of *corraux sublimé* the evidently demonstrator, that he is wholly ignorant of the Turkish language. *Soliman* says, he tells us, means *Soliman the taker of corraux sublimé*. To the reader unskilled in eastern literature it must appear no less curious than it did to *Moïere's* bourgeois gentleman, that the Turkish language should be so concise and comprehensive as to express in a single word a whole complex sentence. *Soliman* is the proper name of the hero of the farce, so that consequently the secret of this extraordinary strength of stomach must be sought after in a careful analysis of the word *jeun*. Now *jeun* is the particle present of the active verb *jeûner*, "to eat," and simply signifies "eating." "*Soliman* the eater, or the glutton," is the only interpretation which the words will admit of, but even that is ill-expressed in French by *Soliman jeûner*."—*ARRON.*



# ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER, 1809.

laudations tribute eled out with a complimentary letter, in the same part of the work, page 6. If Mr. Thomson should, however, not possess more knowledge on the subject, than he favours us with, we advise him to turn to a respectable periodical work, the *Natal Chronicle*, (vol. 20.) wherein he will find a passage which bears such internal evidence of being written by an eye-witness, that, but for the text under review, we should almost have been tempted to attribute those remarks to our author himself. We also regret, that he has not recorded, in an appropriate manner, the admission of the British flag into the Black Sea, which, Mr. Cobbett cleared the matter up in the first volume of his *Political Register*, (1802) was generally and justly considered as the work of the embassy, of which the Earl of Elgin was the head; whereas it has been clearly demonstrated to have been brought about by the minister whom that noble earl succeeded, (Mr. Smith). We also think, that Mr. Thomson could have thrown some ray of light upon the pretended massacres &c. on the shores of Jaffa, and helped us to some other useful and practical knowledge of certain managements connected with the operations of the British arms in Egypt. Perhaps these deficiencies may be supplied in a third edition, which we sincerely hope, that the author, or rather that right and true Meccenas, his bookseller,

will meet due encouragement to put forth.

We think we cannot take leave of our author more equitably than by giving the English version and context of his Latin motto, taken from honest Busbek, the appropriation of which we think well justified upon the whole.

"I have not dressed up my narrative with flowers of rhetoric, but have presented you with it, just as I would have related it to you by word of mouth. I know you will bear with the coarseness of my style, it being occasioned by my over-care to denote to gratify you, nor can you well expect elegance from me in my heat and throng of business, which I was ever master of in my greatest exertions. This, I assure you, both for your information and my own content, I am not conscious to myself of any falsehood in the whole narration, which is the principal ornament of such narrations as these"—Epist. 1 Dated Sept. 1, 1754.

And for our own part we beg leave to acquit ourselves, both of author and reader, in the words of a poetical critic. I intended to say they who know him not!

"Whoever thinks a fruitless work to see, Thinks what never was, nor is, nor ever shall be. In every work regard the writer's end; Since none can compass more than they intend. And if the means be just, the conduct true, Forgiveness for some trivial faults is due."

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END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



























